

DUMBARTON OAKS STUDIES

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BYZANTINE MONASTIC
FOUNDATION DOCUMENTS

Volume 1

BYZANTINE MONASTIC FOUNDATION DOCUMENTS

A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' *Typika* and Testaments

Volume 1

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Preface

I

Among the many types of sources for the history of Byzantine monasticism, none are more important than the *typika*, or foundation documents, collected and translated in these volumes, which will make possible for the first time a comprehensive study of religious life and institutions in the Greek East and a comparison between Greek and Latin monasticism.¹ Together, the *typika* throw light on almost every aspect of Byzantine monastic life and its development from the eighth to the fifteenth century. Their nature is discussed by John Thomas in the introduction. They were flexible and personal documents, which differed considerably in form, length, and content. Not all of them were foundation documents in the strict sense, since they could be issued at any time in the history of an institution. Some were wills; others were reform decrees and rules; yet others were primarily liturgical in character.

Each *typikon* was normally written for a specific monastery and its dependencies and reflected the ideas and wishes of the writer. A few were designed for several monasteries, such as the houses on Mt. Athos or in Sicily. The *typikon* issued by Patriarch Athanasios I in 1303–5, (55) *Athanasios I*, was exceptional, since it applied in theory to all the monasteries in the empire and calls to mind the claims of papal monarchy in the West. There are many resemblances among the *typika*, and large parts of some were virtually copied from others. The *typikon* of the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople, (4) *Stoudios*, influenced the *typika* of many other houses, including (22) *Evergetis*, which in turn formed the basis of (29) *Kosmosoteira*, (32) *Mamas*, (33) *Heliou Bomon*, and others. The differences between these successive variations show not only the individuality of each monastery but also the changes in Byzantine monasticism over the centuries. Each *typikon* needs to be studied in terms of the history and circumstances of the monastery for which it was written.²

A *typikon* thus combined the features that in the West were found on the one hand in foundation charters, which established the legal and economic status of a monastery and were often

Note: The *typika* are cited by the number, in parentheses, and section, in brackets, of the translations in this edition.

¹ When this project was first conceived, in 1980, I planned to contribute a running commentary from the point of view of a historian of western monasticism, but this proved impossible owing to the size of the undertaking and the inevitable repetitions, given the number of topics that are treated in more than one *typikon*. I therefore decided to write a preface comparing some of the more salient characteristics of eastern monasticism as reflected in the *typika* with monasticism in the West, leaving the examination of more detailed questions for further study.

² According to Alice-Mary Talbot and Mark Johnson, "Monastery," *ODB*, p. 1391, "The organization of each monastery varied and was prescribed by its *typikon*."

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formulaic in character,³ and on the other hand in the rules, customs, and statutes that applied to several houses and from which the personal elements found in the *typika* were excluded.⁴ There were no general monastic rules in the East, and no monastic orders in the western sense of the term.⁵ Honor was paid to the early monastic legislators, especially to Basil, but his so-called rules were not normative, and they differed from the *typika* in many respects, which are described in John Thomas's introduction, such as with regard to manual labor, intermonastic relations, and attitudes toward women. The *Apophthegmata patrum*, *Precepts* of Pachomios, and *Book of Horsiesios* were also known in the Middle Ages, but they never exercised the influence of the western rules and customs. There was also considerable variety in the West, particularly during the so-called period of the Mixed Rule, from the sixth to the eighth century, when no single rule predominated and some monasteries had their own rules, but the Carolingian reform in the early ninth century in principle imposed the *Rule of Benedict* on all monasteries. Many houses had their own customaries, which have been collected in the *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*,⁶ but they were within the framework of the *Rule of Benedict*, and most customaries were designed to promote a uniform liturgy and observance in groups of monastic houses, which were later referred to as orders. The customs of independent religious houses, including some of the greatest, such as Monte Cassino, were primarily enshrined in the memories and practices of their members. The customaries were supplemented in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as the orders developed, by the statutes issued by the superiors of the mother house, as at Cluny, or by the decrees of general chapters, which included representatives from all the member houses, as in the orders of Cîteaux and Prémontré.⁷

It is possible that most Byzantine monasteries originally had their own *typika*, of which the surviving examples (except for a few liturgical *typika*) are collected here. They were sometimes confirmed by a public authority, preferably the emperor, and served as the legal basis and protection for the communities to which they were granted. In this they resembled foundation charters in the West but were more comprehensive in their scope and content. The *typikon* of the monastery of the archangel Michael, (37) *Auxentios*, was called a constitution [1], and that of the monastery of St. John the Forerunner, (58) *Menoikeion*, "this very monastic constitution" [22]. Previously, it

³ On the contrast between Byzantine *typika* and western monastic foundation charters, see the comments of Georg Schreiber, "Anselm von Havelberg und die Ostkirche," *ZKG* 60 (1941), 384–410, esp. 387–90, and "Byzantinisches und abendländisches Hospital," in his *Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters* (Münster, 1948), p. 9.

⁴ Adalbert de Vogüé, *Les règles monastiques anciennes (400–700)* (= Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 46) (Turnhout, 1985), pp. 22–23, stressed the parallel between eastern *typika* and early Latin, Irish, and Syrian monastic rules.

⁵ See Schreiber, "Anselm," pp. 397 and 403–4, who also stressed (pp. 394–95 and 407) that there was no Cluny and no St. Bernard nor St. Norbert in the East, and Alice-Mary Talbot, "Monasticism," *ODB*, p. 1393.

⁶ *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*, ed. Kassius Hallinger (Siegburg, 1963–), 12 vols. in 16 to date.

⁷ Jacques Hourlier, *Le chapitre général jusqu'au moment du Grande Schisme* (Paris, 1936). Collections of the statutes and decrees of the general chapters of the orders of Cluny and Cîteaux have been published, respectively, by Georges Charvin and Joseph-Marie Canivez.

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appears, this latter house had neither “a *typikon* which could be produced at any time before an official or magistrate or in any kind of court where legal arguments regarding matters of the law and lawsuits take place” nor “an authoritative document in which all sorts of sacred matters are written down as well as other things such as the immovable property belonging to the monastery and the rights pertaining to these properties so that these remain stable and safeguarded against seizures” [2]. Some monasteries also had other types of governing documents. There is a reference in (54) *Neilos Damilas* for the convent of the Mother of God *Pantanassa* in Crete, which dates from about 1400, to a *tabularion* written not in Greek, the language of the nuns, but in Latin so that it could be understood by the Venetians who controlled Crete at that time [18].

Owing to their legal and practical importance, the *typika* were preserved with special care, to which there are many references. This unique character may also explain the prescriptions requiring that they be read aloud, sometimes as often as three, seven, or twelve times a year. Given the length and complexity of some of the *typika*, this must have been a time-consuming business, and if the members of the community paid attention, they would have known their *typikon* almost by heart. There are comparable provisions in the West for reading the *Rule of the Master*, *Rule of Benedict*, the *Regula IV Patrum*, and other early monastic rules.⁸ Writing was also of importance as the monastic orders spread in the high Middle Ages.⁹ Their rules and customs had a common character and were designed for many houses, however, in spite of particular observances, whereas monks and nuns in the East had a sense of their *typikon* as the embodiment and protection of their own special rights and way of life.

The difference between the *typika* in the East and the rules in the West affected the nature of the movements of monastic reform in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Both reforms were directed against the abuses of the previous period, especially lay control over monasteries, and were designed to restrict the powers of founders and patrons and to assert institutional independence. Reformers in both the East and West, in spite of their admiration for individual hermits, preferred community life and cenobitical forms of monasticism to solitude or eremitism, which they associated with self-will, disobedience, and private property. The so-called eremitical movement was less concerned with promoting solitary forms of religious life than with founding monastic communities in isolated places, cut off from secular society. The western reformers often worked through public authorities, such as popes, kings, and bishops, and through councils that sought to establish the literal observance of the *Rule of Benedict* or the life of the primitive church.

The reform movement in Byzantium was primarily the work of individuals concerned with specific monasteries. Their *typika* frequently include details of their own lives both in the world and in religious institutions. The concepts of reform, renewal, and rebirth figured less prominently than in the western reform documents, and it may be significant that the term *reformation* (*diorthosis*) was used only in a *typikon* from Sicily, (26) *Luke of Messina* [5], where western influence was stronger than in the East. There was a great stress on tradition, and any innovation or change in a *typikon* was regarded with suspicion. The modalities of reform therefore differed

⁸ *Regula Magistri*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé ao, *SC* 105–7, vol. 2 (1964), p. 126, n. 15.

⁹ On the importance of writing for religious groups, see Gert Melville, “Zur Funktion der Schriftlichkeit im institutionellen Gefüge mittelalterlicher Orden,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 25 (1991), 392–93.

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from house to house, and there was no movement of reform that applied to all monasteries. The *typika* differ widely, for instance, in their provisions concerning the selection and installation of the superior and the admission and treatment of members of the community. From a modern point of view, they often seem to be repetitive, confused, and occasionally self-contradictory. Yet many of them were written by men and women of affairs and by experienced administrators, who were ready to make accommodations for the times and the circumstances of the institutions for which they were legislating rather than to lay down abstract principles that in practice they knew would be disregarded.¹⁰

Behind these differences lay important common principles, however, and the parallels and resemblances among monastic institutions all over the Christian world were the result less of specific influences or traditions than of the distinctive way of life led by men and women who had left secular society to serve God and were dedicated to prayer, virginity, and unworldliness. Since at least the time of Cassian and Basil, the religious life was compared to that of angels. The monks of Mt. Athos were described in (44) *Karyes* as “angels here on earth” [2], and in (57) *Bebaia Elpis* the nuns in Constantinople followed an “ascetic or angelic way of life” [37] and imitated Christ, the apostles, and the martyrs [41–42]. In (24) *Christodoulos*, the monks of Patmos, like the angels, were occupied in praising God [A17], and Isaac Komnenos established the monastery at Bera, according to (29) *Kosmosoteira*, “for the propitiation of God and of his mother” [70]. Similar sentiments were expressed in the West, as by Alcuin in a letter to the abbot and monks of an unknown monastery in which he said that the life of the saints consisted in praising and loving the goodness of Christ and that the followers of this life in the present world resembled the angels who eternally praised God: “He who strives to be watchful for the prayers of God leads the angelic life on earth.”¹¹

These quotations emphasize the positive aspects of the monastic ideal, but there was also a strong negative element of self-abnegation and of practical, if not theoretical, dualism. (55) *Athanasios I* took from John Klimakos’s *Ladder of Heaven* the definition of a monk as

the order and rule of the incorporeal carried out in the filthy and material body. A monk is one who is attached only to the things of God every day, everywhere, and in everything. A monk is a continual forcing of nature and a constant guarding of the senses. A monk is a sanctified body, a purified mouth, and an enlightened mind. A monk is a grieving soul, meditating in the continual awareness of death, meditating both while asleep and while awake and all the rest. [3]

According to the *typikon* of Nikon, (20) *Black Mountain*, which dates from 1055–60, “the monastic life professes to a greater degree what the world professes. The worldly life professes the commands of the Lord, but the monastic life both professes death from the world and pledges to God life crucified in its submission and tonsuring. This is the comprehensive command and tradition of the monks” [84].

¹⁰ Schreiber, “Anselm,” p. 401, stressed the personal role of the emperor in establishing the Pantokrator in Constantinople, whether or not he himself wrote the *typikon*.

¹¹ Alcuin, ep. 278, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epistolae*, vol. 4, p. 435.

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Entry into monastic life was a second baptism, which involved at the same time death to life in this world and rebirth into a life cleansed of sin.¹² In (22) *Evergetis*, which was written in the eleventh century and influenced many later *typika*, monks and nuns were committed to a life of effort, endurance, and perseverance [42].¹³ They should grieve for their sins rather than teach, contemplate, or perform miracles, according to (54) *Neilos Damilas*, citing the *Ladder of Heaven* of John Klimakos and echoing the dictum of St. Jerome that “A monk has the office not of a teacher but of a mourner” [12].¹⁴ They were required to confess their sins regularly and frequently, sometimes as often as once a day. This stress on conscience (*syneidesis*) in the sense of self-examination and self-awareness is found in many of the *typika*, especially in the twelfth century and later, when there was a growing concern with conscience in western monastic and theological writings.

Monastic communities were often called living organisms, as in (29) *Kosmosoteira*, where the monastery had “one body and one breath” [57], (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, where the nuns were said to have “many separate bodies, but . . . one, indivisible soul” [46], and (58) *Menoikeion*, in which the body was “governed by the five senses” [22] and needed the care of a doctor to remain in good health. Members who were ill had to be either cured or cut off and expelled, like a diseased limb or cancer of the body. In (32) *Mamas*, concealed faults were described as wounds that harmed the whole body [29]. In (33) *Heliou Bomon* [prol.] and (37) *Auxentios* [1], the monasteries when they were in difficulties were compared to fallen runners. Similar terms were applied to monasteries in the West, and the number of medical images in the *Rule of Benedict* has led some scholars to conjecture that the author may have had medical training.¹⁵

The *typika* are filled with agricultural, military, architectural, and naval metaphors. Some monasteries were compared to gardens, as in (26) *Luke of Messina* [7] and (31) *Areia* [M2], to houses, with walls and gates, and to vineyards, beehives, and flocks of sheep in a sheepfold. In (30) *Phoberos*, the monks were urged to “resist and wage the war” [53], like soldiers in an army; the hermitage at Ktima in Cyprus, in (45) *Neophytos*, was called “a godly watchtower” [pref.] by its founder; and other houses were safe harbors or ships steered by a helmsman, as in (58) *Menoikeion* [22]. The members of religious communities were like the members of a family living in a single house or the inhabitants of a town or like fish swimming in a river or pond. The descriptions of the physical beauty of their locations and the wildness and isolation of their surroundings derived from the Bible and served, like similar *topoi* in the foundation documents and

¹² See, on baptism, Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c. 200–c. 1150* (Cambridge, 1993), and, on entry into monastic life as a second baptism, the references in my article, “The Ceremonies and Symbolism of Entering Religious Life and Taking the Monastic Habit, From the Fourth to the Twelfth Century,” in *Segni e riti nella Chiesa altomedievale occidentale, 11–17 aprile 1985* (= *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo* 33) (Spoleto, 1987), pp. 799–802.

¹³ See Appendix C on the reform elements in (22) *Evergetis* and its influence on other *typika*.

¹⁴ Jerome, *Contra Vigilantium* 15, in *Patrologia latina* 23, col. 367A, and the references in Pierre Mandouret, *Saint Dominique*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1937), p. 25.

¹⁵ Einar Molland, “*Ut sapiens medicus*: Medical Vocabulary in St. Benedict’s *Regula monachorum*,” *Studia monastica* 6 (1964), 293–98, and *The Rule of St. Benedict*, ed. Timothy Fry (Collegeville, 1981), pp. 222–23, 352, and 430, n. 57 (hereafter *Regula Benedicti*).

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histories of western monasteries,¹⁶ to underline the paradisiacal character of religious houses and their contrast with the world of secular society.

In spite of this rich figurative language, the *typika* were not spiritual treatises, and they touch only incidentally on the inner lives of the men and women who left their homes in order to serve God in monasteries. They lend little support to the view favored by some scholars that religious life in the East, unlike the West, was aimed primarily at deification and that monks and nuns, like the saints, were more inspired by the divine and impassible Christ than by the human Jesus and that they sought to rise above the body and earthly things to disincarnated incorruptibility.¹⁷ This view stresses the difference between the image of the austere *Pantokrator* who looked down from the apses and domes of so many monastic churches in the East and the tender and suffering Man who, from at least the eleventh century, was seen on the altars of western churches. Other scholars have argued that devotion to the humanity of Jesus and imitation of Christ the man were not unknown in medieval Greek spirituality.¹⁸

Though the *typika* contribute little to this dispute, they do not entirely neglect the human side of religious life in their emphasis on asceticism, self-denial, and service to God. Love was greater than prayer, in (22) *Evergetis* [33], which was copied in (27) *Kecharitomene* [25], (32) *Mamas* [23], and elsewhere, and the author of (30) *Phoberos* spoke of the personal sadness and discouragement associated with the term *akedia* [6], which was often used in the West. “[C]ontemplation profits by works rather than by words,” according to (42) *Sabas* [7], of which the author was presumably opposed to the chattering of the *hesychastai*. For (45) *Neophytos*, however, “Talk is better than silence. For silence only benefits its own laborer, while the word also benefits many others” [14]. These are surprising words for an austere hermit, and they show that at least some writers of *typika* were aware of the needs of others as well as of the requirements of personal salvation.

II

The communities for which these *typika* were written ranged in size from three or four monks—as at the *kellion* of St. Sabbas on Mt. Athos ((44) *Karyes*) and the dependency of St. Euthymios at Jerusalem ((50) *Gerasimos*)—up to eighty—as at the Great Lavra on Mt. Athos in the tenth century (and later a hundred twenty) ((13) *Ath. Typikon* [36]) and at the *Pantokrator* in Constantinople ((28) *Pantokrator* [19]). (15) *Constantine IX* said in 1045 that the total number of monks at Lavra had grown from one hundred to seven hundred [4], which by the end of the fifteenth century

¹⁶ Dieter von der Nahmer, “Die Klostergründung ‘in solitudine’—ein unbrauchbarer hagiographischer Topos?” *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 22 (1972), 90–111.

¹⁷ Myrrha Lot-Borodine, “La doctrine de la ‘déification’ dans l’Eglise grecque jusqu’au XI^e siècle,” *RHR* 105–6 (1932), 5–43 and 525–74, and 107 (1933), 8–55.

¹⁸ Sévérin Salaville, “Christus in orientalium pietate: De pietate erga Christi humanitatem apud orientales liturgias et liturgicos commentatores,” *EL* 53 (1939), 13–59 and 350–85, and “Un office grec du ‘Très doux Jésus’ antérieur au ‘Jubilus’ dit de saint Bernard,” *RAM* 25.2–4 (1949 = *Mélanges Marcel Viller*), 246–59, and Irénée Hausherr, “L’imitation de Jésus-Christ dans la spiritualité byzantine,” *Mélanges offerts au R. P. Ferdinand Cavallera* (Toulouse, 1948), pp. 231–59.

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had increased to more than two thousand.¹⁹ Most of the *typika* written in the twelfth century and later were for communities of between twenty and fifty members, but some authors expressed a preference for relatively small houses and were concerned that the size of the community should not outstrip its resources. The number of monks was limited to seven in (19) *Attaleiates* [27] and to twelve in (16) *Mt. Tmolos* [1] and in (30) *Phoberos* [42], where the community was allowed to increase if resources permitted. (45) *Neophytos*, which dates from 1214, set the number of monks at between fifteen and eighteen, saying that “God does not want a multitude of monks, crawling in sin” [C16].

These figures agree approximately with those proposed by Charanis, who said that the majority of Byzantine monasteries had between ten and twenty members, though some had as many as eighty.²⁰ Mango and Ševčenko, in their study of monasteries on the southern shore of the Sea of Marmara, found two houses of roughly one hundred and another of more than seventy in about 800, and others of eighty, sixty-four, and forty-two members.²¹ Monasteries tended to be smaller in the central and late Middle Ages than they were earlier, in both East and West, where Lérins, St. Riquier, Jumièges, and Fulda all had several hundred monks in the eighth and ninth centuries. The average Benedictine monastery in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had between twelve and twenty members. Communities of more than sixty were exceptional, and only a few, such as Cluny, had more than a hundred.²²

Very little is known about who entered monasteries, aside from the fact that they included highly placed and wealthy people. The abolition of the payment for entry, which is mentioned in several *typika* and was considered a reform measure, may have made it easier for poor people to enter religious life, but it is hard to be sure on this point. It is clear that a number of both monks and nuns received their monastic formation in one house and later transferred to another, in spite of ecclesiastical legislation requiring them to stay in their monastery unless the bishop or the superior gave them permission to leave. In his study of *stabilitas loci* in Byzantine monasticism, Emil Herman concluded, largely on the basis of hagiographical sources, that transfers were not unusual,²³ and there are a few references in the *typika* to monks who left their monasteries on

¹⁹ Heath Lowry, Jr., “A Note on the Population and Status of the Athonite Monasteries under Ottoman Rule (ca. 1520),” in his *Studies in “Defterology”: Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (= *Analecta Isisiana* 4) (Istanbul, 1992), p. 238.

²⁰ Peter Charanis, “The Monk as an Element in Byzantine Society,” *DOP* 25 (1971), 69–72. Raymond Janin, “Le monachisme byzantin au moyen âge: Commende et typica (X^e– XIV^e siècle),” *REB* 22 (1964), 29–31, cited fourteen communities ranging in size between five to seven and eighty to one hundred twenty, and Anthony Bryer, “The Late Byzantine Monastery in Town and Countryside,” in *The Church in Town and Countryside*, ed. Derek Baker (= *Studies in Church History* 16) (Oxford, 1979), p. 225, accepted Charanis’s estimate.

²¹ Cyril Mango and Ihor Ševčenko, “Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara,” *DOP* 27 (1973), 270.

²² See Ursmer Berlière, “Le nombre des moines dans les anciens monastères,” *Revue bénédictine* 41 (1929), 231–61, and 42 (1930), 19–42, and Jacques Dubois, “Du nombre des moines dans les monastères,” *Lettre de Ligugé* 134 (1969.2), 24–36.

²³ Emile Herman, “La ‘stabilitas loci’ nel monachesimo bizantino,” *OCP* 21 (1955), 115–42.

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pilgrimages or special missions or, most frequently, in search of a more austere life. Monks were allowed to leave the monastery voluntarily at Bera, according to (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55], and in some houses members who misbehaved or did not fit into the community were expelled. Whether such former monks and nuns reentered secular society, transferred to other monasteries, or became vagrants and beggars is not known. Although in some houses the reception of monks from other houses (*xenokouritai*) was prohibited, in others they were admitted but not allowed to become superior.

The issue of *transitus*, or transfer from one monastery to another, was much discussed in the West.²⁴ The *Rule of Benedict* laid great emphasis on *stabilitas loci*, which was (together with obedience and *conversatio morum*) one of the three promises made by a new monk, but the possibility of movement was foreseen. In chapter 61 the abbot was warned not to receive a monk “from another known monastery . . . without the consent of his abbot or commendatory letters,” and in the final chapter, monks who wanted to achieve perfection were advised to follow the teachings of the holy fathers, which were interpreted as living in solitude. During the monastic reforms of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when many monks sought a more austere life, stability was increasingly seen in terms of profession rather than of place, and transfers were not only permitted but in some cases encouraged, especially from a lower to a higher, or stricter, monastery.

Six out of the sixty-one *typika* translated here were written for houses of women, who played an important part in Byzantine monasticism. None of them were written for double houses, where men and women lived in a single community under one superior, occasionally a woman,²⁵ but several of them envisaged a close relationship between male and female houses, as in (34) *Machairas* [169], (47) *Philanthropos* [intro.], and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [8], [14], which cited the decree of the Second Council of Nicaea forbidding double monasteries and established that work both within and outside the nunnery should be done by pious laymen rather than monks, who were forbidden even to conduct services for the nuns. (31) *Areia* [M5–6] shows that some relationship existed between the two houses near Nauplia after the nuns moved and their former house was occupied by monks. Close relations between male and female monasteries were also found in the West, where many of the communities established by the reformers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries welcomed both men and women. As time passed, the women lived an increasingly segregated life but were still associated with houses of monks.

Both monks and nuns were deeply concerned with sexual purity. The monks’ fear of sexuality extended to contacts not only with women, boys, and beardless youths, but also with female animals. (30) *Phoberos*, which dates from 1113/40, includes a striking passage on the fears of homosexuality and bestiality written by Paul Helladikos in the sixth century [58]. In (53) *Meteora*, the monks were forbidden to give food to women even if they were dying of hunger [7]. On a visit to Mt. Athos in the 1930s, Kurt Weitzmann met a hermit who, having come there as a child, had

²⁴ Philipp Hofmeister, “Der Übertritt in eine andere religiöse Genossenschaft,” *AKKR* 108 (1928), 419–81.

²⁵ On double monasteries in the East, see Jules Pargoire, “Les monastères doubles chez les Byzantins,” *EO* 9 (1906), 21–25; Janin, “Monachisme,” pp. 42–44; and Georges-Joseph Mahfoud, *L’organisation monastique dans l’Eglise maronite* (= Bibliothèque de l’Université Saint-Esprit, Kaslik-Jounieh-Liban 1) (Beirut, 1967), pp. 289–315.

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never seen a woman, and whose opinion that “the woman is a devil” was derived, he said, from reading Klimakos’s *Ladder of Heaven*.²⁶ These regulations were not inspired by misogyny or dislike of women as such, according to Nikon’s (20) *Black Mountain* [86] and (22) *Evergetis* [39], which was copied in (29) *Kosmosoteira* and other *typika*. Nuns inevitably had some contact with men, since they were dependent upon priests to celebrate the sacraments and upon male laborers to perform hard physical work, but it was kept to a minimum in order to avoid temptation, and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* specified that the priest who served in the church should be married [79]. In (28) *Pantokrator*, provision for women was made in the hospital associated with the monastery, though the male doctors were paid more than the female doctors [38], [52].²⁷

A special problem was posed in eastern monasteries by eunuchs, who were almost unknown in the West, but who played a prominent role in Byzantine society and with regard to whom policy seems to have varied. They were forbidden in some monasteries, including nunneries. The reference to the admission of a wealthy eunuch in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55] suggests that it was regarded as exceptional. In (19) *Attaleiates*, on the other hand, the monks had to be eunuchs and “men free from passions,” and bearded monks were forbidden [30]. In (27) *Kecharitomene*, the priests, the spiritual father of the nuns, the steward, and the attendant physician were all required to be eunuchs [14–16], [57]. The fact that one of the three monasteries at Mt. Galesios was reserved for twelve eunuchs shows that there was no objection in principle to eunuch monks.²⁸

The communities therefore differed in character, and some were less cut off from the outside world than others. There were important distinctions even among the regular members of the community, in spite of the emphasis found in several of the *typika* on equal treatment of all members. It was in practice impossible to exclude entirely the social distinctions and attitudes that permeated secular society, in which most monks and nuns had been raised, and in almost all religious houses special privileges were given to members of rich and powerful families, especially if they were related to the emperor or to the founder. There are countless references to travelers, pilgrims, beggars, strangers, servants, laymen, and all sorts of hangers-on, and, in spite of efforts to exclude them, to women and boys in male houses and to men and girls in female houses. In (34) *Machairas*, pilgrims going to Jerusalem stopped at the monastery in Cyprus [116]; a “sister Melanie” is mentioned in the *typikon* of *Nea Mone* at Thessalonike, (52) *Choumnos*, which was otherwise strict on the subject of women [A18]; and (55) *Athanasios I* apparently indicates the acceptance of the presence of laymen in monasteries in the reform program for Mt. Athos [4]. Monks from distant places—“beyond Cadiz,” as they were called in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [27]—were welcomed at the Great Lavra, and were not called foreigners. Begging monks appear in (32) *Mamas* [13] of 1158. More obscure are the frequent prohibitions against imposed guests and against internal and external monks, which suggests that monks sometimes lived outside the community at the expense of the monastery.

²⁶ Kurt Weitzmann, *Sailing with Byzantium from Europe to America: The Memoirs of an Art Historian* (Munich, 1994), p. 135.

²⁷ On the parallel expressions of brotherly love in the *Pantokrator typikon* and western monastic sources, see Schreiber, “Hospital,” p. 30.

²⁸ See Alexander Kazhdan, “Eunuchs,” *ODB*, pp. 746–47, and Alice-Mary Talbot, “Galesios, Mount,” *ODB*, p. 817.

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Prohibitions of this type show something about the nature of monastic communities and the indifferent success of reformers, in both East and West, in fully cutting off monks and nuns from secular society, even when they were surrounded by walls and guarded by watchful doorkeepers. In (60) *Charsianeites*, for instance, the monks, like the Grandmontines in the West, were forbidden to engage in lawsuits, even in a just cause, and were required simply to state their case in court and leave [C7]. The nuns in (57) *Bebaia Elpis* were not allowed to educate lay children [148], as were some western nuns in the twelfth century. The prohibitions against the use of professional singers, which are found in several *typika*, were more distinctively eastern, as were the efforts to prevent the types of personal links that appear to have been a feature of Mediterranean society.²⁹ Spiritual and adoptive brotherhoods, familiarity, associations, and unions between monks of religious houses and outside laypeople were forbidden in (3) *Theodore Studites* [8], in (12) *Tzimiskes* [14], (22) *Evergetis* [46], (26) *Luke of Messina* [3], (42) *Sabas* [6], and others, including the general *typikon* for Mt. Athos, (59) *Manuel II*, which prohibited spiritual relationships and adoptive brotherhoods between a monk and a layperson [10]. The precise nature of these associations is uncertain, but they included serving as godparents and sponsors at baptisms. Though they were regarded as improper for monks and nuns, the number of prohibitions suggests that they were not uncommon.

The *typika* throw considerable light on the age of entry, which tended to be higher in eastern than in western monasteries, where the system of oblation, by which children were given to monasteries by their parents, was common until at least the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the age of entry was raised in many houses.³⁰ Although eastern church law set the age of entry at ten and of tonsure at sixteen or seventeen,³¹ there are no references to child members in the *typika* except in (36) *Blemmydes*, which, written in 1267, allowed ten-year-old boys to be admitted on condition that they could not become monks before they were twenty and might leave if they proved unsuited to monastic life [9]. The minimum age of entry was sixteen in (60) *Charsianeites* [C2], eighteen in (10) *Eleousa* [17], and ranged in other places from twenty up to thirty, as in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3]. These figures were considerably higher than for any known monastery in the West, where the average age of profession was between fifteen and twenty, and where the imposition of higher age limits was regarded as a reform measure designed to insure a higher level of commitment and maturity than could be found in children.³² This, perhaps in addition to a desire to avoid the sexual temptation presented by boys, may also have inspired the authors of the *typika*. The result was that most monks and nuns in the East had considerable experience in the secular world, and many had been married. According to (35) *Skoteine*, Maximos, the founder of the monastery of the Mother of God, was the son and grandson of monks but was himself tonsured before the age of marriage and perhaps below the established age of entry [2–4], [7]. In (54)

²⁹ John Boswell, *Same-Sex Unions in Premodern Europe* (New York, 1994), pp. 240–42, and Claudia Rapp, “Ritual Brotherhood in Byzantium,” *Traditio* 58 (1997), 285–326.

³⁰ See *Regula Benedicti*, 59, ed. Fry, pp. 270–72, and the references in my *Medieval Monasticism: A Select Bibliography* (= Toronto Medieval Bibliographies 6) (Toronto-Buffalo, 1976), pp. 123–24.

³¹ Janin, “Monachisme,” pp. 21–22.

³² See Peter the Venerable, *Stat.* 36, in *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*, vol. 6, p. 70.

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Pantanassa, a married woman could not be admitted without her husband's permission and with a girl who was more than ten years old [5]. These girls, like the boys of the monastery of the Lord Christ-Who-Is at Ematha, were presumably educated in the monastery, as were many children in the West. They may have resembled the "insiders" who were admitted at the age of sixteen to the nunnery of Lips, where, according to (39) *Lips* [17–18], twenty was the age of entry for outsiders.

The length of the novitiate varied with the age and experience of the candidate but tended to be longer in the East than in the West, where it was set at two months in the *Rule of the Master* and at a year in the *Rule of Benedict*, which prescribed three successive probationary periods of two, six, and four months, each concluding with a reading of the rule.³³ In (22) *Evergetis*, the novitiate lasted six months [37], which was increased to two years in (32) *Mamas*, though known people were admitted after six months and monks from other monasteries after eight days [22]; in (34) *Machairas* from Cyprus, the novitiate was three years but was reduced to six months for known people and transfers [55], [60]; and in (39) *Lips* the novitiate at the nunnery was three years for outsiders, a year for unspecified others (perhaps nuns from other houses), and six months for mature women [17–18]. In (13) *Ath. Typikon*, an abbreviated novitiate was allowed in the Great Lavra on Mt. Athos for "some who are pious and well known and whose religious way of life is well attested" [50], in (24) *Christodoulos* at Patmos for "a pious man who led a monastic life in the world" [A26], and in (27) *Kecharitomene* in Constantinople for devout women "practicing the monastic life in secular clothing" [30].³⁴ Provisions were made for shortened periods of probation, and even for immediate tonsure, especially for candidates who were sick or dying, as in (12) *Tzimiskes* [3], in (36) *Blemmydes* [9], and probably also in other monasteries. The practice of speedily admitting the elderly and ailing, to enable them to enter the next world clad in the monastic habit, was common in western monasteries, where it was known as *ad succurrendum*.³⁵ Exceptions were also made in the West for important people and monks from other houses, and the reformers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries tried to establish the regular novitiate, as it was called, of a year. The longer novitiate in the *typika* may have been associated with the higher ages of admission and with the perceived need to test thoroughly the vocations of men and women who had lived in the world and had to learn the ways of monastic life, unlike monks and nuns who had been raised in monasteries or came from other houses.

The *typika* say comparatively little about the formal ceremonies of admission, which were spelled out in detail in the *Rule of Benedict* and many western customaries, and they do not support the view that entering religious life in the East was a consecration rather than a personal promise or commitment.³⁶ The blessing of monks is occasionally mentioned, mostly in connec-

³³ *Regula Magistri*, 88.3, vol. 2, p. 369, and *Regula Benedicti*, 58, ed. Fry, pp. 266–68.

³⁴ These passages are interesting evidence of the existence in secular society of men and women who lived a quasi-monastic life. See John Nesbitt and J. Wiito, "A Confraternity of the Comnenian Era," *BZ* 68 (1975), 300–384.

³⁵ Nikephoros Chartophylax was the first Byzantine layman known to Karl Holl to take the monastic habit on his deathbed. See his *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum: Eine Studie zu Symeon dem Neuen Theologen* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 321.

³⁶ See, for instance, Olivier Rousseau, "Le rôle important du monachisme dans l'Eglise d'Orient," *Il monachesimo orientale* (= *OCA* 153) (Rome, 1958), pp. 38–40.

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tion with the authority of the bishop, but the primary emphasis was on the promise, tonsure, and habit. According to (10) *Eleousa*, which dates from 1085–1106, the monks made “our promise on the things that we were proclaiming, frequently repeating our consent with both a subdued posture and a calm voice” [9], and in (30) *Phoberos* new monks read and promised to obey “this rule” [51]. There are many references, in part owing to the influence of (22) *Evergetis*, to “the hair of this world” and to “worldly locks,” which were cut when someone entered religious life. Facial hair was a mark of maturity in men, and of suitability to be a monk or priest, since clerics in the East, unlike the West, were bearded. The beardlessness of eunuchs showed their anomalous status, even if it did not exclude them from becoming monks or priests.

The monastic habit was of symbolic as well as practical significance in distinguishing men and women in religion from those living in the world. (55) *Athanasios I* called it “the robe of unchanging glory” [1], and in (45) *Neophytos*, the founder of the hermitage at Ktima in Cyprus kissed the cuffs of his habit [4]. The scapular was compared to the cross in (10) *Eleousa* [9], as in many western monastic texts, and Nikon in (20) *Black Mountain* stressed the importance of the distinctive cap worn by eastern monks [75]. In (45) *Neophytos* [15] and (34) *Machairas*, different ranks of monks apparently wore different habits, and according to the latter the great habit was apparently worn by the monks known as *apostolikai* but not by others [102], [148]. (45) *Neophytos* expressed a preference for inexpensive grey rather than black cloaks [C15]. The western reformers in the twelfth century, and later the mendicants, also favored undyed and cheap materials for their habits. It was a mark of visible humility and unworldliness, like the use of a donkey rather than a horse when traveling, to which there are references in both eastern and western saints’ lives and, among others, in (48) *Prodromos* [7], whose monastery was a dependency of Docheiariou on Mt. Athos.

Great importance was attached in the *typika* to the behavior of monks and nuns and their proper deportment toward each other and, especially, toward the superior and monastic officials. There are references in several *typika* to disciplinary officers, as in (11) *Ath. Rule* [17] of the Great Lavra, but comparatively few to punishments, aside from the long list, which derived from the pseudo-Basilian *Poenae* and resembled a western penitential, incorporated into (34) *Machairas* [121–34]. (4) *Stoudios* [25] and (11) *Ath. Rule* [19] for the Great Lavra noted the presence of prisons for recalcitrant monks at their respective monasteries, and some, such as (28) *Pantokrator* and (29) *Kosmosoteira*, said theirs were used for political prisoners, who may have been the imposed guests mentioned above. Whipping was explicitly forbidden in (4) *Stoudios*, and the most serious punishment for monks who refused to obey the rule or to fit into the community seems to have been expulsion.

All distinctions within monastic communities were potential sources of disputes and tension, and the authors of many *typika* attempted to head off the problems created by differences in rank, social status, wealth, and culture. Among the most interesting of these was the presence in a single community of various linguistic and ethnic groups. In (23) *Pakourianos*, only Georgians, for instance, were admitted to the monastery at Bačkovovo in Bulgaria [prol.], [24]. The community of St. Sabas near Jerusalem included both Greeks (or Romans, as they are called) and Syrians, and the *typikon*, (42) *Sabas*, specified that the superior should be Greek but that the steward and treasurer should be Syrians, who were “more efficient and practical in their native country” [9].

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There is an interesting account of the difficulty of introducing Vlachs into a Greek house in (51) *Koutloumousi* [B6] of Mt. Athos. Similar problems must have arisen in western monasteries, especially with the decline of Latin and the spread of vernacular languages, but they are not discussed with equal frankness in any known rule or customary.

III

Members of religious communities, both monks and nuns, divided their time between religious services, private devotions, and various types of work, of which the proportions varied from monastery to monastery. Their activities were regulated, in Byzantine monasteries, by the sound of the *semantron*—"the holy bell," as it was called in (46) *Akropolites* [6]—which was a flat piece of wood or metal and performed the same function as the bell in western monasteries. Some monasteries had several *semantrons*, as in (22) *Evergetis* [6] and (32) *Mamas* [47], where there were small, great, and bronze *semantrons*, and in (34) *Machairas* [45], [47], [61], where there was a refectory *semantron* and at least one large *semantron*. According to their differing sounds, the monks and nuns knew what they should do. Less is said in the *typika* about the system of keeping time, but there are a few references to clocks, which were presumably water clocks, or *clepsydra*, which were also known in western monasteries. The primary indicators of time, in both East and West, were the sun and stars and, in the morning, the cock.

The most important occupation of monks and nuns was the celebration of the liturgy, with which a few *typika* (which are not translated here) were exclusively concerned.³⁷ In (32) *Mamas*, the members were required to attend the services [21], but in other communities a distinction was drawn between the members who primarily served in church and those who performed other functions, who would today be called the support staff and usually included the monastic officials, as in (38) *Kellibara I* [17] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [23], [146–47]. (23) *Pakourianos*, for instance, shows that of the fifty monks at the monastery in Bačkovo in 1083 ten were in holy orders and twenty-six were officials, including the superior, who was not required to be a priest, leaving four unaccounted for. The *typikon* also distinguished three types of monks who received different stipends [6], [9], [22]. In (28) *Pantokrator*, there were four servants and eighty monks, of whom thirty were occupied in what were called menial duties and fifty with the praise of God, and they received, respectively, the biblical rewards of thirty-, sixty-, and a hundred-fold [19]. In (37) *Auxentios*, of the forty monks in the monastery of the archangel Michael, sixteen served in the church and twenty-four in the monastery and fields [6–7]; of the fifty nuns in (39) *Lips* [4] and thirty in (40) *Anargyroi* [6] at Sts. Kosmas and Damian, thirty and eighteen, respectively, performed liturgical duties, and twenty and twelve were occupied with housekeeping; and so on in other monasteries, though the division may have been less strict in smaller houses. The two categories were called fathers and brothers, *ekklestastikoi* and *diakonetai*, and (in other sources) psalmodists and attendants, and they were described as literate and illiterate, though it is not

³⁷ There is no evidence in these *typika* of the type of continuous prayer by shifts of monks that was found in early monasteries in the East but more or less died out by the twelfth century. See Michael Marx, *Incessant Prayer in Ancient Monastic Literature* (Rome, 1946).

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certain that those who served in the church were all literate and the others, especially the officials, were illiterate.

The *typika* throw comparatively little light on the number of monks who were in holy orders or on whether the proportion increased, as it did in the West, where by the thirteenth century almost all monks were ordained. Likewise, there is little said on the related question of the performance of pastoral work by monks, both within their communities and in parish churches.³⁸ What evidence there is suggests that the proportion of ordained monks was lower in Byzantine monasteries than in the West and that they did not regularly serve as parish priests, though other sources might lead to a different conclusion.³⁹ (23) *Pakourianos* shows that at Bačkovo in the late eleventh century ten monks, or a fifth of the community, were ordained, of whom six were priests and two each were deacons and subdeacons [6]. In (32) *Mamas*, which dates from 1158, there were twenty monks, of whom two or three were priests and two were deacons [5].

At first sight, the distinction between the liturgical and non-liturgical members seems to resemble that in western monasteries between western monks who were raised in a monastery (*oblati* or *nutriti*) and those who entered as adults (*conversi*) and, even more, that between the so-called choir monks and lay brothers (*fratres laici* or *conversi*), who were found in many reformed houses in the West, especially those affiliated with Hirsau, Cîteaux, and Prémontré, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁴⁰ The comparisons do not hold up on close inspection, however. The *conversi* of the old type were characteristically illiterate at their time of entry and able to participate in the services only in limited ways, but they often learned to read and write, were ordained, and served as priors and abbots. The lay brothers and sisters, or *conversi* of the new type, on the other hand, constituted a closed category, from which there was no promotion, and they were mostly occupied with agricultural labor. The *typika* show that, in Byzantine monasteries, unordained, non-liturgical monks were not a closed group and frequently occupied responsible positions, and that unlettered monks sometimes participated in the offices, as seen in (22) *Evergetis* [33] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [23]. (39) *Lips* suggests that the contemplative nuns were subordinate to the preeminent active nuns [27], and Neophytos, the founder of the hermitage at Ktima, worked in the vineyards for five years before he learned to read and write and became assistant ecclesiarch, a position he later gave up in order to devote himself to the contemplative life ((45) *Neophytos* [4]).

The welfare of specific individuals as well of society in general was thought to depend upon the prayers of monks,⁴¹ the “faithful *oratores*” as Charlemagne called them in his capitulary *De*

³⁸ A related issue, which requires further study, is the number of churches within monastic enclosures in both East and West and their use. See Schreiber, “Anselm,” p. 385.

³⁹ See Irénée-Henri Dalmais, “Sacerdoce et monachisme dans l’Orient chrétien,” *La vie spirituelle* 80 (1949), 37–49, and the references in my *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 135–37. Clément Lialine, “Monachisme oriental et monachisme occidental,” *Irénikon* 33 (1960), 444–45, argued that the “pneumatico-psychological preference” of Byzantine monks led to a distrust of clericalization, institutionalization, and the ministry.

⁴⁰ On conversion and lay brothers see the references in my *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 124–25.

⁴¹ On intercessory prayer in the East, see Schreiber, “Anselm,” pp. 408–9, and Paul Lemerle “Un aspect du rôle des monastères à Byzance: les monastères donnés à des laïcs, les charistocaires,” *CRAI* (1967), 13.

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litteris colendis.⁴² There are innumerable references in the *typika* to liturgical commemoration for founders, protectors, and benefactors, especially the emperor and members of the ruling family, both male and female,⁴³ for members of the community and, more rarely, for all Christians, as in (48) *Prodromos* [5], or for specific groups in society, as in (33) *Heliou Bomon* [47] and (34) *Machairas* [44]. The steadily growing number of commemorations created a problem at *Evergetis*, as it did at Cluny and other western monasteries, where efforts were made to limit the amount of time spent in commemorations.⁴⁴ The manner of chanting was also mentioned in several *typika*, of which the authors stressed the need for moderation, slowness, clarity, and attention to the words of the texts ((20) *Black Mountain* [16], (23) *Pakourianos* [12], (36) *Blemmydes* [13], and (37) *Auxentios* [7]). (54) *Neilos Damilas* mentioned the “excessive variety of hymns” and warned against “undignified tunes” [12].⁴⁵

Policy with regard to celebration of the Eucharist varied from monastery to monastery, but frequent communion, especially for monks, was common in Byzantium in the early Middle Ages.⁴⁶ At *Evergetis*, mass was celebrated every day, though not all the monks communicated; at *Machairas*, a liturgy was daily and communion weekly, or at least twice a month; and in other monasteries a liturgy was celebrated between once and five times a week, and the frequency of communion was not always specified. “Daily communion was a rarity in Byzantine monasteries,” according to Robert Taft, “but weekly communion, though not universal, remained common.”⁴⁷

The importance of confession has already been mentioned in connection with the emphasis on conscience.⁴⁸ In some monasteries, daily confession was required, and a parallel between confession and bodily health was drawn in (22) *Evergetis* and the *typika* that derive from it. It was considered as important as the Eucharist at *Nea Mone* in Thessalonike, of which the *typikon*, (52) *Choumnos*, dates from before 1374 [B10]. The reformers preferred that confession be made to the superior or spiritual father rather than to other monks or to outsiders, presumably in order to ensure a consistent spiritual direction, but (22) *Evergetis* [7] and (30) *Phoberos* [14] allowed confession to be made to priests, deacons, or “more reverent brothers,” probably owing to the

⁴² *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Capitularia*, vol. 1, p. 79.

⁴³ (27) *Kecharitomene* specified that male and female members of the ruling family should be commemorated equally [79].

⁴⁴ See Peter the Venerable, *Stat. 32*, in *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*, vol. 6, pp. 66–67, and note there.

⁴⁵ See Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 39–40, on “conventional nonsense syllables” in eastern liturgies and parallel phenomena in the West.

⁴⁶ Sévérin Salaville, “Messe et communion d’après les *typika* monastiques byzantins du X^e au XIV^e siècle,” *OCP* 13 (1947), 283–98, and Emil Herman, “Die häufige und tägliche Kommunion in den byzantinischen Klöstern,” *Mémorial Louis Petit* (= Archives de l’Orient chrétien 1) (Bucharest, 1948), pp. 203–17.

⁴⁷ “Communion,” *ODB*, p. 491.

⁴⁸ On confession in the West, where it was more frequent among monks than the laity and was prescribed in the *Rule of Benedict*, see Alexander Murray, “Confession before 1215,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, ser. 6, 3 (1993), 70–72.

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difficulty in finding time and opportunity for each member of the community to confess to a single person every day.

Allowance was also made for private prayers and devotions, though they do not figure prominently in the *typika*. Private psalmody was indeed prohibited in some of the early *typika*, but Athanasios the Athonite in his rule for the Great Lavra in 963, (11) *Ath. Rule*, modified the *typikon* of St. John Stoudios and recognized that absolute uniformity was not required and that a monk might have reason not to attend choir service [17]; the provisions of (22) *Evergetis* were altered in (30) *Phoberos* specifically to allow the midnight office to be sung by monks in their cells [12]. There are several references to penitential devotions, such as weeping, foot washing, and, especially, genuflections, which were defined as fifteen prostrations in (27) *Kecharitomene* [32]. In (54) *Neilos Damilas* the nuns were expected to perform two hundred prostrations every twenty-four hours, but those who were unable to do that many were permitted to reduce the number [10].

All members of the community, including those whose primary duties were in the church, were expected to work,⁴⁹ not only as a way to avoid idleness, according to (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, but also as a mortification of the flesh and a means to provide the wherewithal for alms [95]. The monks were allowed to work in their cells, according to (31) *Areia* [T3], and in (34) *Machairas* helped to harvest the grain and grapes [83]. In (54) *Neilos Damilas*, the nuns of the *Pantanassa* nunnery worked to produce goods both for their own use and for sale [6]. (52) *Choumnos* set no fixed amount of work for the monks of *Nea Mone*, because people differed in their capacity for physical labor, and elsewhere in the *typikon* it is said that those who wanted should spend ten years working and then devote themselves to spiritual labor [B18], [B21]. A similar attitude is found in the book of proverbs by the twelfth-century Cistercian Galland of Rigny, who wrote that monks who were unable to work in the sun should choose an occupation in the shade and that those who could not observe all the feast days at least should celebrate All Saints, which covers the other feasts in the same way that charity includes the other virtues.⁵⁰ Passages like these suggest that there was a growing recognition in both East and West of the physical needs and capacities of monks and nuns, in spite of the general emphasis on asceticism and self-denial.⁵¹ The spiritual well-being of monks was associated with their physical health in a remarkable chapter in (60) *Charsianeites*, which dates from 1407:

When everyone is healthy, you should be grateful to the Provider of health, each one on behalf of the others rather than on his own behalf, but if one of you is ill, then you should all be sympathetically disposed to his illness and share in his suffering, just as the other

⁴⁹ Tudor Teoteoi, "Le travail manuel dans les *typika* des XI^e-XIII^e siècles," *RESE* 17 (1979), 455–62, and in *Actes du XV^e Congrès international d'études byzantines. Athènes-Septembre 1976*, vol. 4 (Athens, 1980), 340–49, and Maria Dembinska, "Diet: A Comparison of Food Consumption between Some Eastern and Western Monasteries in the 4th–12th Centuries," *Byzantion* 55 (1985), 44–45. According to Schreiber, "Anselm," pp. 404–6, there was a greater emphasis on manual labor in the West, especially among reformers, than in the East.

⁵⁰ Galland of Rigny, "Libellus proverbiorum," *Revue du moyen âge latin* 9 (1953), 47 and 105, no. 13.

⁵¹ Gerd Zimmermann, *Ordensleben und Lebensstandard: Die Cura Corporis in den Ordensvorschriften des abendländischen Hochmittelalters* (= Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens 32) (Münster, 1971).

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limbs of the body suffer, if one is in pain. You should do everything and exert yourselves to see the brother cured of illness. [B4]

The most remarkable evidence of concern for physical health is in the *typikon* of the *Pantokrator* monastery in Constantinople, which made elaborate provision for five wards (*ordinoi*), each with appropriate staff and equipment, to care for various diseases, wounds, and disorders of both men and women.⁵² Several *typika* mention springs and aqueducts, and the provision of an adequate supply of water was considered a notable benefaction to a monastery. Water was needed not only for drinking and cooking but also for bathing, which is the subject of various provisions in the *typika*.⁵³ In (30) *Phoberos*, for instance, bathing was allowed only for the sick [46], and in (45) *Neophytos* for the sick and aged [C9], whereas in (31) *Areia* it was allowed once a week [T3], and in other monasteries between three and twelve times a year, sometimes in bathing establishments outside the monastery, for which the monks were given special allowances. Careful control was exercised over other aspects of bodily care, such as bleeding and hair cutting, which in (34) *Machairas* could be done only with permission and a blessing [133]. Shaving, on the other hand, was of less concern to the bearded monks in the East than to western monks, who were expected to cut their beards, though not too closely or too often, and whose shaving was the subject of legislation in many monasteries.⁵⁴

Greater attention was paid to diet in the *typika* than in comparable western documents, and especially to the precise amounts and types of food to be eaten at different times during the liturgical year.⁵⁵ Some of the dietary restrictions were very strict and included prohibitions against eating even eggs and cheese, but small additional allowances, resembling pittance in western monasteries, were often given in memory of a benefactor. Dembinska in her article on food consumption in eastern and western monasteries concluded, “The basic foodstuffs mentioned in the rules of the period under research were almost identical in Byzantium and in Western Europe,” but the daily per capita ration was at least a third greater in caloric weight and value in western monasteries in the ninth century than in eastern monasteries in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This was the result not only of the more severe regime in the East but also, she proposed, of climatic differences and perhaps of a decrease in agricultural production in Byzantium.⁵⁶ In (32) *Mamas*, dietary concessions were made for those who participated in the liturgy [18], and a concern for physical health was shown in (22) *Evergetis*, which remarked on the ill-effects of drinking [App.], and (30) *Phoberos*, which said that moderate eating showed a care for bodily health [5].

⁵² See Schreiber, “Hospital,” pp. 3–80; Timothy Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (Baltimore, 1985); and Peregrine Horden, “Text and Context: The Pantokrator Hospital in Its Middle Byzantine Setting” (paper presented at the Nineteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Princeton, 5 November 1993).

⁵³ Apostolos Karpozilos, “Bath,” *ODB*, pp. 271–72. On monastic bathing in the West and the number of baths taken by monks, see Zimmermann, *Ordensleben*, esp. pp. 117–33.

⁵⁴ See the introduction to Burchard of Bellevaux, *Apologia de barbīs*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (= *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* 62) (Turnhout, 1985), pp. 114–30.

⁵⁵ See Appendix B on the dietary prescriptions of the *typika*.

⁵⁶ Dembinska, “Diet,” p. 453.

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The *typika* were generally less concerned with the intellectual than with the material aspects of monastic life, though there are some interesting lists of books in the inventories of individual houses.⁵⁷ Relatively little is said about literacy or reading, in contrast to the *Rule of Benedict*, in which monks were told to read on Sundays and to take a book from the library at the beginning of Lent and to read it through “in order in its entirety.”⁵⁸ Houses that followed the *Rule of Benedict* consequently had at least a few books, if not a library, and the monks were expected to be able to read, even though many of the *conversi*, who entered as adults, were in fact illiterate. The author of (30) *Phoberos*, which was based on (22) *Evergetis*, added that new monks should read and promise to obey “this rule” [51], but they may not all have been literate. The most interesting reference to literacy is in (54) *Neilos Damilas* of Crete, where reading aloud was said to be more important than psalmody [13], [20], but it is unknown how this was interpreted in practice.

IV

The *typika* include much material on the organization and administration of religious communities and reflect the writers’ desire for the independence of monasteries and fear of outside interference in monastic affairs. These concerns need to be seen against the background of the system of *charistike*, which was widespread in Byzantium in the tenth and eleventh centuries and by which monasteries were held in quasi-possession by institutions and private individuals, who often exploited them for their own advantage.⁵⁹ In theory, the grants were conditional, limited in time, and designed to benefit not only the *charistikarios* but also the monastery, and to keep its members from secular involvements. In practice, however, they opened the way to abuses, including lay control and loss of revenues. In some respects the *charistike* resembled the so-called proprietary churches and monasteries in the West, where both churchmen and secular rulers and nobles controlled religious institutions over which they had no legal rights and, as advocates, exercised jurisdiction over monastic lands, in principle in the name of the abbot but in fact in their own name and as a hereditary right.⁶⁰ The movements of monastic reform in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were directed against these types of control over monasteries and tried to define and limit the powers, respectively, of lay proprietors and advocates in the West and of *charistikarioi* in the East.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Nicolas Oikonomides, “Mount Athos: Levels of Literacy,” *DOP* 42 (1988), 167–78, estimated the levels of literacy among monks on Mt. Athos on the basis of subscriptions to documents.

⁵⁸ *Regula Benedicti*, 48, ed. Fry, p. 251. On this chapter, see Anscari Mundó, “‘Bibliotheca’: Bible et lecture du Carême d’après saint Benoît,” *Revue bénédictine* 60 (1950), 65–92.

⁵⁹ See Peter Charanis, “The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire,” *DOP* 4 (1948), 72–81; Lemerle, “Aspect,” who stressed as a general feature of Byzantine monasticism that monasteries were viewed as a source of private profit; and Hélène Ahrweiler, “Charisticariat et autres formes d’attribution de fondations pieuses aux X^e–XI^e siècles,” *Receuil des travaux de l’Institut d’études byzantines* 10 (1967), 1–27, and generally Mark Bartusis, “Charistikion,” *ODB*, p. 412.

⁶⁰ See the work of Felix Senn, *L’institution des avoueries ecclésiastiques en France* (Paris, 1903), and other references in my *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 105–6.

⁶¹ John Thomas, “The Rise of the Independent and Self-Governing Monasteries as Reflected in the Monastic Typika,” *GOTR* 30 (1985), 21–30.

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The reformers in the East, some of whom were themselves *charistikarioi*, sought to promote, in place of the *charistike*, the more limited system of *ephoreia*, which emphasized the protection and supervision of monasteries rather than their possession. According to (32) *Mamas*, the patriarchs had controlled the monastery in the past and had granted it “to various *charistikarioi*, the greatest number of whom used to abuse the monastery as landed property and to seek nothing else but what they were going to gain from it, and there was no concern for the monastery and its affairs.” When the *mystikos* George the Cappadocian held St. Mamas, however, he realized that it might again come under the control of a bad *charistikarios*, and therefore “sought to have the monastery made independent and released from the patriarchal rights” [First *Semeioma*]. In 1261–80 the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos wrote in (37) *Auxentios*,

one must hold tightly to freedom for the stability of the monastery and for its continued progress. Monasteries that are self-governing are more flourishing and self-sufficient than those that are subject to various individuals. For these enjoy what they possess without any diminution, whereas the others receive little or nothing of their revenues. All or most of their possessions are appropriated [by their lords] as if they were their own and they distribute them as their own property. [2]

It was not easy even for an emperor, however, to safeguard a monastery from outside interference, especially when it took the form of protection. After the flurry of reform in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the real independence of monasteries tended to diminish, and the *ephoroi*, like the advocates in the West, increasingly exercised a variety of powers in their own names.

One of the most important ways to secure the independence of a monastery was to free it from obligations and payments to external authorities.⁶² These were known as *exkousseia*; in the West they were called immunities when they involved the exclusion of royal officials from monastic lands and called exemptions when they applied to episcopal authority. (19) *Attaleiates* for the almshouse at Rhaidestos and the monastery of *Panoiktirmon* in Constantinople, which dates from 1077, included a privilege of emperor Michael VII Doukas exempting the monks from an elaborate list of obligations, including the billeting of officers and soldiers, various types of provisioning, forced sales and purchases, compulsory services, and any number of payments, levies, and taxes of which the precise nature is uncertain [INV10]. It is interesting to compare this list with that in the privilege granted the following year, in 1078, to the monastery of Leno in Lombardy by pope Gregory VII, who forbade any layperson to control the monastery or to hold a court without the abbot’s permission and who freed the monks from having to provide food, housing, or fodder for animals, pay moorage dues, or render any “other public obligation.”⁶³

The reformers in both the East and the West particularly wanted to prevent any outside control over the selection of monastic superiors, especially by a lay *charistikarios*, and advocated some type of internal selection. The authors of a few *typika* allowed the founder to appoint the superior, occasionally without the participation of the community, as in (60) *Charsianeites* [A5],

⁶² Charanis, “Monastic Properties,” pp. 64–65.

⁶³ Leo Santifaller, *Quellen und Forschungen zum Urkunden- und Kanzleiwesen Papst Gregors VII.: Quellen—Urkunden, Regesta, Facsimilia* (= ST 190) (Vatican City, 1957), pp. 167–70, no. 150.

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[C18], but they mostly favored election either by lot or by the community. In some houses, the principal role was played by the elder or more preeminent monks, as on Mt. Athos, where Manuel II Palaiologos, in (59) *Manuel II*, established in 1406 that superiors should be chosen by fifteen councillors and some monks who lived outside the monastery [3]. In most houses the superiors were elected either by all or a majority of the members of the community. In the case of disagreement, in (32) *Mamas* [1], the superior was chosen by lot, and in (37) *Auxentios*, the superior of the monastery of the archangel Michael was appointed by the emperor [3].

How a new superior took office was apparently of less concern to the writers of the *typika* than to western monastic reformers, for whom the question of investiture was at the heart of the eleventh-century reform movement. In the East, practice varied from house to house, and the terms *cheirotonia* (ordination), *sphragis* (blessing), and *procheirisis* (appointment) were used interchangeably in the *typika* to describe the installation of the superior and other monastic officials.⁶⁴ According to (27) *Kecharitomene*, the new superior took her pastoral staff from the altar [11], which corresponded to the procedure known in the West as auto- or self-investiture,⁶⁵ and in (58) *Menoikeion*, the bishop was explicitly forbidden to install the superior [3]. In (28) *Pantokrator* [25] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [33], the superiors were installed by the bishop or metropolitan, but took their staffs respectively from the icon of the *Pantokrator* and from the altar. In (31) *Areia*, though the *typikon* is not entirely clear, the bishop invested the first superior but was not involved in the election or investiture of subsequent superiors, who received the staff from the priest [M4], [M7], [M15], [T10].

The role of the bishop in the installation of the superior does not figure prominently in most of the *typika*. The patriarch or bishop was often simply said to bless the superior, and occasionally to grant the authority to hear confession, though a closer study of the precise wording in these and other sources might throw further light on the question. A provision for blessing by the patriarch was added to the section dealing with the selection of the superior in (30) *Phoberos* [35], which otherwise derived from (22) *Evergetis* [35], and the bishop was said to install and bless the superior after he was chosen by the monks in (34) *Machairas* [17], [140]. In (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, the patriarch both blessed and gave the staff to the superior [26], but there is no reference to either blessing or investiture in the *typikon* of a nearby monastery, (60) *Charsianeites*, though the superior visited the patriarch twice a year to show his orthodoxy [C12].

The authors of some *typika* even allowed lay investiture, which was anathema to reformers in the West. In (37) *Auxentios*, the superior was invested with rod and staff by the emperor (who also appointed him if there was disagreement within the community) and was blessed by the bishop, who was otherwise entitled only to liturgical commemoration and three small honoraria [2–3].

⁶⁴ See J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ὁφίκια de l'église byzantine* (Paris, 1970), p. 612, s.v. *sphragis*. *Cheirotonia* is used for the self-investiture of the superior in (22) *Evergetis* [13] and is translated as “installation” here and as “nomination” by P. Gautier, “Le typikon de la Théotokos Evergétis,” *REB* 40 (1982), 46. *Procheirisis* is used for the lay investiture in (19) *Panoiktirmon* [26] and for the installation of the superior by the bishop in (34) *Machairas* [17], where it is later described as *sphragis* [140].

⁶⁵ On auto-investiture at Cluny, see Dominique Iogna-Prat, “Coutumes et statuts clunisiens comme sources historiques (ca. 990–ca. 1200),” *Revue Mabillon*, n.s., 3 (1992), 39–43.

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The superior of the nunnery of Lips received the staff from the emperor and a box containing the *typikon*, (39) *Lips* [7], from the priest. According to (51) *Koutloumousi*, the *voivode* of Wallachia confirmed the superior of the monastery on Mt. Athos [A13], and in (58) *Menoikeion* the superior of the monastery of St. John the Forerunner received the staff from the emperor himself “if the chance arises” or by order of the emperor [22].

The superior, once installed, exercised a wide range of responsibilities. According to (37) *Auxentios*,

Governance is in fact a single thing but becomes many-sided because of the diversity among those governed. The person who assumes such office may have to take various titles to fit each situation. Sometimes he is addressed as father, at other times as superior, at times of course as shepherd, helmsman, guide, guardian, teacher, salt, lamp, and light. As a father he ought to suffer along with those who are weak. As a person in authority he ought to be a shield to those who are under attack. As a helmsman he ought to sail over the dangerous waves. As a shepherd he ought to settle his flock in verdant pastures and provide them with the waters of spiritual repose. As a guardian he ought to give timely warning to those he guards of the approach of something harmful. As a teacher he trains those whose understanding is like that of children. As salt he seasons what is lacking in spiritual flavor with virtues, or he causes what is frivolous and starting to decay to tighten up. As a lamp and a light he shows his flock the unencumbered path of virtue. [4]

This passage deals primarily with the internal, pastoral duties of superiors, but they also exercised authority over people and lands outside the monastery. Isaac Komnenos, in (29) *Kosmosoteira*, referred to the superior’s jurisdiction over arsonists and to his responsibility for the behavior of the peasants, who were not allowed to eat eggs, cheese, or meat on Wednesdays or Fridays [98], [104].

The superiors were expected to rule in consultation with the members of the community, as in the *Rule of Benedict*, or at least with the officials and *seniores*, but in practice they often behaved autocratically. In (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, the superior of the nunnery was to rule in a manly way [27], according to the *typikon* written by Theodora Synadene in 1327–35. As time went on, monastic administration tended to concentrate increasingly in the hands of the superior, over whom the only real control seems to have been the threat of deposition, to which there are many references in the *typika*.

The superior was assisted in administering the monastery by a variety of officials and by a group of preeminent, leading, or senior members of the community, who are described in (24) *Christodoulos* as “more prominent” [A20] and in (55) *Athanasios I* as “more pious” [5] and who presumably corresponded to the somewhat shadowy category of *seniores* found in western monastic sources.⁶⁶ The officials were sometimes themselves the preeminent members, but the exact relation between the two groups, and how they were chosen, is unclear. In (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, the officials were elected by the nuns, not appointed by the superior, but the *ecclesiarchissa* was

⁶⁶ See my “*Seniores et pueri à Cluny aux X^e, XI^e siècles*,” in *Histoire et société: Mélanges offerts à Georges Duby*, vol. 3 (Aix-en-Provence, 1992), pp. 17–24.

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chosen by the superior and nuns [50], [73–74]. (13) *Ath. Typikon* [52] for the Great Lavra and (28) *Pantokrator* [9] specified that the steward might not be a priest, perhaps because the secular responsibilities of the steward were considered incompatible with the sacerdotal dignity.

The basic unit of administration was the monastic community, of which the members lived a common life together, and the authors of the *typika* for the most part favored cenobitical over eremitical forms of life. In (32) *Mamas*, cenobitism was equated with solitude in the sense that it was cut off from the world, and all forms of non-cenobital monasticism were forbidden [25–26].⁶⁷ Solitude led to disobedience, according to (13) *Ath. Typikon* [40]; the superiority of common life to solitude was stressed in (35) *Skoteine* [13]; and the general *typikon* for the monasteries on Mt. Athos, (59) *Manuel II*, said that monks who wanted to have their own property sometimes used the desire for solitude as a pretext [1]. Hermits were also accused of disobedience, willfulness, and acquisitiveness in many western monastic texts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and most of the contemporary reformers in the West favored community life for monks and nuns.

The clear preference for cenobitism expressed in the *typika* is important in view of the emphasis put by some scholars on eremitism, and its combination with cenobitism, in Byzantine monasticism. The opinion of Delehaye that “the mixture of the cenobitic and eremitic lives was one of the most characteristic particularities of eastern monasteries” was cited with approval by Papachryssanthou, who argued, largely on the basis of hagiographical sources, that the interpenetration of cenobitism and anchoritism was peculiar to Byzantine monasticism and left little room for the traditional type of lavra, which usually referred in Byzantine texts to a *koinobium* that had either anchoritic cells within the community or associated anchorites living in detached cells.⁶⁸ These practices were not distinctively eastern, however, and recent research has shown that hermits were often associated with cenobitic monasteries in the West.⁶⁹ At Cluny, for instance, some four hundred monks were said to live in the surrounding woods during the first half of the twelfth century, and they were occasionally joined for temporary retreats not only by members of the community but also by the abbot himself.⁷⁰ Prieories often served as permanent or temporary eremitical retreats for monks who needed a period of solitude and private devotions.⁷¹

⁶⁷ See also (58) *Menoikeion* [11].

⁶⁸ Hippolyte Delehaye, “La vie de saint Paul le Jeune († 955) et la chronologie de Métaphraste” (1893), in his *Mélanges d’hagiographie grecque et latine* (= Subsidia Hagiographica 42) (Brussels, 1966), p. 97, and Denise Papachryssanthou, “La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines du VIII^e au XI^e siècle: Ermitages, groupes, communautés,” *Byzantion* 43 (1973), 169–75; cf. Mahfoud, *Organisation*, pp. 53–54 and 126 on monasticism in Egypt, Syria, and the Holy Land.

⁶⁹ See my “Eremitical Forms of Monastic Life,” in *Istituzioni monastiche e istituzioni canonicali in Occidente (1123–1215). Atti della settima Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 28 agosto–3 settembre 1977* (= Pubblicazioni dell’Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali 9) (Milan, 1980), pp. 239–64.

⁷⁰ See the chronicle of Cluny in *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, ed. Martin Marrier and André Duchesne (Paris, 1614), col. 600BC, and Jean Leclercq, “Pierre le Vénérable et l’érémisme clunisien,” in *Petrus Venerabilis, 1156–1956: Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of His Death*, ed. Giles Constable and James Kritzeck (= Studia Anselmiana 40) (Rome, 1956), pp. 99–120.

⁷¹ Jacques Dubois, “La vie des moines dans les prieurés du moyen âge,” *Lettre de Ligugé* 133 (1969.1), 10–33.

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Not all the monks were cenobites, however, either in practice or in principle, and there are many references in the *typika* to solitaries, who were called *kelliotai* or *hesychastai*—which derived from the term for prayer or contemplation—and who lived in cells or caves outside a monastery but remained members of the community and also to monks who owned property and lived by themselves within a community and whose way of life was known as idiorhythmic, or self-regulating. The solitaries mentioned in the *typikon* of Christodoulos of Patmos in 1091–3, (24) *Christodoulos* [A24], and in (34) *Machairas* [152] in 1210 returned to the monastery on Saturdays and Sundays and were given provisions there, and in (42) *Sabas* [3], [7] the community in the early twelfth century included both monks who lived together in the *lavra* and *hesychastai*, who apparently participated in the vigils but not in the liturgical commemoration.

In the late Middle Ages the opposition to non-cenobitic forms of life seems to have weakened, and there was a growing acceptance of the coexistence of community and solitary life, as seen in (37) *Auxentios*, where cells were set aside for solitaries [11], and in (45) *Neophytos* for Ktima, which started as a hermitage and where the superior was known as “the recluse [*enkleistos*]” [14].⁷² In (60) *Charsianeites* the different forms of monasticism are compared to the many mansions in the house of God and it is said that the life of monks who lived with others but by themselves was between the cenobitic and communal life, on one hand, and the solitary and reclusive life, which is called angelic, on the other [B2]. A *kelliotas*, it said, was “a monk in his habit, but has chosen an idiorhythmic regime and to live by himself as he wishes” [B18]. The solitary and idiorhythmic forms of life overlapped, as the passage cited above from the general *typikon* of Mt. Athos shows.

Although Byzantine monasteries remained in principle opposed to private property, personal poverty was not a rule, and exceptions were regularly made, especially for monks and nuns who came from powerful and wealthy families and who, by the standards of the time, could not be expected to live a common life with other members of a community.⁷³ The superiors of monasteries were allowed to have private property by John Tzimiskes in his *typikon* for Mt. Athos in 971–2, (12) *Tzimiskes* [6–7]; in (19) *Attaleiates*, the eunuch monks at the *Panoiktirmon* monastery in Constantinople had servants to whom pensions were given after their masters died [42]; and in (23) *Pakourianos* [4], for the monastery at Bačkovo, and in (28) *Pantokrator* [17], concessions were made for monks who were accustomed to luxurious ways. In (24) *Christodoulos*, personal servants at Patmos were required to be bearded before they could sit at table or drink wine [C4]. In some houses the members received cash allowances to cover such expenses as clothes, which might otherwise be a source of dispute, and bathing in establishments located outside the monastery, as in (19) *Attaleiates* [33], [35] and (32) *Mamas* [28]. In other houses, however, such as the monastery of the archangel Michael, (37) *Auxentios* [7], all food and clothing was distributed by

⁷² A. P. Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1985), p. 87, commented on the growing individualism in late Byzantine monasticism, which they contrasted with the “coherent communities bound by the strict discipline of the monastic orders” in the West.

⁷³ Emil Herman, “Die Regelung der Armut in den byzantinischen Klöstern,” *OCP* 7 (1941), esp. 419–21.

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the monastic officials. The *typikon* of Koutloumoussi on Mt. Athos, which dates from 1370–78, illustrates the problems that were created by the presence in a monastery of powerful men who expected special treatment. (59) *Manuel II* allowed the Athonite monks to keep a life interest in personal property [2], and a few monasteries on Mt. Athos have remained idiorhythmic down to the present time. Such arrangements were never sanctioned in the West, where personal poverty was always the rule, in spite of abuses, and where the lay servants, or *famuli*, customarily lived outside the monastic enclosure and worked for the community, not for individual members.⁷⁴

Mention has already been made of the internal and external monks and imposed guests who appear in the *typika* and who were clearly regarded as an abuse, though their precise status is unclear. Internal and external monks were distinguished in (28) *Pantokrator* [28], and Isaac Komnenos specified that his secretary should be treated as an internal monk in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [107]. *Kelliotai* and external monks were forbidden in (32) *Mamas* [26], of which the provisions, with the addition of imposed guests, were repeated in (58) *Menoikeion* [11]. These sources suggest that internal monks, who may have been monks assigned from other houses, lived in the monastery but did not participate in the common life, and that external monks lived outside at the expense of the monastery. Imposed guests were apparently appointed by the patron, but they may have included the political prisoners who were sometimes incarcerated in monasteries.

Some monks in the West also lived outside monasteries, either when they served parishes or administered monastic estates or as independent hermits or wandering monks, who were called *sarabaitae* and *gyrovagi* in the *Rule of Benedict*. They had no special name or status, however, when they belonged to a community and obeyed its superior. From the twelfth century on, there were also lay pensioners or corrodians who received material support from monasteries, and sometimes lived in them, usually in return for some sort of payment. Though disapproved of by reformers, corrodies were a recognized way for poor monasteries to acquire property and to use their underoccupied facilities.⁷⁵

The authors of the *typika* frequently refer to monastic possessions and finances, which were a subject of concern in both the East and the West.⁷⁶ Neophytos, in the early thirteenth century, was opposed to the acquisition of property by his hermitage in Cyprus, (45) *Neophytos* [10], and in 1261–80/81 Michael VIII Palaiologos mentioned the resentment at the wealth of monasteries in (37) *Auxentios* [9]. The security of monastic institutions was more often threatened by poverty than by wealth, however, and the authors of most *typika* sought to secure both an adequate endowment for their monasteries and, when possible, exemptions from taxes and other fiscal obligations. (60) *Charsianeites*, which dates from the early fifteenth century, was exceptional in its requirement that the monks “must pay the fisc its due . . . from the income of the monastic estates” [C8].

⁷⁴ Ursmer Berlière, *La familia dans les monastères bénédictins du moyen âge* (= Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires in-8° [ser. 2] 29.2) (Brussels, 1931).

⁷⁵ See Howard M. Stuchert, *Corrodies in the English Monasteries: A Study in English Social History of the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1923).

⁷⁶ Charanis, “Monastic Properties,” esp. pp. 56–59 and 82–87.

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There are some interesting references elsewhere in this *typikon* to taxes and tithes [A11] and in (34) *Machairas* to the tithing of male but not of female animals, “because of the wool and the cheese” [170]. Monastic estates were mostly run by dependencies and cultivated by dependent workers, for whose treatment Isaac Komnenos expressed a concern in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [71], [76]. Two other important sources of revenue for monasteries were gifts made at the time of entry, which were prohibited in some houses but welcomed by others, and grants in return for liturgical commemoration and burial. A few houses required rich candidates to dispose of their property before joining the community. Practice with regard to payment for entry into monasteries also varied in the West, where compulsory payments were considered simoniacal, but voluntary offerings were commonly accepted.⁷⁷

After the expenses of the community itself, philanthropic and eleemosynary activities were the most important drain on monastic revenues, though the *typika* give no indication of the proportion of monastic income they absorbed. Almost all houses distributed alms to the poor and to travelers at the gate (*pyle* or *porta*) and provided food and lodging in the *xenodocheion*, or guesthouse, and many of them assisted orphans, prisoners, and women who lacked the wherewithal for dowries. The hospital associated with the *Pantokrator* in Constantinople was unique, but many houses supported hospices, old age homes, and hospitals, and also bridges, which were considered a worthy object of charity and were mentioned in several *typika*, including (29) *Kosmosoteira* [67]. In (23) *Pakourianos* [29], the monastic hostel at Bačkovo was cared for by peasants who held responsible positions and who in some respects resembled the officeholders or *ministeriales* who performed comparable duties for monasteries in the West.

The protection of monastic property often presented a greater problem than its acquisition, and the rising concern in the eleventh and twelfth centuries over the alienation of consecrated property paralleled the efforts of the reformers in the West to recover ecclesiastical revenues and possessions from lay owners and to prevent further alienation to either secular or ecclesiastical authorities. Even the greatest houses, and those with the most comprehensive privileges, were liable to oppression and invasion by nobles and churchmen, including the emperor and the patriarch, and their founders tried to find the proper balance between protection and control. The ideal was a powerful but distant protector—strong enough to repel invaders but sufficiently removed not to be an oppressor himself—like the so-called umbrella-advocacy exercised by the western emperor over Cistercian abbeys in the Holy Roman Empire or the regional protectorates established by great prelates such as the archbishops of Mainz and Cologne.

The bishops were more often presented in the *typika* as a source of difficulty than of protection. Very few mentioned decrees such as the fourth canon of the Council of Chalcedon, which granted the bishops authority over the monks in every town and region, and many of them either failed to refer to the bishop at all or asserted that their monasteries were independent and exempt from the bishop. In (23) *Pakourianos* he was excluded from the liturgical services at Bačkovo [3], and at the monastery of St. Demetrios-Kellibara at Constantinople, according to the *typikon* is-

⁷⁷ Joseph H. Lynch, *Simoniacal Entry into Religious Life from 1000 to 1260: A Social, Economic, and Legal Study* (Columbus, Ohio, 1976).

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sued by Michael Palaiologos in 1282, (38) *Kellibara I*, the patriarch himself was entitled only to liturgical commemoration [15]. Episcopal rights were explicitly rejected at the monastery at Ematha, (36) *Blemmydes*, where no outsider was allowed to investigate or correct any spiritual failings [1]. This is not to say that bishops were systematically excluded from all monasteries. Their role in confirming and blessing and occasionally in choosing new monastic superiors and in granting the power to hear confessions has already been discussed, and their supervisory powers were recognized in a few houses, as in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [41]. In (31) *Areia*, which bishop Leo of Nauplia wrote in 1143–49, the bishop had no authority over the monastery but could investigate spiritual faults [M11], and in (35) *Skoteine* any misunderstandings were laid first before outside spiritual fathers, perhaps local superiors, and then before the bishop [16]. The patriarch of Constantinople was recognized as the protector of the monastery in (37) *Auxentios* [16] and had the power of spiritual correction over the nuns in (39) *Lips* [1].

The authors of the *typika* were more likely to look for protection to secular than to ecclesiastical authorities. Mindful of the dangers of *charistikarioi*, they turned to the more restricted type of protector known as an *ephoros* or *prostates*, who was often a ruler, a member of the founding family, or a great noble, as in (49) *Geromeri* [15]. Local magnates were also sometimes used, and Isaac Komnenos, in (29) *Kosmosoteira*, expected the military men in nearby villages and the *vestiaritai*, or imperial bodyguards, to defend the monastery [110], [112]. Some *ephoroi* acted not only as protectors in external affairs, but also as internal administrators, like commendatory abbots in the West. At the monastery of St. John the Forerunner, (58) *Menoikeion* stated that the *ephoros* worked with the superior and monastic officials on both the spiritual and the material affairs of the community [21–22]. Such a position resembled that of the western advocates, who exercised jurisdiction in the name of the monastery and were often chosen from within the family of the founder. The rewards of the *ephoros* were in principle spiritual. They were defined in (50) *Gerasimos* as the remission of sins, the health of the soul and body, and a good reputation [A4], [B5]. In practice, however, they often took a more concrete form. There was a balance in medieval monasteries between the need for protection and the desire for independence. Just as the advocates in the West inherited some aspects of lay proprietorship, the *ephoroi* exercised some of the same powers as the *charistikarioi*, but as time went on, their authority was effectively limited.

When all forms of human protection failed, religious communities sought supernatural assistance, both from God and from the saints, whose role as protectors was less prominent in the *typika* than in hagiographical texts, but who are mentioned several times, as in (38) *Kellibara I*, where the emperor is called upon to guard the monastery in such a way as to have “the great athlete of Christ, Demetrios, as his legate and intermediary” [16]. Even when they were not specifically invoked, the saints were ever present in the monasteries. The images of saints appeared to be alive at Bera, according to (29) *Kosmosoteira* [9]; the patron saint—“our fervent patron and helper”—was personally present in (32) *Mamas* [4], [9], [22], [46]; and in (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, the saints were “living images” and “efficacious and inspiring figures” whose lives were models for the nuns to follow [30]. The close relation between nature and supernature was characteristic of religious life in both the East and the West and is a reminder that the monks and nuns lived in the company of supernatural powers and the expectation of eternal salvation. Although the *typika*

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published in these volumes are primarily concerned with the outer forms of monastic life, they were written not only for institutions but also for the men and women who sought to lead a Christian life in religious communities, and they reflect the changing aspirations and objectives of monks and nuns and of their patrons throughout the course of the Middle Ages.

Giles Constable

Acknowledgments

The idea of producing a corpus of English language translations of the Byzantine monastic foundation documents was Giles Constable's, which he proposed to me as my first assignment in the spring of 1981 when I was a research associate and he the director of Dumbarton Oaks. Together he and I developed the scope of the project which governed it to its conclusion, a comprehensive series of authoritative translations of all the documents that fit the criterion of being founders' rules for medieval Byzantine monasteries.

Like most projects of this scope, the Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents Project was brought to completion with generous help from several institutions and many individuals over the last fifteen years. Foremost among the latter has been Dr. Constable, not only for the initial idea that led to the project but also for the crucial and generous support he lent to it in its early years, including the financing — through the director's discretionary fund — of two conferences of the project's participants that met at Dumbarton Oaks in November 1982 and in March 1984. Even after his departure from Dumbarton Oaks in 1985, he remained a supporter of the project through its many trials and tribulations.

As the dimensions of our project became evident, Giles Constable and I decided to seek outside support. I wrote a proposal for funding by the National Endowment for the Humanities, which in March 1982 awarded Dumbarton Oaks a small grant for \$32,000, mostly to pay for modest honoraria for the translators we proposed to hire for the project. Giles Constable and I served as principal investigators under the grant during this phase of the project. On the recommendation of Susan Mango, the NEH program officer for the grant, we sought a Greek editor for the project, and Angela Hero of Queens College, New York, agreed to join us in this capacity. Over the course of the next eight years her role in the project was to grow so significantly that she would justly come to merit the co-authorship that this completed work accords her. Her services to the project have been many, but her meticulous proofing and editing of the translations — she has read every word of the Greek texts — was the indispensable service without which the project could not have been accomplished.

Next, I began the recruitment of translators. We quickly discovered that the universe of those both willing and able to handle the translation assignments was quite small, even after we decided to cast our nets more broadly and seek translators from abroad. Determined not to compromise quality, we found it necessary to delay placing some major assignments until suitable translators were located.

Early on in the project, we became aware of a parallel effort being undertaken by Robert Jordan of Methodist College, Belfast. He had already virtually completed a fine English translation of the *typikon* of Pakourianos, and was aiming to start on other *typika* of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Appraised of our effort at Dumbarton Oaks and of our hopes for obtaining funding from the NEH, Robert Jordan graciously agreed to merge his project with our own.

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After the end of my appointment at Dumbarton Oaks in 1984, I was able to obtain an additional source of funding for the project through a fellowship for the 1984–85 academic year at the National Humanities Center in Research Triangle Park, North Carolina. While the translation and proofing of the documents progressed, I computerized the project, assembled the secondary literature needed for the commentaries, and drafted introductions to the documents. After the conclusion of this fellowship, I received additional funding for the project through the Citadel Development Fund of the Military College of South Carolina, where I taught from 1985 through 1986.

The NEH grant and through it all financial support from Dumbarton Oaks ceased in January 1986. For the next four years while the last translations were completed (*gratis* — since it was no longer possible to pay honoraria), Angela Hero and I supported the project on our own private resources. At that stage Angela willingly took on additional management responsibilities and became the project's co-director. The last translation was finished in the summer of 1990, completing our collection after some eight years of work.

A Dumbarton Oaks fellowship for the academic year 1990–91 was a most welcome support for the project as it entered the final stages of editing, since I had no academic position to facilitate my work. This fellowship enabled me to complete the word processing of the translations, the corpus of which had by then become quite formidable, and most important of all, provided me with an opportunity to read them at leisure so I could lay the necessary groundwork for the planned commentary.

Whatever Angela Hero and I have been able to contribute to this project, its heart and soul was made up of translations contributed by our 14 able and dedicated translators. A word about each of their contributions, therefore, does not seem out of place here.

Alice-Mary Talbot gladly took on the most substantial share of the assignments and completed them sooner than anyone else. George Dennis volunteered for scarcely less in the way of assignments, completed them promptly, and then served as a resource for other translators and myself during the balance of the project. Robert Jordan not only agreed to merge his project with our own, as mentioned above, but then completed very elegantly phrased translations of some of the longest and most important documents. Nancy Ševčenko volunteered to translate one of the most difficult documents, the *typikon* of Kosmosoteira. Timothy Miller was not only among our initial group of translators but also several times later on in the project saved the editors grief by agreeing to translate documents that had somehow been overlooked in the first assignments. Anastasius Bandy generously took on the translation of several very long documents mid-way through the project when no one else from our team was available to do the work.

These dedicated six scholars formed the core of our original translation team. Yet the corpus would not have been complete without able and timely assistance from eight other translators. Gianfranco Fiaccadori, who applied his prodigious linguistic skills to the translation of four short but troublesome texts, including one in Old Church Slavonic. He referred me to Ilija Iliev, a fellow at Dumbarton Oaks during the 1984–85 academic year, who volunteered to translate the other Slavonic text, the *Testament* of John of Rila. Drawing on her particular area of expertise in the Cypriot church, Catia Galatariotou provided us with a translation of the *typikon* of Neophytos. Stephen Reinert contributed fine translations of some small but important texts. Early on in the

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project, Patricia Karlin-Hayter contributed fine translations of some especially difficult texts. Fr. Joseph Munitiz extended a much appreciated courtesy to the project by allowing us to include his translation of the *typikon* of Nikephoros Blemmydes, which he was preparing along with an edition for separate publication. Robert Allison enabled us to include a translation of the virtually unknown *taktikon* of Nikon of the Black Mountain by offering to translate this huge text gratis, long after our funds from the NEH to pay honoraria were gone. Towards the end of the translation phase of the project, Leslie S. B. MacCoull agreed to contribute a fresh translation of the *Testament* of Apa Abraham so that we would not have to rely on an obscure nineteenth-century English translation.

I could not have asked for a more supportive, diligent or technically proficient collaborator than Angela Hero. She and I brought the manuscript into its final form during 1992–93, during which time I held an NEH Fellowship for Independent Scholars. This fellowship provided essential concluding support for the project, without which it could not have been finished on a timely basis. With some few exceptions, the conclusion of this fellowship at the beginning of 1993 also effectively marks the end of our attempt to stay abreast of the literature.

In the course of her editorship of the translations, Angela Hero benefited in particular from the exemplary edition, translation and annotation of five of the most important *typika* by the late Father Paul Gautier. The pioneering studies of Phaidon Koukoules on everyday life in Byzantium also facilitated the understanding of texts so rich in *realia* and variety of language and style as our documents. For the preparation of the glossary, the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, edited by Timothy Gregory, Alexander Kazhdan, Alice-Mary Talbot, Anthony Cutler, and Nancy Ševčenko, proved an invaluable tool.

Professor George Majeska deserves our thanks for taking on the difficult task of reviewing the translations of those documents based in whole or part on Old Church Slavonic originals. A special word of appreciation is also due to Professor Nicolas Oikonomides for his expert advice regarding certain obscure fiscal terms. Warm thanks are also extended to Lee Sherry and Alexander Alexakis of Dumbarton Oaks for identifying several patristic quotations in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.

Dr. Johannes Koder of the University of Vienna assisted the project by kindly supplying me in 1988 with an advance copy of his forthcoming article on the fragmentary *typikon* of Mount Tmolos, which enabled me to prepare a English translation for the document and include it in our collection. Dr. Albert Failler, director of the *Revue des études byzantines*, permitted us to reproduce an earlier English translation by Joseph Munitiz of the *typikon* of Nikephoros Blemmydes.

I would like to thank Nicholas Caparrotta for offering a base for work in Hingham, Massachusetts, during the summers of 1985 and 1986, and also for providing safe storage for the project's voluminous files for nearly eight years. Martin Green provided encouragement and another base for work in Washington, D.C., on several occasions during the late 1980s. Finally, the late Jimmy Diaz, of San Jose, California, unstintingly gave me his personal and material support during all the years I was privileged to know him.

Last but not least, I should like to acknowledge the painstaking work of the Publications Office at Dumbarton Oaks in seeing these volumes through copy editing and into press. I am particularly grateful to Glenn Ruby, publishing manager, and to Robin Surratt, senior editor, and Olga Grushin, assistant editor, for their meticulous oversight of an unusually intricate and massive publication.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Some of the greatest names in Byzantine scholarship, starting with Leo Allatius and Bernard de Montfaucon in the seventeenth century and down to Paul Gautier in our own times have done wonderful work on some of the documents that make up this collection; the reward for our labors has been the opportunity to be perhaps the first individuals to read through all of those included in our collection from beginning to end. This has enabled us to see the whole sweep of the history of medieval Byzantine monasticism unfold before us. It has been quite an experience, well worth all the work, and we now offer this collection to our readers, confident that they will share in our reward.

John Thomas
San Francisco, California
December 1996

Abbreviations

The following is a list of all abbreviations employed in the notes and bibliographies to refer to journals, original sources, and collections of sources. The list also includes a small number of the most common secondary sources referred to in the notes by acronyms or shortened titles.

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana</i> (Brussels, 1643–1770, 1894– ; Paris and Rome, 1866, 1887)
AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
AHDO	<i>Archives d'histoire du droit oriental</i>
AKKR	<i>Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht</i>
APAW	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
ASCL	<i>Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania</i>
ASI	<i>Archivio storico italiano</i>
ASS	<i>Archivio storico siciliano</i>
BBAO	<i>Bulletin of the British Association of Orientalists</i>
BBBS	<i>Bulletin of British Byzantine Studies</i>
BBGG	<i>Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
Beck, KTL	Hans-Georg Beck, <i>Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich</i> (Munich, 1959)
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BHO	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
BISIAM	<i>Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano</i>
BM	<i>Benediktinische Monatschrift</i>
B&MGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
Bompaire, "Catalogues"	Jacques Bompaire, "Les catalogues de livres-manuscripts d'époque byzantine (XI ^e –XV ^e s.)," in <i>Byzance et les Slaves, Études de civilisation: Mélanges Ivan Dujčev</i> (Paris, 1979), pp. 59–81
BNJ	<i>Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
BSAC	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte</i>
BSC	<i>Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers</i>
BS/EB	<i>Byzantine Studies/Études byzantines</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

- CA *Cahiers archéologiques*
- CCM *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*
- CH *Church History*
- Chalandon, Alexis I^{er}
 Ferdinand Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène* (Paris, 1900)
- Chalandon, Jean II et Manuel I
 Ferdinand Chalandon, *Jean II Comnène (1118–1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143–1180)* (Paris, 1912)
- CIG *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. A. Boeckh et al. (Berlin, 1825–77)
- CRAI *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
- CSCO *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Paris, Louvain, 1903–)
- CSHB *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*
- CTh *Codex Theodosianus*, ed. Theodor Mommsen et al. (Berlin, 1905)
-
- DACL *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq (Paris, 1907–53)
- Darrouzès, Οφφίκια
 Jean Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ὀφφίκια de l'église byzantine* (Paris, 1970)
- Darrouzès, Regestes
 Jean Darrouzès, *Les regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1, fasc. 5: *Les regestes de 1310 à 1376* (Paris, 1977); fasc. 6: *Les Regestes de 1377 à 1410* (Paris, 1979)
- DDC *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, ed. R. Naz (Paris, 1935–)
- Delehayé, Deux typica
 Hippolyte Delehayé, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921)
- Demetrakos, Lexikon
 D. Demetrakos, *Mega Lexikon tes Hellenikes Glosses*, 9 vols. (Athens, 1949–50)
- DHGE *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, ed. A. Baudrillart et al. (Paris, 1912–)
- Dmitrievsky, Opisanie
 Aleksii Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rykopisei*, 3 vols. (Kiev, 1895–1901; Petrograd, 1917)
- Dölger, Regesten
 Franz Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, 5 vols. (Munich-Berlin, 1924–65)
- Dölger, Schatzkammer
 Franz Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges* (Munich, 1948)
- DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
- DS *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, ed. M. Viller (Paris, 1932–)
- DTC *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, ed. A. Vacant et al. (Paris, 1935–72)

ABBREVIATIONS

- EA* *Ekklesiastike Aletheia*
EB *Études byzantines*
EEBS *Epeteris Etaireias Byzantinon Spoudon*
EKEE *Epeteris tou Kentrou Epistemonikon Ereunon*
EL *Ephemerides Liturgicae*
EO *Echos d' Orient*
EP *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*
EphL *Ephemerides liturgicae*
- FM* *Fontes Minores*
- GOTR* *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
GRBS *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
 Grumel, *Regestes*
 Venance Grumel, *Les registes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1, fasc. 1: *Les registes de 381 à 715* (Chalcedon, 1932); 2nd ed. (Paris, 1972)
- GSKA* *Glas Srbske Kraljevske Akademije*
- Halkin, *BHG*
 François Halkin, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, 3rd ed. (Brussels, 1957)
- HUS* *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*
HZ *Hilendarski Zbornik*
- IBID* *Izvestiya na Bulgarskoto Istorichsko Druzhestvo*
ICS *Illinois Classical Studies*
IF *Indogermanische Forschungen*
IRAIK *Izvestiia Russkago Archeologicheskago Instituta v Konstantinople*
- Janin, *Géographie*
 Raymond Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, vol. 2: *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris, 1975); vol. 3: *Les églises et les monastères [de Constantinople]*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1969)
- JDAI, Kairo*
 Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
- JEH* *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JGR K. E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Jus graeco-romanum*, 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1856–84)
JÖB *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JÖBG *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*
JSAH *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*
JWCI *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*

ABBREVIATIONS

- KC* *Kretika Chronika*
- Koukoules, *BBP*
Phaidon Koukoules, *Byzantinon bios kai politismos*, 6 vols. (Athens, 1948–57)
- Krautheimer, *Byzantine Architecture*
Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th ed., rev. Slobodan Ćurčić (Harmondsworth, 1986)
- Kriaras, *Lexiko*
Emmanuel Kriaras, *Lexiko tes mesaionikes ellenikes demodous grammateias*, 12 vols. (Thessaloniki, 1969–)
- KRU* W. E. Crum and G. Steindorff, *Koptische Rechtsurkunden des achten Jahrhunderts aus Djême (Theben)* (Leipzig, 1912; repr. Leipzig, 1971)
- KS* *Kypriakai Spoudai*
- Lampe, *PGL*
G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961)
- Laurent, *Regestes*
Vitalien Laurent, *Les registes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1, fasc. 4: *Les registes de 1208 à 1309* (Paris, 1971)
- Lefort et al., *Iviron*
Jacques Lefort, Nicolas Oikonomides, and Denise Papachryssanthou, *Actes d'Iviron*, pt. 1: *Des origines au milieu du XI^e siècle* (= Archives de l'Athos 14) (Paris, 1985)
- Lemerle et al., *Actes de Saint-Pantéléèmon*
Paul Lemerle, Gilbert Dagron, and Sima Cirković, *Actes de Saint-Pantéléèmon* (= Archives de l'Athos 12) (Paris, 1982)
- Lemerle, *Cinq études*
Paul Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977)
- Lemerle, *Lavra*
Paul Lemerle, André Guillou, Nicolas Svoronos, and Denise Papachryssanthou, *Actes de Lavra*, pt. 1: *Des origines à 1204* (= Archives de l'Athos 5) (Paris, 1970); pt. 3: *De 1329 à 1500* (= Archives de l'Athos 10) (Paris, 1979); pt. 4: *Études historique–Actes serbes–compléments et Index* (= Archives de l'Athos 11) (Paris, 1982)
- MAH* *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*
- Majeska, *Russian Travelers*
George Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1984)
- Maspero, *P. Cairo Masp.*
Jean Maspero, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine*, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1911–16)

ABBREVIATIONS

- Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*
 Thomas Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey*
 (University Park, Pa., 1976)
- MDAI Athens*
Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
- MDAI Kairo*
Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
- Meyer, *Haupturkunden*
 Ph. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Leipzig,
 1894)
- M&H* *Medievalia et Humanistica*
- MM* F. Miklosich and F. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*,
 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860–90)
- Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*
 Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen,
 1977)
- NCE* *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15 vols. (New York, 1967)
- NH* *Neos Hellenomnemon*
- NJ* Justinian, *Novellae*, ed. R. Schoell and W. Kroll, *Corpus juris civilis*, vol. 3,
 5th ed. (Berlin, 1928)
- NPB* Angelo Mai and J. Cozza-Luzi, *Nova patrum bibliotheca*, 10 vols. (Rome,
 1852–1905)
- OC* *Orientalia Christiana*
- OCA* *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
- OCP* *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
- ODB* Alexander Kazhdan, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. (New York–
 Oxford, 1991)
- Oeconomus, *Vie religieuse*
 Lysimaque Oeconomus, *La vie religieuse dans l'Empire byzantin au temps des*
Comnènes et des Anges (Paris, 1918)
- OL* *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
- OS* *Ostkirchliche Studien*
- P. Lond.* F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, 7 vols.
 (London, 1893–1974)
- Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*
 Denise Papachryssanthou, *Actes du Prôtaton* (= Archives de l'Athos 7) (Paris,
 1975)
- PG* J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina*, 161 vols. (Paris,
 1857–66)

ABBREVIATIONS

- POC* *Proche-Orient chrétien*
- RAC* *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. T. Klauser (Stuttgart, 1950–)
- RAM* *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*
- RDC* *Revue de droit canonique*
- REB* *Revue des études byzantines*
- REG* *Revue des études grecques*
- RESE* *Revue des études sud-est européennes*
- RHE* *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
- RHPR* *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*
- RHR* *Revue de l'histoire des religions*
- RIDA* *Revue internationale des droits de l'Antiquité*
- ROC* *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*
- R&P* G. A. Rhalles and M. Potles, *Syntagma ton theion kai hieron kanonon*, 6 vols. (Athens, 1852–59; repr. 1966)
- RQ* *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und [für] Kirchengeschichte*
- RQH* *Revue des questions historiques*
- RSCI* *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia*
- Sathas, *MB* Konstantinos N. Sathas, *Mesaionike Bibliothekē*, 7 vols. (Venice-Paris, 1872–94)
- SBAW* *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
- SBN* *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*
- SC* *Sources chrétiennes*
- SCH* *Studies in Church History*
- SE* *Sacris Erudiri*
- SF* *Südost-Forschungen*
- SM* *Studi meridionali*
- ST* *Studi e Testi*
- TEE* *Threskeutike kai Ethike Engkyklopaideia*, 12 vols. (Athens, 1962–68)
- TKDA* *Trudy kievskoi duchovnoi Akademii*
- T&M* *Travaux et mémoires*
- T&U* *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1882–)
- Trapp, *PLP* Erich Trapp, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (Vienna, 1976–)
- Tsiknopoullos, *Kypriaka Typika*
Ioannes Tsiknopoullos, *Kypriaka Typika* (Nicosia, 1969)
- Turyn, *Manuscripts*
Alexander Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts in the Libraries of Great Britain* (Washington, D.C., 1980)

ABBREVIATIONS

Twilight of Byzantium

Twilight of Byzantium: Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire, ed. Slobodan Ćurčić and Doula Mouriki (Princeton, 1991)

Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*

A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture* (London, 1912)

Varzos, *Geneologia*

Konstantinos Varzos, *He genealogia ton Komnenon*, 2 vols. (Thessaloniki, 1984)

Volk, *Gesundheitswesen*

Robert Volk, *Gesundheitswesen und Wohltätigkeit im Spiegel der byzantinischen Klostertypika* (Munich, 1983)

Volk, “Klosterbibliotheken”

Otto Volk, “Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken von Konstantinopel, Thessalonike und Kleinasien” (Ph.D. diss., Munich, 1955)

VV *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*

ZAM *Zeitschrift für Askese und Mystik*

ZÄS *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*

Zepos, *Jus* J. and P. Zepos, *Jus graecoromanum*, 8 vols. (Athens, 1931; repr. Aalen, 1962)

ZKG *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*

ZKT *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*

ZMNP *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshchenija*

ZMR *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*

ZRVI *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*

ZSR k. a. *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtswissenschaft, Kanonistische Abteilung*

ZSR r. a. *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung*

The translation of scriptural passages follows the L. C. Brenton translation of the *Septuagint* (London, 1844) and the *Revised Standard Version of the New Testament* (New York, 1973). The rendering of names for lighting devices is based on L. Ph. Bouras, “Byzantine Lighting Devices,” *XVI Internationales byzantinistenkongress. Akten II/3, JÖB* 32–33 (1982), pp. 479–91.

Introduction

A. Purpose of the Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents Project

Although there have been a handful of valuable studies of the corpus of Byzantine monastic foundation documents, no one has ever attempted to assemble the documents themselves in a collection for study. This shortcoming has severely handicapped our ability to understand medieval Byzantine monasticism, for which these documents are unquestionably the most important historical texts. That being the case, it might seem that the obvious step to remedy this deficiency would be to produce a set of new critical editions with scholarly commentaries. The late Paul Gautier certainly made an impressive start on this worthy project by undertaking the publication of the *typika* of the Komnenian era, beginning with his edition of (28) *Pantokrator* in 1974. He completed editions with commentaries and French translations (all monuments of the most scrupulous scholarship) for five of these documents by the time of his death in 1985.¹

Our own project, though inspired by Gautier, has had a more modest scope, namely the production of accurate English translations, with commentaries and annotations, of all of the founders' documents drawn up for medieval Byzantine monasteries for which there were available texts in printed editions. Even though it was clear that—aside from those editions then being prepared by Gautier—a very strong case could be made for also producing a set of modern critical editions of all of the documents, Giles Constable advised against such an expansion of our undertaking. Since it has taken a decade just to produce and edit the translations, time has amply proven the wisdom of this restriction of scope.

Constable foresaw how immensely valuable even a collection of translations would be not only for Byzantine historians but also for western medievalists and all those interested in the history of Christianity. Our readers can now reap the rewards of his foresight. We can now learn a very great deal about Byzantine monasticism that might otherwise have had to be deferred for another generation. Yet it must be admitted that the production of a corpus of translations before a complete set of modern critical editions was available has made this present work extremely difficult and necessarily tentative.

B. Publication of the Texts and Definition of the Corpus

One fundamental problem resulting from our decision to produce a collection of translations ahead of a complete modern set of editions was that the content of the corpus of Byzantine monastic foundation documents had not yet been defined. The process of definition began as early as the seventeenth century, at which time Leo Allatius was aware of some of the texts which would come

¹ (28) *Pantokrator* (1974), (19) *Attaleiates* (1981), (22) *Evergetis* (1982), (23) *Pakourianos* (1984), and (27) *Kecharitomene* (1985).

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to make up the corpus.² The first editions began to be prepared, one of which in the imprint of J. J. Sirmond³ remains, remarkably enough, the only one in existence for its document and is used here as the basis for our translation of (3) *Theodore Studites*. The seventeenth century also saw Bernard de Montfaucon's first edition of (27) *Kecharitomene* in 1688.⁴

In the eighteenth century, the most important work was published in Italy, including J. Pasini's Turin edition of the *Memorandum* of (31) *Areia* in 1749, the monk Ephraim's Venetian editions of the *Rule* of (24) *Christodoulos* and (34) *Machairas* in 1756, and then first editions of (45) *Neophytos* by Archimandrite Kyprianos in 1779 and of (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* by Nicholas Glykys in 1780.⁵

Nothing more was accomplished until the middle of the nineteenth century, when certain of the documents that would eventually come to be recognized as part of our corpus were published in conjunction with other scholarly endeavors.⁶ In 1849, Cardinal Angelo Mai executed an edition of one of the two versions we now have of (4) *Stoudios* in the fifth volume of his *Nova patrum bibliotheca*. J. P. Migne began to bring out his still convenient *Patrologia Graeca* in 1857. Eventually this series would include reprints of existing editions of (3) *Theodore Studites*, Mai's version of (4) *Stoudios* [B] and of Montfaucon's (27) *Kecharitomene*. In 1859, C. W. Goodwin produced the first, and for a long time the only, English translation of one of the documents, (1) *Apa Abraham*. In 1861, Giuseppe Spata published the second and third versions of (25) *Fragala* in conjunction with his study of medieval Greek manuscripts in Palermo. In 1865, P. Aravantinos published the first edition of (49) *Geromeri* in the Greek provincial journal *Pandora*.

By 1858, the eminent canonist, Cardinal J. B. Pitra, then engaged in the publication of many of the sources of Greek canon law in his *Spicilegium Solesmense*, recognized the necessity of distinguishing between purely liturgical *typika* and the monastic (i.e., "founders") *typika* that make up the documents included in our present collection.⁷

² Leo Allatius, *De libris et rebus ecclesiasticis graecorum* (Paris, 1646).

³ (3) *Theodore Studites*, ed. J. J. Sirmond, *Opera Varia*, ed. J. de la Baume, vol. 5: *Sancti Theodori Studitae Epistolae aliaque scripta dogmatica* (Paris, 1696), pp. 80–88.

⁴ Bernard de Montfaucon, *Analecta graeca sive varia opuscula graeca hactenus non edita* (Paris, 1688), pp. 136–307.

⁵ (31) *Areia* (*Memorandum* [M] only): ed. J. Pasini, *Codices manuscripti bibliothecae Regiae Taurinensis* (Turin, 1749), pp. 426–29; (17) *Nikon Metanoeite*: ed. Nicholas Glykys, *Prostetheises eis to telos tes Diathekes, kai diaphoron thaumaston Nikonos Monachou tou Metanoeite* (Venice, 1780); (24) *Christodoulos* (*Rule* [A] only): ed. Ephraim, *Biblos periechousa kanonas merikon tinon hagion . . .* (Venice, 1756), pp. 24–45; (34) *Machairas*: ed. Ephraim, *Typike Diataxis hos euretai tes kata neson Kypron sebasmiias kai basilikes mones tes hyperagias Theotokou, Machairidos epilegomenes* (Venice, 1756); (45) *Neophytos*: ed. Archimandrite Kyprianos, *Typike syn Theo Diataxis kai logoi eis ten hexaemeron tou hosiou patros hemon Neophytou tou Enkleistou* (Venice, 1779).

⁶ (4) *Stoudios* [B], ed. Angelo Mai, *Nova patrum bibliotheca*, vol. 5 (Rome, 1849), pp. 78–145; (3) *Theodore Studites*, *PG* 99, cols. 1813–24 and (4) *Stoudios* [B], cols. 1703–20; (27) *Kecharitomene*, *PG* 127, cols. 985–1128; (1) *Apa Abraham*, trans. C. W. Goodwin, "Curiosities of Law. 1. Conveyancing among the Copts of the Eighth Century," *The Law Magazine and Law Review* 6, no. 12 (1859), pp. 237–48; (25) *Fragala* [B], [C], ed. Giuseppe Spata, *Le pergamene greche esistenti nel grande archivio di Palermo* (Palermo, 1861), pp. 197–214; (49) *Geromeri*, ed. P. Aravantinos, "Peri tou hosiou Neilou tou Erichiotou," *Pandora* 15 (1865), 470–74.

⁷ J. B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1858), p. 381.

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Some more important work was done in the 1870s.⁸ Johann Curtius and Adolph Kirchoff published (18) *Nea Gephyra* in the fourth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* in 1877, after a transcription made by Michel Fourmont in 1730. In 1872, Konstantinos Sathas published the first edition of (19) *Attaleiates* and the first excerpts from (58) *Menoikeion* in Venice. In Russia, Porfirii Uspensky published his editions and Russian translations of (12) *Tzimiskes* and (15) *Constantine IX* in 1877 and of (59) *Manuel II* in 1892 as part of a multi-volume study of Mount Athos.⁹

The study of the foundation documents for their own sake resumed towards the end of the nineteenth century in Russia, Austria, and Germany. A group of Russian historians including Ivan Mansvetov and P. Bezobrazov—the rediscoverer of the manuscript of (28) *Pantokrator*—did some important work. Mansvetov wrote the first modern study on monastic *typika* in 1885, while Bezobrazov pointed out the importance of the monastic foundation documents for the history of the Byzantine Empire and church in an article he wrote in 1887, when many of them were still in manuscript, like (23) *Pakourianos*, (32) *Mamas*, (37) *Auxentios*, (39) *Lips*, (50) *Gerasimos*, and (60) *Charsianeites*.¹⁰ Bezobrazov's study also provided the first transcription of the text of (2) *Pantelleria*.

Mansvetov and Bezobrazov's work coincided with a revival of scholarly interest in the Byzantine monastic foundation documents. Already I. G. Troitzki had published the first edition of the fragmentary (38) *Kellibara I* in St. Petersburg in 1885 along with a Russian translation.¹¹ Meanwhile, in Austria, Franz Miklosich and Josef Müller republished Sathas' edition of (19) *Attaleiates* (1887), Montfaucon's edition of (27) *Kecharitomene* (1887), and Ephraim's edition of (34) *Machairas* (1887); then they produced new and more complete editions of (24) *Christodoulos* (1890) and (31) *Areia* (1887) in the last two volumes of their *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*.¹² Their text of (24) *Christodoulos* is still the best currently available. In Leipzig in 1894, Ph. Meyer published many of the Athonite documents in his *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster*, including (11) *Ath. Rule*, (13) *Ath. Typikon*, (14) *Ath. Testament*, (44) *Karyes*, all first editions except for (13) *Ath. Typikon*.¹³ A year later in 1895 in an article in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Meyer published first editions of (47) *Philanthropos* and (56) *Kellibara*

⁸ (18) *Nea Gephyra*, ed. Curtius and Kirchoff, *CIG*, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1877), pp. 327–28; (19) *Attaleiates*, ed. K. A. Sathas, *Mesaionike Bibliothek. Bibliotheca graeca medii aevi*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1872), pp. 3–69, and (58) *Menoikeion*, pp. 202–11.

⁹ (12) *Tzimiskes*, ed. Porfirii Uspensky, *Vostok kristianskii. Athon. Istoriia Athona*, vol. 3, pt. 1 (Kiev, 1877), pp. 265–76; (15) *Constantine IX*, ed. Uspensky, pp. 277–90; (59) *Manuel II*, ed. Uspensky, vol. 3, pt. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1892), 675–82.

¹⁰ Ivan Mansvetov, *Tserkovnii ustav* (Moscow, 1885); P. Bezobrazov, “Materiali dlya istorii vizantiiskoi imperii: I. Ne izdannie monastirskie ustav,” *ZMNP* 254 (1887), 65–78; rev. Ed. Kurtz, *BZ* 2 (1893), 627–31.

¹¹ (38) *Kellibara I*, ed. I. G. Troiskii, *Autobiographia imperatora Mikhaila Paleologa* (St. Petersburg, 1885), pp. 1–20.

¹² (19) *Attaleiates*, ed. Franz Miklosich and Josef Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana* (MM), vol. 5 (Vienna, 1887), pp. 293–327; (27) *Kecharitomene*, pp. 327–91; (31) *Areia*, pp. 178–90; (34) *Machairas*, pp. 392–432; (23) *Christodoulos*, vol. 6 (1890), pp. 59–90.

¹³ (11) *Ath. Rule*, ed. Ph. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 130–40; (13) *Ath. Typikon*, pp. 102–22; (14) *Ath. Testament*, pp. 123–30; (44) *Karyes*, pp. 184–87.

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II.¹⁴ He was aware of Troitzki's edition of (38) *Kellibara I*, but could not read the latter's Russian translation. In 1896, also at Leipzig, August Heisenberg published all that was then known of (36) *Blemmydes*.¹⁵ This as well as all of Meyer's other editions is still standard.

In 1894 at Jena, Waldemar Nissen produced one of the first important secondary works on one of the documents, (19) *Attaleiates*.¹⁶ This work contains a list of the fourteen monastic foundation documents then known to the author. Meanwhile, some additional work of editing was being done in Greece by the prolific Manuel Gedeon, who produced first editions of (13) *Ath. Typikon* in 1885 and of (37) *Auxentios* in 1895, while the Greek scholar Georgios Mousaios published the first edition of (23) *Pakourianos*, based on an inferior manuscript, as his dissertation at Jena in 1888.¹⁷ In England in 1893, F. G. Kenyon published (1) *Apa Abraham* in the first volume of his *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*.¹⁸

In 1895, the Russian Aleksei Dmitrievsky began the truly ambitious project of producing a collection of critical editions of all of the texts, both founders' and liturgical *typika*.¹⁹ Earlier, he had produced an edition of (42) *Sabas* (1890) that was reviewed by Ed. Kurtz in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* in 1894, showing again the close connection between Russian and German scholarship despite the language barrier.²⁰ The founders' *typika* are to be found in the first volume of Dmitrievsky's corpus, including an alternate version of (4) *Stoudios* [A] (first edition), (11) *Ath. Rule*, (14) *Ath. Testament*, (22) *Evergetis* (first edition), (28) *Pantokrator* (first edition), (33) *Heliou Bomon* (first edition), (32) *Mamas* (excerpts only), (37) *Auxentios*, a reprint of his (42) *Sabas*, and (43) *Kasoulon* (first edition). Dmitrievsky's monumental work, happily available in a recent German reprint, is still of great value, and the translations of the first of the two versions of (4) *Stoudios*, of (33) *Heliou Bomon*, of (37) *Auxentios*, and of (42) *Sabas* as presented here are based on his editions.

¹⁴ (47) *Philanthropos*, ed. Ph. Meyer, "Bruchstücke zweier typika ktetorika," *BZ* 4 (1895), pp. 48–49; (56) *Kellibara II*, pp. 45–48.

¹⁵ (36) *Blemmydes*, ed. August Heisenberg, *Nicephori Blemmydae curriculum vitae et carmina* (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 93–99.

¹⁶ Waldemar Nissen, *Die Diataxis des Michael Attaleiates von 1077. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Klosterwesens im byzantinischen Reich* (Jena, 1894).

¹⁷ (13) *Ath. Typikon*, ed. Manuel Gedeon, *Athos, anamneseis, engrapha, semeioseis* (Constantinople, 1885); (37) *Auxentios*, ed. Manuel Gedeon, *Michael Palaiologou Typikon tes epi tou Bounou tou Auxentiou sebasmiar mones Michael tou Archangelou* (Athens, 1895); Georgios Mousaios (Stenimachites), *Gregorios Pakourianos megas domestikos tes Dyseos kai to hyp'autou typikon tes mones tes Theotokou tes Petritzonitisses* (Leipzig, 1888).

¹⁸ (1) *Apa Abraham*, ed. F. G. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vol. 1 (London, 1893), pp. 231–36.

¹⁹ Aleksei Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rykopisei*, vol. 1: *Typika* (Kiev, 1895); vol. 2: *Euchologia* (Kiev, 1901); vol. 3: *Typika* (Petrograd, 1917). Ed. (4) *Stoudios* [A], *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pp. 224–38; (11) *Ath. Rule*, pp. 246–56; (13) *Ath. Typikon*, pp. 238–46; (22) *Evergetis*, pp. 615–56; (28) *Pantokrator*, pp. 656–702; (32) *Mamas*, pp. 702–15; (33) *Heliou Bomon*, pp. 715–69; (37) *Auxentios*, pp. 769–94; (42) *Sabas*, pp. 222–24; and (43) *Kasoulon*, pp. 795–823.

²⁰ (42) *Sabas*, ed. Aleksei Dmitrievsky, *TKDA* (January 1890), 170–92, and Ed. Kurtz (review of the preceding), *BZ* 3 (1894), 168–70.

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Around the turn of the century, the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople published Louis Petit's editions of (10) *Eleousa*, (61) *Eleousa Inv.* (both 1900) and of (29) *Kosmosoteira* (1908) as well as S. Pétridès' edition of (54) *Neilos Damilas* (1911) in its *Izvestiia*.²¹ All of these documents are still the best current editions even though the journal in which they were published is unfortunately quite rare. Russia itself remained a center for scholarship on the documents right up to the revolution.²² Louis Petit published a much improved edition of (23) *Pakourianos* in a special supplementary issue of the pioneering Russian Byzantine journal *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* in 1905. A. I. Papadopoulos-Kerameus published (50) *Gerasimos* in 1891 and (30) *Phoberos* in 1913 (posthumously), both in St. Petersburg in their first and only editions. In 1917 in Petrograd, Vladimir Benešević published all that ever appeared of his *Taktikon* of Nikon of the Black Mountain, from which we gain our still standard texts of (20) *Black Mountain* and (21) *Roidion*.

Thus, thanks primarily to the efforts of Russian and German scholars, there was a lively interest in the Byzantine monastic foundation documents by the beginning of the twentieth century.²³ In 1905, J. Cozza-Luzi, continuing Cardinal Mai's *Nova patrum bibliotheca*, published a first edition of (26) *Luke of Messina* and a new one of (43) *Kasoulon* that have been used for the translations of these documents in our collection. Also in 1905, Spyridon Lampros edited the hagiographic life in which (53) *Meteora* is preserved. We have employed another edition of (53) *Meteora*, by N. A. Bees, that appeared a few years later in 1909.

The great Bollandist hagiographer Hippolyte Delehaye incidentally gave us our first editions of (7) *Latros* (1913) and (9) *Galesios* (1910) in the course of his extensive publication of Greek hagiographic texts.²⁴ In 1921, Delehaye published first editions of (8) *John Xenos*, (39) *Lips*, (40) *Anargyroi*, and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* in his *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des paléologues*. In a

²¹ (10) *Eleousa* and (61) *Eleousa Inv.*, ed. Louis Petit, "Le Monastère de Notre-Dame de Pitié en Macédoine," *IRAIK* 6 (1900), 1–153, at 69–93 and 114–25; (24) *Kosmosoteira*, ed. Petit, "Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d'Aenos (1152)," *IRAIK* 13 (1908), 17–75; (54) *Neilos Damilas*, ed. S. Pétridès, "Le typikon de Nil Damilas pour le monastère de femmes de Baëonia en Crète (1400)," *IRAIK* 15 (1911), 92–111.

²² (23) *Pakourianos*, ed. Louis Petit, "Typikon de Grégoire Pacourianos pour le monastère de Petritzos (Bačkovo) en Bulgarie," *VV Prilozhenie* 11, no. 1 (1904); (50) *Gerasimos*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta Hierosolymitikes Stachyologias*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1894), pp. 255–57; (30) *Phoberos*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae* (St. Petersburg, 1913), pp. 1–88; (20) *Black Mountain* and (21) *Roidion*, ed. Vladimir Benešević, *Taktikon Nikona Chernogortska* (Petrograd, 1917), pp. 22–67, 68–80.

²³ (26) *Luke of Messina* and (43) *Kasoulon*, ed. J. Cozza-Luzi, *NPB*, vol. 10, pt. 2 (Rome, 1905), pp. 117–37, 149–66; (53) *Meteora*, ed. Sp. Lampros, "Symbolai eis ten historian ton Meteoron," *NH* 2 (1905), 49–156, at 76–77, and ed. Nikos Bees, "Symbole eis ten historian ton monon ton Meteoron," *Byzantis* 1 (1909), 191–331, at 250–52.

²⁴ (7) *Latros*, ed. Hippolyte Delehaye, *Monumenta Latrensia hagiographica*, in Theodor Wiegand, *Milet, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen*, vol. 3, pt. 1: *Der Latmos* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 152–53; (9) *Galesios*, ed. Delehaye, *Acta sanctorum novembris*, vol. 3 (Brussels, 1910), pp. 508–606; (9) *John Xenos*, ed. Delehaye, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), pp. 188–90; (8) *John Xenos*, pp. 191–96; (39) *Lips*, pp. 106–36; (40) *Anargyroi*, pp. 136–40; (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, pp. 18–105; (46) *Akropolites*, ed. Delehaye, "Constantini Acropolitae hagiographi byzantini epistularum manipulus," *AB* 51 (1933), 263–84, at 279–84.

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list that he prepared for the introduction to this work, he lists 27 documents known to him in addition to the four presented in his own publication. Delehaye's last contribution to the corpus of Byzantine monastic foundation documents was his edition of (46) *Akropolites* in 1933. All of Delehaye's editions, with the exception of (8) *John Xenos*, have been employed in the preparation of the translations of these documents in this collection.

The early twentieth century also saw the discovery of additional texts with just claims to positions in the corpus of Byzantine monastic foundation documents, but not all of them were adequately edited.²⁵ Iordan Ivanov's edition of the Slavonic text of (6) *Rila* appeared in 1917. The editions of (32) *Mamas* (1928) and (35) *Skoteine* (1930) by Sophronios Eustratiades are generally considered to be unsatisfactory. The Archimandrite Christophoros Ktenas provided us with what were for a long time the only editions of (41) *Docheiariou* and (48) *Prodromos* (both 1929). In extreme old age, Manuel Gedeon attempted an improved edition of (35) *Skoteine* in 1930, but without notable success. Martin Jugie's edition of (58) *Menoikeion* appeared in 1937 in *Byzantion* and served as the standard edition of that document for nearly twenty years.

Placide de Meester, who could lay claim to the first modern attempt to document the institutions of Byzantine monasticism,²⁶ not coincidentally produced the first reasonably complete working list of the foundation documents in 1940 in an article that provides a thorough discussion of earlier attempts to organize the material.²⁷ De Meester made the enduring distinction between founders' *typika* (*typika ktetorika*) and founders' testaments (*diathekai*). He included 33 documents (including 5 that are post-Byzantine) in the former list and 14 (5 post-Byzantine) in the latter list. His article also provides a list of 19 founders' *typika* now lost but attested in surviving sources.

Work continued after the war with the publication of several first editions and useful re-editions.²⁸ Paul Lemerle published (51) *Koutloumousi* in his 1945 edition of the *Actes de Kutlumis*.

²⁵ (6) *Rila*, ed. Iordan Ivanov, sv. *Ivan Rilski i negoviyat monastir* (Sofia, 1917), pp. 136–42; (25) *Mamas*, ed. Sophronios Eustratiades, "Typikon tes en Konstantinoupolei mones tou hagiou megalomartyros Mamantos," *Hellenika* 2 (1928), 256–314; (35) *Skoteine*, ed. Eustratiades, "He en Philadelphieia mone tes hyperagias Theotokou tes Koteines," *Hellenika* 3 (1930), 317–39; (41) *Docheiariou* and (48) *Prodromos*, ed. K. Ktenas, "Ho Protos tou Hagiou Orous Atho kai he 'Megale Mese' e 'Synaxis,'" *EEBS* 6 (1929), 233–81, at 253–57 and 263–67; (35) *Skoteine*, ed. Manuel Gedeon, "Diatheke Maximou monachou ktitoros tes en Lydia mones Kotines," *Mikrasiatika Chronika* 2 (1939), 263–91; (58) *Menoikeion*, ed. Martin Jugie, "Le typicon du monastère du Prodrome au mont Ménécée, près de Serrès. Introduction, texte et remarques," *Byzantion* 12 (1937), 25–69.

²⁶ Placide de Meester, *De monachico statu juxta disciplinam Byzantinam* (Vatican City, 1942).

²⁷ Placide de Meester, "Les typiques de fondation," *SBN* 6 (1940), 496–508; cf. Th. Zielinski, "Projet de la création d'un 'Corpus scriptorum juris graecoromani tam canonici quam civilis,'" *SBN* 5 (1939), 735–40.

²⁸ (51) *Koutloumousi*, ed. V. Laurent, *Actes de Kutlumis* (Paris, 1945), pp. 113–38; (52) *Choumnos*, ed. Laurent, "Écrits spirituels inédits de Macaire Choumnos († c. 1382), fondateur de la 'Nea Moni' à Thessalonique," *Hellenika* 14 (1955), 40–86, at 60–71, 76–85; (58) *Menoikeion*, ed. André Guillou, *Les archives de saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le mont Ménécée* (Paris, 1955), pp. 163–76; (5) *Euthymios*, ed. Patricia Karlin-Hayter, "Vita S. Euthymii," *Byzantion* 25 (1955–57), 1–172, at 148–51; (38) *Kellibara I*, ed. Henri Grégoire, "Imperatoris Michaelis Palaeologi de vita sua," *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60), 447–76.

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Vitalien Laurent provided us with our first and only edition of (52) *Choumnos* in 1955. In that same year André Guillou produced a new edition of (58) *Menoikeion*, replacing Jugie, in conjunction with his study of the cartulary of the Monastery of St. John the Forerunner near Serres. In an issue of *Byzantion* that appeared in 1957, Patricia Karlin-Hayter, one of our translators, published the *Life* in which (5) *Euthymios* is contained. In 1960, Henri Grégoire's re-edition of (38) *Kellibara I* appeared in *Byzantion*.

By the time Raymond Janin published his list of them in 1964, the monastic foundation documents had been acknowledged as the most important body of source material for the history of Byzantine monasticism, and a consensus had formed on how to categorize the documents.²⁹ Janin, counting only founders' *typika*, reckoned on 32 documents. His article attempts a general discussion of Byzantine religious life based on the evidence of these texts.

A few years later in 1969, I. Tsiknopoullos brought the two Cypriot *typika*, (34) *Machairas* and (45) *Neophytos*, together in a convenient new edition.³⁰ Tsiknopoullos' edition, though much criticized, was the first to attempt to show the textual dependence of one of the documents, (34) *Machairas*, on earlier models. This suggested a rewarding approach to recreating an important part of the lost history of Byzantine monasticism that has been adopted in the presentation of our own collection.

The study of Byzantine monastic foundation documents was taken to a higher level of scholarship by Konstantinos Manaphes, who produced in 1970 the first modern monographic study (since Mansvetov) that examined the founders' *typika* as a group.³¹ Building on a distinction observed by de Meester, Manaphes subdivided the corpus into monastic testaments (8 documents) and *typika* (31 documents), and then used this distinction as the basis for his analysis. Our project's debt to Manaphes is considerable, for he considerably advanced the notion of dealing with the documents as a corpus, and our initial list of documents to be translated was drawn directly from an appendix in his study, which was itself based on the earlier lists of de Meester and Janin.

In the years before our own project began, scholarship continued at a slow rate, mostly in the form of contributing new editions or the publication of hitherto overlooked texts.³² In 1970 Patricia Karlin-Hayter's *Life* of Euthymios, including (5) *Euthymios*, that had originally appeared in *Byzantion*, was republished separately. Ivan Dujčev published a facsimile edition of (2) *Pantelleria* in 1971. Basiles Kraptsites produced a new edition of (49) *Geromeri* in 1972, replacing Aravantinos'

²⁹ R. Janin, "Le monachisme byzantin au Moyen Age. Commende et typica (X^e–XIV^e siècle)," *REB* 22 (1964), 5–44.

³⁰ (34) *Machairas* and (45) *Neophytos*, ed. I. Tsiknopoullos, *Kypriaka Typika* (Nicosia, 1969), pp. 3–68 and 71–104.

³¹ Konstantinos Manaphes, *Monasteriaka typika-diathekai* (Athens, 1970).

³² (5) *Euthymios*, ed. Patricia Karlin-Hayter, *Vita Euthymii Patriarchae CP* (Brussels, 1970), pp. 143–47; (2) *Pantelleria*, ed. Ivan Dujčev, "Il Tipico del monastero di S. Giovanni nell'isola di Pantelleria," *BBGG*, n.s., 25 (1971), 3–17; (49) *Geromeri*, ed. Basilio Kraptsites, *Thesprotika*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1972), pp. 160–68; (28) *Pantokrator*, ed. Paul Gautier, "Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," *REB* 32 (1974), 1–145; (12) *Tzimiskes*, (15) *Constantine IX*, and (59) *Manuel II*, ed. Denise Papachryssanthou, *Actes du Prôtaton* (= Archives de l'Athos 7) (Paris, 1975), pp. 202–15, 216–32, and 254–61; (31) *Areia*, ed. G. A. Choras, *He "hagia mone" Areias* (Athens, 1975), pp. 239–52.

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edition of more than a hundred years earlier. The first of Paul Gautier's editions, (28) *Pantokrator*, appeared in 1974. With the publication of the *Actes du Prôtaton* by Denise Papachryssanthou in 1975, we received welcome new critical editions of (12) *Tzimiskes*, (15) *Constantine IX*, and (59) *Manuel II*. G. A. Choras provided a modern edition of (31) *Areia* in 1975.

Our own project, conceived in 1981, coincided with a burst of scholarly activity that would keep the project's directors scrambling to stay abreast of the new output.³³ K. A. Manaphes and Ioannes Konidares produced the first complete edition of (60) *Charsianeites* in 1982, the last of the unedited texts to which Bezobrazov had called attention to nearly a hundred years earlier. In swift succession, Paul Gautier completed his modern critical editions of (19) *Attaleiates* in 1981, (22) *Evergetis* in 1982, (23) *Pakourianos* in 1983, and finally (27) *Kecharitomene* in 1985. Od. Lampsidis provided a new edition of (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* in 1982. Vera von Falkenhausen published the first version of (25) *Fragala* in 1983, completing Spata's edition of this work begun 120 years earlier. Nicolas Oikonomides' edition of the *Actes de Docheiariou* in 1984 gave us welcome new critical editions of (41) *Docheiariou* and (48) *Prodromos*, replacing those of Ktenas. In conjunction with his work on Nikephoros Blemmydes, our translator Fr. Joseph Munitiz has edited (1984 and 1986) the remaining fragments of (36) *Blemmydes*, overlooked by Heisenberg ninety years earlier. A. Philippidis-Braat republished (18) *Nea Gephyra* in 1985. In 1986, N. B. Tomadakes published a new edition of (8) *John Xenos*. Paul Lemerle's 1945 edition of (51) *Koutloumousi* was republished in 1988 in conjunction with the second edition of the *Actes de Kutlumus*. Thomas Drew-Bear and Johannes Koder published the inscription that supplies us with the partial text of (16) *Mount Tmolos* in 1988. Finally, one of our translators, Timothy Miller, has prepared a first edition of (55) *Athanasios I* that will be published by him separately with a commentary by John Thomas.

Meanwhile, contemporary scholarship continued to debate and redefine the corpus as our own work was being produced over the last decade. Ioannes Konidares produced a study in 1984

³³ (60) *Charsianeites*, ed. I. M. Konidares and K. A. Manaphes, "Epiteleutios boulesis kai didaskalia tou oikoumenikou patriarchou Matthaïou A' (1397–1410)," *EEBS* 45 (1981–82), 462–515; (19) *Attaleiates*, ed. Paul Gautier, "La diataxis de Michel Attaliate," *REB* 39 (1981), 5–143; (22) *Evergetis*, ed. Gautier, "Le typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis," *REB* 40 (1982), 5–101; (23) *Pakourianos*, ed. Gautier, "Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos," *REB* 42 (1984), 5–145; (27) *Kecharitomene*, ed. Gautier, "Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôméné," *REB* 43 (1985), 5–165; (17) *Nikon Metanoeite*, ed. Od. Lampsidis, *Ho ek Pontou hosios Nikon ho metanoeite* (Athens, 1982), pp. 251–56; (25) *Fragala*, ed. Vera von Falkenhausen, "Die Testamente des Abtes Gregor von San Filippo di Fragala," *HUS* 7 (1983), 174–95; (41) *Docheiariou* and (48) *Prodromos*, ed. Nicolas Oikonomides, *Actes de Docheiariou* (= Archives de l'Athos 13) (Paris, 1984), pp. 91–97, and pp. 133–38; (36) *Blemmydes*, ed. Joseph Munitiz, *Nicephori Blemmydae autobiographia sive curriculum vitae necnon epistula universalior* (Turnhout, 1984), pp. xxx–xxxii, and "A Missing Chapter from the Typikon of Nikephoros Blemmydes," *REB* 44 (1986), 199–207; (18) *Nea Gephyra*, ed. D. Feissel and A. Philippidis-Braat, "Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance. III. Inscriptions du Péloponnèse (à l'exception de Mistra)," *T&M* 9 (1985), 267–396, at 301–2; (8) *John Xenos*, ed. N. B. Tomadakes, "Ho Hagios Joannes ho Xenos kai Eremites en Krete (10os–11os aion)," *EEBS* 46 (1983–86), 1–117, at 11–12; (51) *Koutloumousi*, ed. Paul Lemerle, *Actes de Kutlumus*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1988), pp. 113–38; (16) *Mount Tmolos*, ed. Thomas Drew-Bear and Johannes Koder, "Ein byzantinisches Kloster am Berg Tmolos," *JÖB* 38 (1988), 197–215.

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focusing on the monastic *typika*'s contribution to canon law, with an updated list of 60 documents attached.³⁴ In 1987, one of our translators, Catia Galatariotou, produced the first comparative study of the documents in English, based on the working list for this project.³⁵ Then, as our project manuscript was being prepared in 1992, a group of scholars, including Mary Cunningham, Robert Jordan, Rosemary Morris, Margaret Mullett, Joseph A. Munitiz, Fr. Robert Taft, S.J., John Turner, and John Wortley, formed a project based at Queens University Belfast to edit, translate and annotate all of the documents associated with the pivotal eleventh-century reform monastery of Evergetis.³⁶

C. Scope, Exclusions, and Rationale of Our Collection

We follow the example of Delehaye (1921), de Meester (1940), Janin (1964), Manaphes (1970), and Konidares (1984) in concentrating on foundation documents to the exclusion of purely liturgical *typika*. The latter have been omitted partly on grounds of length (their inclusion would have increased the size of the present work considerably) but also because they have relatively little to tell us, aside from their discussions of the liturgy itself, about the lives of the monasteries for which they were written. They are also mostly well edited, and less difficult to read for those with at least some command of Greek.³⁷ The other category of documents identified by our distinguished predecessors, the *typika ktetorika*, or “founders” *typika*, form the core of our collection.³⁸ The content of these documents is primarily disciplinary, but also touches on a large number of other subjects of interest to both specialists and general readers.

As our previous discussion indicates, the concept of a corpus of foundation documents with an agreed membership has only recently started to solidify. In a very real though surely unintended way, Catia Galatariotou's article referred to above illustrates the ultimate futility at this point of trying to impose rigorous criteria for including or excluding documents from the corpus. The approach adopted for our own project has been to include those regulatory documents that shed some light on the life of medieval Byzantine monasteries even if some of these texts might fail to meet the strictest theoretical criteria for being considered proper *typika*. Until a scholarly consensus is finally formed on the content of the corpus of Byzantine monastic foundation documents, it seems to us that a tolerant “admissions policy” is in order, given the great obscurity in which most of these texts have languished.

These then have been the principles for the composition of our collection: 1) only documents which are represented by printed editions are included; 2) chronologically, our scope is from the

³⁴ Ioannes Konidares, *Nomike theorese ton monasteriakon typikon* (Athens, 1984).

³⁵ Catia Galatariotou, “Byzantine Ktetorika Typika: A Comparative Study,” *REB* 45 (1987), 77–138.

³⁶ For which see *The Theotokos Evergetis and Eleventh-Century Monasticism*, ed. Margaret Mullett and Anthony Kirby (Belfast, 1994).

³⁷ Robert Taft, “Typikon, Liturgical,” *ODB*, pp. 2131–32; for editions, see Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pp. 256–656 (*Evergetis*), and vol. 3, pp. 1–486 (*Sabas*); Miguel Arranz, *Le typikon du monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine* (= *OCA* 185) (Rome, 1969); Juan Mateos, *Le typicon de la Grande Église*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1962–63); see also General Bibliography, XXIII. Liturgy.

³⁸ Alice-Mary Talbot, “Typikon, Monastic,” *ODB*, p. 2132; Karl Krumbacher, “*Ktetor*, ein lexicographischer Versuch,” *IF* 25 (1909), 393–421, rev. A. Heisenberg, *BZ* 19 (1910), 588–89.

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seventh through the fifteenth century, i.e., medieval Byzantium, thus excluding the mostly well-edited and translated monastic rules of the Later Roman Empire such as those of Pachomios and Basil of Caesarea as well as post-Byzantine documents; 3) geographically, we take an expansive view of the Byzantine world, including documents in Greek from Norman Italy and Sicily as well as from Palestine;³⁹ 4) linguistically, we have included only documents composed in Greek (thereby excluding some early Coptic testaments and Syriac rules), with the exception of two short but interesting documents preserved in Old Church Slavonic translations;⁴⁰ 5) as noted above, purely liturgical *typika* are excluded; 6) *typika* of the Byzantine commonwealth of nations, e.g., of medieval Serbia and the old Russian principalities, despite their admitted interest and strong dependence on Byzantine models,⁴¹ have been excluded; 7) a very few documents that fail to find admission to our collection under any of the criteria enumerated above are nevertheless presented here because of their special interest and importance for presenting the overall interpretational framework for the collection itself.⁴² Although these criteria may seem arbitrary, our collection includes nearly all of the edited works in the lists of Delehaye, de Meester, Janin, Manaphes and Konidares, a concordance to which is supplied in Appendix A.

Also, although the distinction drawn by de Meester and Manaphes between founders' *typika* and testaments is useful for some purposes, we have chosen here to include both testaments and *typika* without differentiation. The distinctions between them, while real enough in many cases, are not hard and fast. The documents themselves sometimes seem to frustrate a classification along these lines, as some *typika* adopt the format of monastic testaments while several testaments contain a considerable amount of disciplinary content.⁴³

D. Organization, Features, and Conventions of This Edition

Our collection is presented in a multi-volume edition, with the documents organized in nine chapters, preceded by a narrative chapter on the early monastic rules of antiquity by John Thomas, who has also provided introductions to each of the nine chapters that attempt to illustrate the common themes of the documents contained in each and to set them in a broader historical context.

Within the chapters, each of the 61 documents is prefaced with basic identifying information, including its formal title, translator, date, edition employed, manuscript, and other translations; a bibliography of previous work related to the document;⁴⁴ a brief institutional history of the foundation for which the document was written; and a fairly detailed analysis of the document. For the

³⁹ Sicily: (25) *Fragala* and (26) *Luke of Messina*; Italy: (36) *Kasoulon*; Palestine: (42) *Sabas* and (50) *Gerasimos*.

⁴⁰ (2) *Pantelleria* and (6) *Rila*.

⁴¹ See General Bibliography, XIII. Byzantine Monasticism and the Slavs.

⁴² (1) *Apa Abraham*, (5) *Euthymios*, and (61) *Eleousa Inv.*

⁴³ *Typika* in testamentary format: (10) *Eleousa*; (19) *Attaleiates*; (34) *Machairas*; (35) *Skoteine*; (45) *Neophytos*; (54) *Neilos Damilas*; (60) *Charsianeites*; testaments with disciplinary content: (3) *Theodore Studites*; (9) *Galesios*; (14) *Ath. Testament*; (17) *Nikon Metanoeite*; (24) *Christodoulos*; and (25) *Fragala*; for a general discussion, see Artur Steinwenter, "Byzantinische Mönchstestamente," *Aegyptus* 12 (1932), 55–64.

⁴⁴ For some famous founders like Theodore the Studite or Athanasios the Athonite, there are additional

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longer documents, the analyses are broken down into a topical scheme of organization that is intended to facilitate the study of common themes. These introductory materials, with the accompanying notes, are the work of John Thomas. Being fully aware that no one individual could hope to produce a comprehensive commentary on all the matters encompassed in this diverse collection of documents, he chose to draw on his particular expertise by emphasizing the administrative aspects of Byzantine monasticism in this first commentary.

In order to facilitate cross-reference, we have adopted the following format for reference to the documents and chapters therein: document number in parentheses, short title in italics, and chapter reference in brackets, e.g., (22) *Evergetis* [12].

The translations, edited by Angela Hero, follow after the introductory materials. Readers will see that we have tried to treat this collection of translations consistently as if it were an edition. Indeed, we have perforce had to follow conventions and take some liberties usually reserved for the editors of texts, such as renumbering the chapters of one document, (40) *Anargyroi*, and providing a chapter numeration (and occasionally also chapter titles) for others, like (28) *Pantokrator*, that have none in their editions. These changes have been carefully bracketed. Readers should exercise special care in reference to documents with multiple parts. These are (4) *Stoudios*, presented in two versions [A] and [B] in parallel columns; (19) *Attaleiates*, in which the inventory, along with two attached imperial chrysobulls, has a separate chapter numeration, e.g., [INV 8]; (21) *Roidion*, which includes both a *typikon* [A] and a treatise by the same author [B]; (24) *Christodoulos*, which is made up of a *Rule* [A], a *Testament* [B], and a *Codicil* [C]; (25) *Fragala*, in which there are three versions [A], [B], [C] of the *Testament*; (31) *Areia*, which contains a *Memorandum* [M] as well as a *Typikon* [T]; (45) *Neophytos*, which also includes a set of the author's canons [C] as well as others attributed to Basil of Caesarea [CB]; (51) *Koutloumousi*, in which there are three versions [A], [B], [C] of the author's *Testament*; and (60) *Charsianeites*, which contains the author's *Autobiography* [A], his predecessors' *Rule of Mark and Neilos* [B], and his own *Subsequent Chapters* [C].

Although (39) *Lips* is actually two documents by different authors, we have preserved the continuous chapter numeration of the edition. (40) *Anargyroi*, composed by the primary author of (39) *Lips* but for a different institution, has been treated as a separate document. We have also presented (38) *Kellibara I* and (56) *Kellibara II* as two distinct documents by different authors for the same institution. Overall, we have tried to maintain a delicate balance between leaving the conventions of the underlying editions as undisturbed as possible while facilitating our own cross-referencing and that of our readers among all the various components of this large collection of translations. On occasion, this has meant that when cross-referencing a section of a document that lies outside its traditional chapter numeration, we must use a referent like "Preface" or "Prologue" for prefatory materials, or "Appendix A" or [INV] for an appendix or inventory. These should be self-explanatory.

Although access to the underlying Greek and Old Church Slavonic texts is not assumed, especially since many of the editions are quite rare, it is facilitated throughout our collection of

biographical bibliographies. These latter include references to related hagiographic texts that are often important supplements to the information available in the foundation documents.

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translations by insertion of bracketed page or column references to the editions of the texts that we have employed.

Among the editors of these documents, only Tsiknopoulos with his edition of (34) *Machairas* and Gautier with his (27) *Kecharitomene* made any attempt to indicate the nature and extent of the borrowings of their authors from earlier documents. Only Gautier actually indicates the specific passages borrowed in his edition. We believe that it is absolutely essential to be aware of these borrowings in order to appreciate the extent of each author's own contribution. The ability to reconstruct a considerable part of monastic history through the study of these borrowings is a great bonus. Therefore we have attempted to indicate the precise borrowings among the documents, with the borrowed text placed in bold and/or italics, wherever we could identify them. Scriptural citations are also noted directly in the documents. Their translation follows the L. C. Brenton translation of the Septuagint (London, 1844) and the *Revised Standard Version* of the New Testament (New York, 1946). Finally, words and phrases inserted by translators in order to clarify obscure passages appear within square brackets ([...]).

Like the introductory materials, the translations are supplied with footnotes. These are primarily the work of the editors John Thomas and Angela Hero, though for certain documents individual translators have assisted us. This assistance is gratefully acknowledged in the notes to the individual documents. A series of fairly extensive cross-references to nearly all of the documents have also been provided in the document notes to the translations. These are the work of John Thomas.

A glossary of technical terms by Angela Hero will be found after the documents. There are three appendices by John Thomas: "Concordance with Previous Lists" (Appendix A); "The Regulation of Diet in the Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents" (Appendix B); and three tables illustrating the topical interrelationships of three families of monastic *typika* (Appendix C). The first table in the last appendix, titled "Topical Interrelationships of the Evergetian Family of Monastic *Typika*," should be consulted to identify the "related documents" frequently referred to in the endnotes to many of the translations in conjunction with cross-references to (22) *Evergetis*. A general bibliography by John Thomas, subdivided into thirty topical bibliographies, concludes our work.

We have chosen not to adopt a strictly chronological ordering for the placement of the documents within our nine chapters. Given the uncertainty of the dating of many documents, chronology would not have been a sure guide to organization in any event. Moreover, such a large collection of documents as ours needs a more helpful conceptual framework. While various alternative schemes of organization are possible,⁴⁵ we think that our modified chronological arrangement of the documents according to the types of institutions for which they were written works well for making Byzantine monasticism understandable over some 750 years of medieval history.

Necessarily in a work of this size, complexity and novelty, there will be many shortcomings for which the editors must beg indulgence. The emphasis has been on making the documents, through the medium of the translations, notes, and commentaries, considerably more accessible for future work rather than attempting to do all of that work ourselves.

⁴⁵ Such as the "aristocratic" versus "non-aristocratic" distinction proposed by Galatariotou, "Ktetorika Typika," pp. 89, 109.

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E. Principles of This Translation

Presuming neither knowledge of medieval Greek nor access to the underlying editions, we have endeavored to translate the documents in the corpus as completely as possible. Titles of monastic officials and some technical terms have been translated into English equivalents where possible. Otherwise, they have been transliterated and their meaning explained in the Glossary. The editors were the final arbiters of how the translations read. We have struggled mightily to maintain consistency in the translations, though with fifteen contributors in America and Europe working independently on this project for over a decade, perfection was hardly within reach.

Readers will find that the style of these translations varies somewhat from one translator to another, as it does from one author to another in the original texts. We have tried to see to it that, whatever the individual variations from one document to another, the overall style of the corpus should be idiomatic contemporary American English.

F. General Observations on the Documents

1. Original Texts

One of the outstanding claims to interest that the corpus of 61 Byzantine monastic foundation documents makes is the relatively large number of them that exist as original texts. The oldest document in this category is (1) *Apa Abraham* of the seventh century, preserved on papyrus in the British Museum. Two of the documents were preserved as monumental inscriptions, (16) *Mount Tmolos* and (18) *Nea Gephyra*, the former recently discovered, the latter now lost. Perhaps as many as 19 autograph or isotype manuscripts also survive to the present day. From the tenth century comes (12) *Tzimiskes*, the earliest of them. Isotype copies of (15) *Constantine IX* and (19) *Attaleiates* survive from the eleventh century. The *Testament* [B] and *Codicil* [C] of (24) *Christodoulos* are autographs of the late eleventh century as is the first version [A] of (25) *Fragala*. From the twelfth century come the autographs of the second [B] and third [C] versions of (25) *Fragala*, (26) *Luke of Messina*, (27) *Kecharitomene*, (33) *Heliou Bomon*, (41) *Docheiariou*, (43) *Kasoulon*, and possibly also (30) *Phoberos*. Sad to say, the immensely valuable twelfth-century autograph of (28) *Pantokrator* survived in a Peloponnesian monastery until 1934, when it was destroyed in a fire.

The originals of the two Cypriot *typika*, (34) *Machairas* and (45) *Neophytos*, both of the early thirteenth century, survive, the latter at Edinburgh University, the former *in situ* at its home institution on Cyprus. A manuscript in the British Library preserves the original copies of (39) *Lips* and (40) *Anargyroi*. The thirteenth-century manuscript of (35) *Skoteine*, surviving in the Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos, may also be an autograph. Originals of the three versions of (51) *Koutloumousi* at the Kutlumus monastery on Mount Athos survive from the fourteenth century. Another fourteenth-century manuscript may preserve the original of (48) *Prodromos*. (57) *Bebaia Elpis* survives at Lincoln College, Oxford, in a deluxe fourteenth-century original edition. Finally, from the fifteenth century, (59) *Manuel II* survives in autograph at the Athonite Iveron monastery; the *Inventory* associated with (54) *Neilos Damilas* may also be a fifteenth-century original.

Counting the surviving inscription and the papyrus, perhaps as many as 20 of the documents can be traced to the author's or his scribe's hand, with (15) *Constantine IX* being derived from an

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authenticated copy made a half century after the original. Further palaeographic research may indicate that the corpus of Byzantine monastic foundation documents contains some additional autographs. The nature of the documents partly explains the good rate of survival for autographs. As profoundly personal documents of the founders intended for the regulation of their own communities, they were among the most important possessions of the institutions for which they were written. The documents themselves provide some evidence of the precautions taken in Byzantine times to assure their survival.⁴⁶ On the other hand, since these documents were highly idiosyncratic and particular in their application, most would have been of slight interest to scribes in other institutions.⁴⁷ Therefore, survival of the texts in any form was ordinarily dependent on institutional continuity into relatively modern times, as even a cursory examination of the history of the institutions represented by these documents will show.

2. Manuscripts

Aside from the autographs or isotypes described above, the remaining texts survive in medieval manuscripts or more modern transcriptions. Particulars could not be determined about some of these manuscripts, but (3) *Theodore Studites*, (5) *Euthymios*, (22) *Evergetis*, (42) *Sabas*, and the balance of (24) *Christodoulos* not represented by autographs are from the twelfth century. (32) *Mamas* dates from a manuscript of the late twelfth or thirteenth centuries. (23) *Pakourianos* dates from a thirteenth-century manuscript. Version [A] of (4) *Stoudios* derives from a manuscript of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. From the fourteenth century come eight documents: (7) *Latros*, (9) *Galesios*, (36) *Blemmydes*, (38) *Kellibara I*, (46) *Akropolites*, (52) *Choumnos*, (53) *Meteora*, and (55) *Athanasios I*; these include many of the texts preserved in hagiographic or quasi-hagiographic literature. The manuscript witnesses to (60) *Charsianeites* date from the fifteenth century; those of (54) *Neilos Damilas* from either that century or the sixteenth.

We are dependent on post-Byzantine copies for (11) *Ath. Rule*, (13) *Ath. Typikon*, and (14) *Ath. Testament*, (31) *Areia*, (47) *Philanthropos*, and (56) *Kellibara II*, which are all of the sixteenth century. The chief Slavonic manuscript of (2) *Pantelleria* is from either the sixteenth or the seventeenth century. Later still are the manuscripts underlying the texts of (8) *John Xenos*, what is now the oldest witness to (28) *Pantokrator*, (37) *Auxentios* and (58) *Menoikeion*, that are all from the eighteenth century. Fourmont's transcription of the (8) *Nea Gephyra* inscription was made in 1730. We are dependent on modern copies of the nineteenth century of lost medieval manuscripts for (6) *Rila*, (10) *Eleousa*, (29) *Kosmosoteira*, (44) *Karyes*, (49) *Geromeri*, and (61) *Eleousa Inv.* The manuscript of (50) *Gerasimos*, of uncertain date, may be a forgery.

3. Editions

Some older editions have held up well against the test of time, such as (39) *Lips*, (40) *Anargyroi* and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* (Delehaye, 1921). There are, however, some old editions, such as (3) *Theodore*

⁴⁶ See (14) *Ath. Testament* [1], (19) *Attaleiates* [40], (23) *Pakourianos* [33A], and (32) *Mamas*, *Second Semeioma*.

⁴⁷ The families of interrelated documents among the Studite and Evergetian monasteries form a major exception to this generalization (see below, Chapters Two, Five, and Six, for a discussion of the influence of the *typika* of these monasteries on later institutions).

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Studites (Sirmond, 1696) and the second testament of (25) *Fragala* (Spata, 1861), which deserve another look. The edition of the *Taktikon* of Nikon of the Black Mountain, including (20) *Black Mountain* and (21) *Roidion* (Benešević, 1917), was never completed. Like the Evergetis family of documents, the smaller group of Studite texts, including (3) *Theodore Studites*, both versions of (4) *Stoudios* (Mai, 1849 and Dmitrievsky, 1895), (11) *Ath. Rule*, and (13) *Ath. Typikon* (Meyer, 1894) are textually interrelated, and ought to be edited together as a group. Moreover, as Dmitrievsky himself was aware, the two edited versions of (4) *Stoudios* are far from being the only significant witnesses to the manuscript tradition of that document.

A great deal of progress has been made in editing or re-editing the texts since the beginning of our project. Thanks to Gautier, the texts of (28) *Pantokrator* (1974), (19) *Attaleiates* (1981), (22) *Evergetis* (1982), (23) *Pakourianos* (1984), and (27) *Kecharitomene* (1985) are now firmly established. The last two editions appeared while our translation effort was underway, and Robert Jordan, the translator to whom they were assigned, was able to benefit from Gautier's improvements to these texts. As noted above, many of the shorter texts have also been edited or re-edited within the last decade. Although the appearance of these editions caused the editors some headaches during the last decade, their availability has strengthened the textual base on which this translation project rests.

Some texts stand in need of new editions. The (35) *Skoteine* is perhaps in the worst shape, with both editions (Eustratiades, 1930 and Gedeon, 1939) unsatisfactory. Now that Gautier has provided us with a fine edition of (22) *Evergetis* (1982), the re-edition of the Evergetian family of texts, aside from his (27) *Kecharitomene* (1985), becomes both more pressing and possible. Eustratiades, the editor of (32) *Mamas* (1928), does not seem to have collated his manuscript with that of (33) *Heliou Bomon* (Dmitrievsky, 1895) even though the latter is in large part an exact copy of the former document, and is itself an autograph original composed only three or four years after its model. Unless somehow the lost fifteenth-century manuscript of (29) *Kosmosoteira* should turn up, the best we can hope for with it is an improvement of the text based on the many borrowings it makes from (22) *Evergetis*.⁴⁸

There is also the problem of those documents which are available only in rare or obscure publications. Among these are the editions of (10) *Eleousa*, (29) *Kosmosoteira*, and (48) *Neilos Damilas*, still available only in the editions of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Istanbul published around the turn of the century. The rare original editions of Papadopoulos-Kerameus' *Analekta Hierosolymitikas Stachyologias*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1891), for which we must turn for the only edition of (50) *Gerasimos*, and his *Noctes Petropolitanae* (St. Petersburg, 1913), in which is to be found the only edition of (30) *Phoberos*, have fortunately been reprinted (Brussels, 1963, and Leipzig, 1976). What may be the sole original copy in America of Benešević's edition of (20) *Black Mountain* and (21) *Roidion* is to be found in the Harvard College Library. The

⁴⁸ After this volume had gone to press, a new edition of the *typikon* of *Kosmosoteira* was published by G. K. Papazoglou based on a late sixteenth-century manuscript recently discovered in the library of the monastery of Saint Gerasimos on Cephalonia (*Typikon Isaakiou Alexiou Komnenou tes mones Theotokou tes Kosmosoteiras* [Komotene, 1994]). We wish to thank Dr. Nancy P. Ševčenko for bringing this edition to our attention and regret that it appeared too late for us to benefit from it.

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editors suspect that the assembly of the original editions made over ten years ago at Dumbarton Oaks, before assigning the translations, was the first ever successfully accomplished. Even we had difficulty locating some publications, like the relevant number of the Greek periodical *Thesprotika*, our source for the edition of (49) *Geromeri*. Therefore, there is a clear need to re-edit or at least reprint the editions of these texts to increase their general accessibility.

It was never the intent of the Byzantine monastic documents project to translate any additional documents with a claim to inclusion in the corpus which might still remain unedited in manuscript. The editors are aware of a few such texts which might someday find their way into the corpus, though without careful examination of the manuscripts, their claims to admission cannot now be considered.⁴⁹

4. Other Translations

The Byzantine monastic foundation documents have not been served well by translations into any language before this edition. Apart from Gautier's valiant effort, there has been no systematic attempt to translate the documents into any language. Yet as the editors and our translators can attest, any help from prior scholarship is welcome in an ambitious enterprise such as ours. Readers more familiar with languages other than English may appreciate the cross-references which follow.

In accordance with traditional editing practice, seven of the documents have Latin translations provided by their editors: (3) *Theodore Studites* (Sirmond, 1696), (4) *Stoudios [B]* (Mai, 1849), (7) *Latros* (Delehay, 1892), (25) *Fragala* (partial, Spata, 1861), (27) *Kecharitomene* (Montfaucon, 1688), and (26) *Luke of Messina* and (43) *Kasoulon* (both by Cozza-Luzi, 1905). Another seven have generally excellent French translations: (19) *Attaleiates* (1981), (22) *Evergetis* (1982), (23) *Pakourianos* (1984), (27) *Kecharitomene* (1985), and (28) *Pantokrator* (1974) (all by Gautier); also (18) *Nea Gephyra* (Philippidis-Braat, 1985), (43) *Kasoulon* (Jeanselme and Oeconomos, 1922), and two partial translations of (38) *Kellibara I* (Chapman, 1926, and Grégoire, 1960). Not coincidentally, these are the best known documents at the present time.

Reflecting an abiding interest in these documents stimulated by pre-revolutionary Russian scholars, there are Russian translations of (5) *Euthymios* (Kazhdan, 1959), (12) *Tzimiskes* (Uspensky 1877), (15) *Constantine IX* (Uspensky, 1877), two versions of (23) *Pakourianos* (Shanidze, 1971 and Arutyunova-Fidanyan, 1978), (42) *Sabas* (Dmitrievsky, 1890) and (59) *Manuel II* (Uspensky, 1892). There is also a partial Russian translation of (38) *Kellibara I* (Troitskii, 1885), to supplement the French translations mentioned above. Unfortunately, all except the most recent editions are very rare in American libraries.

A few of the shorter documents have been translated into Modern Greek: (47) *Meteora* (Lampros, 1905), and the *Rule [A]* of (24) *Christodoulos* (Georgousakes, 1913) and the *Memo-*

⁴⁹ A *typikon* of Patriarch Alexios Studites for the Monastery of The Divine Mother (1034): Avgustin Nikitin, "Das Studios-Kloster und die alte Rus," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 37 (1988), 107–47, with discussion and partial translation in David Petras, *The Typicon of the Patriarch Alexis the Studite: Novgorod-St. Sophia 1136* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1991); a late eleventh-century rule for the Constantinopolitan monastery of Petra: Alice-Mary Talbot, "Petra Monastery," *ODB*, p. 1643; *typikon* of Patir, ca. 1130–50, for which see the discussion below in (26) *Luke of Messina*, Institutional History, D.

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randum [M] of (31) *Areia* (Papadopoulos, 1967). Of course these are unlikely to have much value to readers who cannot read the documents in medieval Greek. Otherwise, translations have been few and far between: (2) *Pantelleria* (Dujčev, 1971) into Italian; (3) *Theodore Studites* and (4) *Stoudios* (Goshev, 1940) and (6) *Rila* (Dujčev, 1947) into Bulgarian; (16) *Mount Tmolos* into German (Koder, 1988); (23) *Pakourianos* (Kauchtschischvili, 1963) into modern Georgian (in addition to the French and Russian translations). There is also a German paraphrase of part of (60) *Charsianeites* (Hunger, 1958). Though not modern translations, there is an Old Church Slavonic version of (4) *Stoudios* (unedited) and an old Serbian version of (44) *Karyes* (ed. Corović, 1928).

Finally, these documents are hardly known at all in the few prior English translations, which are: (1) *Apa Abraham* (Goodwin, 1859); (5) *Euthymios* (Karlin-Hayter, 1955, reproduced here); (42) *Sabas* (Di Segni, 1995); and a very small part of (36) *Blemmydes* (Munitiz, 1986, also reproduced here). Unfortunately these are not the documents of the greatest historical importance in our collection. The first English translation of (55) *Athanasios I*, produced for this edition, will also be published separately. Bibliographic citations and further details on prior translations will be found in the introductory materials for the individual documents.

Allowing for overlapping coverage, this means that 23 of 61 documents have been available in complete and another five in partial translations prior to this edition. The rest have never before been translated into any language whatsoever. These include documents of exceptional importance such as (9) *Galesios*, (10) *Eleousa*, (13) *Ath. Typikon*, (29) *Kosmosoteira*, (32) *Mamas*, (37) *Auxentios*, (45) *Neophytos* and (60) *Charsianeites*, to name just a few, which are making their appearance now in our edition.

5. Commentaries

Given that the editions of the documents are so widely dispersed and often inadequate besides, it is no surprise that scholarship on them in many cases is not very far advanced. Of the individual texts, (23) *Pakourianos* has attracted the greatest attention, no doubt because of its peculiar interest for cross-cultural history. There are full commentaries in French (Lemerle, 1977), Russian (Arutyunova-Fidanyan, 1978), and Georgian (Kauchtschischvili, 1963). Some of the very brief documents, e.g., (5) *Euthymios*, (16) *Mount Tmolos*, and (18) *Nea Gephyra*, have been adequately discussed by their editors. But again, as is the case with translations, many important documents have been almost completely ignored by scholarship, such as (20) *Black Mountain*, (21) *Roidion*, (30) *Phoberos*, (33) *Heliou Bomon*, (34) *Machairas*, (37) *Auxentios*, (54) *Neilos Damilas*, (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, and (60) *Charsianeites*. That said, the editors have found that there is, nevertheless, a surprising amount of bibliography that can be assembled to shed light on many of the individual documents. Much of this is only incidental treatment in the course of work with other objectives, but given the overall state of scholarship on the documents, it must still be welcomed. Details will be found in the bibliographies for the individual documents.

Scholarship on the entire collection of these documents necessarily has had to await the definition of the corpus itself. As noted above, a consensus on the content of the corpus is even now not complete. Janin (1964) attempted the first overall evaluation in our own times, though he was

⁵⁰ Janin, “Commende et typica,” pp. 5–44.

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unaware of many of the texts in this present collection.⁵⁰ The contributions of Manaphes (1970) and Konidares (1984) have been acknowledged above, while Galatariotou's overview (1987) and that of Abraham-Andreas Thiermeyer (1992), which is based on it, are stimulating if necessarily tentative. Rosemary Morris (1982), Robert Volk (1983), Angeliki Laiou (1985), one of our translators Alice-Mary Talbot (1983), and our editor John Thomas (1985) have examined some of the documents together for particular purposes.⁵¹

6. Geographic and Chronological Distribution

As is the case with most other types of sources from the Byzantine era, it is likely that only a small proportion of the monastic foundation documents have survived. Geographically, the largest number (25) of survivors come from 22 institutions once located in what is now Turkey. Of these, there are 14 documents representing 12 institutions in the old capital city of Constantinople and its environs⁵² and 10 representing a like number of institutions located elsewhere in modern Turkey.⁵³ Greece is next best represented with 20 documents representing four individual monasteries on Mount Athos, the entire group of Athonite monasteries, two monasteries on the island of Crete, and eight elsewhere in Greece.⁵⁴ There are no other large geographic concentrations. Four documents come from Italy (including two from Sicily), two each from Bulgaria, (former Yugoslavian) Macedonia, Jerusalem and the West Bank, and Cyprus.⁵⁵ One document, (1) *Apa Abraham*, comes from Egypt.

Twenty-one documents are associated with religious institutions that are still functioning in some way, though not always as monasteries; of these, most are still *in situ* at the monasteries for which they can be said in some sense to have been written: Iveron, Docheiariou, and Kutlumus on

⁵¹ Rosemary Morris, "Legal Terminology in Monastic Documents of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982), 281–90; Robert Volk, *Gesundheitswesen und Wohltätigkeit im Spiegel der byzantinischen Klostartypika* (Munich, 1983); Angeliki Laiou, "Observations on the Life and Ideology of Byzantine Women," *BF* 9 (1985), 59–102; Alice-Mary Talbot, "A Comparison of the Monastic Experiences of Byzantine Men and Women," *GRBS* 30 (1985), 1–20; John Philip Thomas, "The Rise of the Independent and Self-Governing Monasteries as Reflected in the Monastic *Typika*," *GOTR* 30 (1985), 21–30; Abraham-Andreas Thiermeyer, "Das Typikon-Ktetorikon und sein literarhistorischer Kontext," *OCF* 58 (1992), 475–513.

⁵² (3) *Theodore Studites*, (4) *Stoudios*, (22) *Evergetis*, (27) *Kecharitomene*, (28) *Pantokrator*, (32) *Mamas*, (38) *Kellibara I*, (39) *Lips*, (40) *Anargyroi*, (46) *Akropolites*, (47) *Philanthropos*, (56) *Kellibara II*, (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, and (60) *Charsianeites*.

⁵³ (7) *Latros*, (9) *Galesios*, (16) *Mount Tmolos*, (19) *Attaleiates*, (20) *Black Mountain*, (21) *Roidion*, (30) *Phoberos*, (33) *Heliou Bomon*, (35) *Skoteine*, and (37) *Auxentios*.

⁵⁴ Mount Athos: (11) *Ath. Rule*, (12) *Tzimiskes*, (13) *Ath. Typikon*, (14) *Ath. Testament*, (15) *Constantine IX*, (41) *Docheiariou*, (44) *Karyes*, (48) *Prodromos*, (51) *Koutloumousi*, and (59) *Manuel II*; Crete: (8) *John Xenos* and (54) *Neilos Damilas*; elsewhere in Greece: (17) *Nikon Metanoieite*, (18) *Nea Gephyra*, (24) *Christodoulos*, (29) *Kosmosoteira*, (49) *Geromeri*, (52) *Choumnos*, (53) *Meteora*, and (58) *Menoikeion*.

⁵⁵ Italy: (2) *Pantelleria*, (25) *Fragala*, (26) *Luke of Messina*, and (43) *Kasoulon*; Bulgaria: (6) *Rila* and (23) *Pakourianos*; (former Yugoslavian) Macedonia: (10) *Eleousa* and (61) *Eleousa Inv.*; Jerusalem and the West Bank: (42) *Sabas* and (50) *Gerasimos*; Cyprus: (34) *Machairas* and (45) *Neophytos*.

⁵⁶ (6) *Rila*, (10) *Eleousa*, (11) *Ath. Rule*, (12) *Tzimiskes*, (13) *Ath. Typikon*, (14) *Ath. Testament*, (15) *Constantine IX*, (23) *Pakourianos*, (24) *Christodoulos*, (29) *Kosmosoteira*, (31) *Areia*, (34) *Machairas*, (41)

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Mount Athos; Meteora, Patmos, and Geromeri in Greece; and Machairas on Cyprus.⁵⁶ Others remained on site until relatively modern times, like (45) *Neophytos*, which remained *in situ* at its original monastery on Cyprus until the mid-seventeenth century, when its hard pressed monks sold their manuscripts to agents of the French crown.⁵⁷ Therefore it appears highly likely that the representativeness of the corpus for Byzantine monasticism as a whole is affected by the circumstances of their highly motivated preservation by the institutions for which they were composed. Necessarily, those parts of the Byzantine Empire which remained Christian through modern times are likely overrepresented in the surviving corpus of documents, most notably in the group from the Athonite monasteries. Portions of the empire now in Turkey, except for Constantinople, are likely underrepresented, though it must be admitted that there have been some remarkable survivals, e.g., (19) *Attaleiates* (isotype in the National Library, Athens) and (35) *Skoteine* (autograph, Vatopedi monastery, Mount Athos).

Inevitably, the long passage of time also distorts the sample chronologically somewhat. There are four documents from the fifteenth century; twelve from the fourteenth century; eight from the thirteenth century; thirteen from the twelfth century; eleven from the eleventh century; ten from the tenth century; two from the ninth century; and one each from the eighth and seventh centuries.⁵⁸ The impression of relative balance (except for the earliest centuries) is in fact deceptive, since most of the documents before the later eleventh century are very short, and many owe their preservation not as free-standing monastic foundation documents but as testaments encapsulated in hagiographic sources.⁵⁹

7. Utility for Monastic History

With careful exploitation, it is possible to utilize the documents in this collection to illustrate the outlines of the development of Byzantine monasticism from its origins to the end of the empire. The nine chapter introductions, prefaced by the discussion of early monastic rules, will attempt to

Docheiariou, (42) *Sabas*, (48) *Prodromos*, (49) *Geromeri*, (51) *Koutloumoussi*, (53) *Meteora*, (58) *Menoikeion*, (59) *Manuel II*, and (61) *Eleousa Inv.*

⁵⁷ Cyril Mango and Ernest Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytus and Its Wall Paintings," *DOP* 20 (1966), 128, 130.

⁵⁸ Fifteenth century: (54) *Neilos Damilas*, (59) *Manuel II*, (60) *Charsianeites*, and (61) *Eleousa Inv.*; fourteenth century: (46) *Akropolites*, (47) *Philanthropos*, (48) *Prodromos*, (49) *Geromeri*, (50) *Gerasimos*, (51) *Koutloumoussi*, (52) *Choumnos*, (53) *Meteora*, (55) *Athanasios I*, (56) *Kellibara II*, (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, and (58) *Menoikeion*; thirteenth century: (34) *Machairas*, (35) *Skoteine*, (36) *Blemmydes*, (37) *Auxentios*, (38) *Kellibara I*, (39) *Lips*, (40) *Anargyroi*, and (45) *Neophytos*; twelfth century: (25) *Fragala [B], [C]*, (26) *Luke of Messina*, (27) *Kecharitomene*, (28) *Pantokrator*, (29) *Kosmosoteira*, (30) *Phoberos*, (31) *Areia*, (32) *Mamas*, (33) *Heliou Bomon*, (41) *Docheiariou*, (42) *Sabas*, (43) *Kasoulon*, and (44) *Karyes*; eleventh century: (8) *John Xenos*, (9) *Galesios*, (10) *Eleousa*, (18) *Nea Gephyra*, (19) *Attaleiates*, (20) *Black Mountain*, (21) *Roidion*, (22) *Evergetis*, (23) *Pakourianos*, (24) *Christodoulos*, and (25) *Fragala [A]*; tenth century: (5) *Euthymios*, (6) *Rila*, (7) *Latros*, (11) *Ath. Rule*, (12) *Tzimiskes*, (13) *Ath. Typikon*, (14) *Ath. Testament*, (15) *Constantine IX*, (16) *Mount Tmolos*, and (17) *Nikon Metanoeite*; ninth century: (3) *Theodore Studites* and (4) *Stoudios*; eighth century: (2) *Pantelleria*; seventh century: (1) *Apa Abraham*.

⁵⁹ (5) *Euthymios*, (6) *Rila*, (7) *Latros* (8) *John Xenos*, (9) *Galesios*, (17) *Nikon Metanoeite*.

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do this insofar as the current scope of scholarship allows. Given this intent, the geographical and chronological limitations on the Byzantine monastic foundation documents as discussed above will necessarily serve as caveats on our conclusions.

It should also be kept in mind that, ambitious as this current project has been, there are some other critically important bodies of source material that need to be well understood before a definitive history of Byzantine monasticism can be attempted. The hagiography project based at Dumbarton Oaks formerly under the direction of Alexander Kazhdan†, with the assistance of our translator Alice-Mary Talbot, promises to be one of these important sources. The on-going publication of the *Actes de l'Athos*, from which our own project has benefited, will continue to illuminate another important group of sources. Hagiography and the Athonite cartularies are especially important as correctives, in their own very different ways, for the normative bias of most of the Byzantine monastic foundation documents, aside from a few exceptional texts like (12) *Tzimiskes*, (15) *Constantine IX*, (21) *Roidion*, and (55) *Athanasios I*. Finally, John Thomas hopes to undertake a comprehensive study of the canon law tradition in the Byzantine world in order to illuminate the much-neglected viewpoint of the empire's public authorities on the essentially private world of Byzantine religious foundations.

Early Monastic Rules

The earliest of the documents in our collection, (1) *Apa Abraham*, dates from the first quarter of the seventh century, at which time Christian monasticism had already existed in the Eastern Mediterranean world for well over three hundred years. By the time the first surviving monastic *typika*, (2) *Pantelleria* and (4) *Stoudios*, made their appearance towards the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries, respectively, approximately a half-millennium of monastic history had already taken place. Even if, as many contemporary experts suspect, a profound cultural and institutional break occurred between the end of late antiquity and the beginning of the medieval period during this interval,¹ our medieval Byzantine monastic foundation documents confirm that there was some continuity of monastic institutions and customs from the ancient world. The surviving monastic rules of late antiquity, considered together with our monastic foundation documents, enable us to form some estimation of the nature and extent of medieval Byzantium's inheritance from the monastic traditions of the ancient world.

A. *The Ascetic Treatises of Basil of Caesarea*

Basil, archbishop of Caesarea (370–379), was the author of the earliest surviving monastic rules composed in the Greek language. These are the so-called *Longer Rules* [LR] and *Shorter Rules* [SR].² As documents of late antiquity that are already readily available in English translations as well as in some other languages, these rules have not been retranslated for our collection of medieval Byzantine monastic foundation documents.³ Basil was also the author of some but by no means all of the other documents that circulated along with the rules as his *Ascetic Treatises* in many medieval Byzantine manuscripts.⁴

¹ See Alexander Kazhdan and Anthony Cutler, "Continuity and Discontinuity in Byzantine History," *Byzantion* 52 (1982), 429–78, and Warren Treadgold, "The Break in Byzantium and the Gap in Byzantine Studies," *BF* 15 (1990), 289–316 with references therein for a discussion of the problem.

² *Regulae fusius tractatae*, PG 31, cols. 889–1053 and *Regulae brevius tractatae*, cols. 1080–1306; valuable studies include: Emanuel Amand de Mendieta, "Le système cénobitique basilien comparé au système cénobitique pachômien," *RHR* 152 (1957), 31–80; Gustave Bardy, "Basile (Règle de saint)," *DDC* 2 (1937), cols. 218–24; Ferdinand Laun, "Die beiden Regeln des Basilius, ihre Echtheit und Entstehung," *ZKG* 44 (1925), 1–61; Adalbert de Vogüé, "The Greater Rules of Saint Basil—A Survey," *Word and Spirit: A Monastic Review* 1 (1979), 49–85.

³ English translations by W. K. L. Clarke, *The Ascetic Works of Saint Basil* (London, 1925), *Longer Rules*, pp. 145–228, *Shorter Rules*, pp. 229–351; Sister M. Monica Wagner, *Saint Basil, Ascetical Works* (New York, 1950), *Longer Rules*, pp. 223–337.

⁴ For a proposed list of the authentic ascetical works, see E. Amand de Mendieta, *L'ascèse monastique de saint Basile. Essai historique* (Paris, 1949), p. xxvi; Jean Gribomont, *Histoire du texte des Ascétiques de saint Basile* (Louvain, 1953), provides a description and classification of the manuscripts.

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Unlike the later monastic *typika*, both of the Basilian rules are simply a series of responses to questions posed to Basil by his disciples. No certain evidence exists to fix a date for the *Longer Rules*, though they likely are from after Basil's return to Caesarea in 358 following his tour of monastic foundations throughout the eastern Roman Empire. They may have been intended to guide Basil's first monastic settlement near Annesi in Pontos in the 360s, but could also date from some time in the 370s during his episcopacy. Since the *Shorter Rules* reference the *Longer Rules*, they clearly were written somewhat later.

Although it seems to us that to label the entire Byzantine monastic tradition as "Basilian,"⁵ as is frequently done by non-specialist commentators, is mistaken, the Basilian tradition (including the *Rules*) certainly did serve as an enduring—if also inconsistent—influence on the later documents included in our collection. Therefore, without presuming to offer an authoritative summary of this tradition, it does not seem out of place to examine here briefly how Basilian monasticism related to its medieval Byzantine successors.

1. The *Longer Rules*

a. Regulation of Admissions and Departures

Significant differences with the later Byzantine monastic traditions appear in the *Longer Rules'* discussion of admissions to the Basilian monastery. Applicants were to be tested through hard labor [LR 10], an idea employed in those Byzantine monasteries in which manual labor remained an important part of daily life for at least some of the monks.⁶ Slaves [LR 11] could not be accepted, nor a married man [LR 12] without his spouse's consent. Medieval Byzantine founders, generally less respectful of public authority, were less scrupulous.⁷

In his day, Basil welcomed young orphans [LR 15], [LR 53] to the monastery, though they were to be housed, fed and educated apart from the adult monks. Many—but not all—medieval Byzantine founders, fearing the potential for sexual misconduct, came to disagree; the author of (36) *Blemmydes* [9] in the thirteenth century is a conspicuous exception.

Once accepted, monks could not leave the monastery [LR 14]—unless they had suffered injury, on pain of sacrilege. Medieval Byzantine attitudes varied.⁸ After attempting to enforce

⁵ For the traditional view, see Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 3 (Westminster, Md., 1960), p. 213: "The Basilians are the one great order of the Orient," rightly rejected by Cyril Mango, *Byzantium, The Empire of New Rome* (New York, 1980), p. 110: "As has often been observed, there never existed in the Greek Church a 'Basilian Order' or, for that matter, any other monastic 'order' . . ."

⁶ For testing of novices through manual labor in Byzantine times, see (22) *Evergetis* [37], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [53], (30) *Phoberos* [51], (32) *Mamas* [22], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22], and (34) *Machairas* [56].

⁷ In the fifteenth century, however, (54) *Neilos Damilas* [5] provides that women should not be admitted to the convent on Crete for which that document was written without the consent of their husbands.

⁸ For monastic stability in Byzantine times, often discussed in terms of the acceptability of an outside monk (a *xenokourites*) for tonsure, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [14], (4) *Stoudios* [24], (11) *Ath. Rule* [18], [34], (12) *Tzimiskes* [2], [4], [5], [8], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [22], (15) *Constantine IX* [7], (19) *Attaleiates* [30], (22) *Evergetis* [37], (23) *Christodoulos* [B12], (27) *Kecharitomene* [54], (30) *Phoberos* [52], (32) *Mamas* [22], [43], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22], (34) *Machairas* [60], [148], (35) *Skoteine* [17], (37) *Auxentios* [3], and

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monastic stability in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, Byzantine founders of the reform era were more concerned that monks who wished to depart not be permitted to reclaim their entrance gifts; from the early thirteenth century some founders sought to enforce stability once again, but probably without a great deal of success.

b. Prohibition of Private Property

Like later monastic founders in the reform tradition, Basil was very much concerned with issues of property renunciation [LR 8] by postulants, and laid down specific rules [LR 9] for how this was to be distributed. However, some medieval Byzantine founders would not insist on a complete surrender of all personal property.⁹

c. Cenobitical Bias

Like most of the later monastic *typika*, the *Longer Rules* are forthrightly partial to cenobitical life and hostile to solitaries [LR 7], cf. [LR 24]. Coming from an era when the public authorities of the church (perhaps including Basil himself at this point) were still strong, it is not surprising that the multiplication of monasteries in one place is condemned [LR 35]. By medieval Byzantine times (indeed as early as the sixth century) the overwhelming reliance on private initiative for founding monasteries would have made any attempt to promote a diocesan centralization futile.¹⁰

d. The Superior's Style of Rule

The superior appears to have been a much less autocratic ruler than many of his early medieval Byzantine successors. "Aged and wise" monks were charged with admonishing [LR 27] an errant superior, a precaution revived periodically in later Byzantine times along with the provision that the superior should take counsel [LR 48] with them on important issues.¹¹ He should also meet

(39) *Lips* [20]; for bans on reclamation of entrance gifts, see (22) *Evergetis* [37], (27) *Kecharitomene* [7], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55], (30) *Phoberos* [53A], (32) *Mamas* [5], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5], and (34) *Machairas* [59]; for the revival of strictness, see (45) *Neophytos* [C5], [CB1] ff, cf. [4], (55) *Athanasios I* [7], and (59) *Manuel II* [8]. For a general discussion of the problem, see Emil Herman, "La 'stabilitas loci' nel monachismo bizantino," *OCP* 21 (1955), 115–42, and Donald M. Nicol, "Instabilitas Loci: The Wanderlust of Late Byzantine Monks," *SCH* 22 (1985), 193–202.

⁹ For the problem of whether to insist on a complete property renunciation or permit its partial retention, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [2], [7]; (9) *Galesios* [191]; (10) *Eleousa* [5]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [34]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [30], [32]; (19) *Attaleiates* [33], [35]; (20) *Black Mountain* [84]; (21) *Roidion* [A3]; (22) *Evergetis* [22]; (23) *Pakourianos* [5]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A22]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [50]; (28) *Pantokrator* [32]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [47]; (30) *Phoberos* [41]; (32) *Mamas* [26], [35]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [34]; (34) *Machairas* [87]; (35) *Skoteine* [13]; (37) *Auxentios* [5]; (45) *Neophytos* [C10]; (52) *Choumnos* [B11], [B19]; (53) *Meteora* [8]; (55) *Athanasios I* [5]; (56) *Kellibara II* [9]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [46]; (58) *Menoikeion* [12]; (59) *Manuel II* [2], [12]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [B5].

¹⁰ See my *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987), pp. 46–47, 115–17, 123–33.

¹¹ For similar schemes of consultative governance in Byzantine times, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [22]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [32]; (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14], [17], [19]; (23) *Pakourianos* [5], [19]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [34], [41], [45], [78]; (30) *Phoberos* [35], [38]; (31) *Areia* [M9], [T10]; (38) *Kellibara I* [15]; (39) *Lips* [10], [27], [32], [38], [39]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [18]; (55) *Athanasios I* [5]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [67]; (58) *Menoikeion* [22]; and (59) *Manuel II* [3], [6], [7].

periodically [LR 54] with the heads of other monastic communities on matters of common interest, advice that was rarely practical for medieval Byzantine monastic communities or desired by their jealous founders. Like the superiors of later Byzantine monasteries, the Basilian superior was told [LR 30] not to be proud of his rank, nor to rebuke [LR 50] his monks when angry.¹² The superior was further instructed [LR 31] to render personal service to the monks of his community, a precept evidently too radical even for reform-minded founders of medieval monasteries.

e. Daily Life of the Monks

The regulation of daily life bears a fair correspondence to many later Byzantine practices. Silence [LR 13] was recommended for novices; as in certain later medieval documents, other monks were to speak sparingly and laughter [LR 17] was proscribed.¹³ As in many but not all medieval Byzantine monasteries, confession was a superior's duty to offer [LR 25] and mandatory for monks [LR 26] who were told [LR 46] not to conceal sins from their superior.¹⁴

f. Importance of Manual Labor

In terms of the economic regime portrayed, there is a strong endorsement [LR 37] of manual labor. Monks were to pursue their appropriate trades [LR 38] as assigned by the superiors, with tools that were the common property [LR 41] of the community. Yet there were restrictions on commerce [LR 39], [LR 40], which was to have a strictly utilitarian focus. The advocacy of manual labor as a salutary discipline for all monks gradually died out in medieval Byzantine monasticism, to be replaced by an increasing emphasis on the performance of the monastic hours, psalmody, and other aspects of liturgical life.¹⁵ Ideology aside, however, some medieval monastic communi-

¹² For echoes of these injunctions in later Byzantine exhortations to the superior, see (10) *Eleousa* [12]; (22) *Evergetis* [17]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [44]; (30) *Phoberos* [36]; (32) *Mamas* [42], [48]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [41], [47]; (34) *Machairas* [144]; (58) *Menoikeion* [19]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [B9].

¹³ For restriction of conversation and proscription of laughter in later Byzantine documents, see (2) *Pantelleria* [7], [18]; (7) *Latros* [11]; (22) *Evergetis* [9], [21]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [41], [47]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [21]; (30) *Phoberos* [21], [25], [39], [40]; (32) *Mamas* [17], [35]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], [34]; (34) *Machairas* [63], [113]; (55) *Athanasios I* [4]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [8], [17].

¹⁴ For the requirement of confession to the superior and authorized alternatives in Byzantine times see (22) *Evergetis* [7], [15], (23) *Pakourianos* [13], (28) *Pantokrator* [20], (27) *Kecharitomene* [16], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [16], [17], (30) *Phoberos* [14], [35], (31) *Areia* [T2], (32) *Mamas* [29], [30], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [29], [30], (34) *Machairas* [50], [51], [53], [141], (39) *Lips* [11], (52) *Choumnos* [A17], (54) *Neilos Damilas* [9], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [105], [109], [111], (58) *Menoikeion* [13], and (60) *Charsianeites* [B4].

¹⁵ For the practice of manual labor in Byzantine times, see (2) *Pantelleria* [14], [16]; (4) *Stoudios* [26], [33]; (6) *Rila* [17], (7) *Latros* [4]; (12) *Tzimiskes* [20]; (15) *Constantine IX* [4], [10]; (20) *Black Mountain* [78], [79], [80], [82], [83]; (22) *Evergetis* [4], [21], [33]; (23) *Pakourianos* [14]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A22], [A23]; (26) *Luke of Messina* [6]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [6], [25], [27], [75]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [39]; (30) *Phoberos* [48]; (32) *Mamas* [19], [23], [35], [47]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19], [23], [46]; (34) *Machairas* [32], [33], [86], [113], [115], [120]; (35) *Skoteine* [23], [41]; (37) *Mount Auxentios* [6], [7]; (45) *Neophytos* [15], [18], [20], [C6], [C13]; (52) *Choumnos* [B8], [B17], [B18]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [6], [7], [8], [10], [16]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [66], [95], [96], [97]; (58) *Menoikeion* [10], [12], [17]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [B20]. For the generally greater importance of liturgical functions, see (4) *Stoudios*; (10) *Eleousa* [6] ff.; (11) *Ath. Rule*; (19) *Attaleiates* [32]; (20) *Black Mountain*; (22) *Evergetis* [4], [7], [33]; (23) *Pakourianos* [6]; (24)

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ties became even more entrepreneurial than Basil could have foreseen, despite similar anti-commercial regulation by the founders of their own era.¹⁶

g. Food, Clothing, and Medical Care

General guidelines on suitable food and on procedures for the refectory were influential in medieval times. Seating at meals was to be determined by the appropriate official [LR 21]. Monks were to taste all food put before them [LR 18]; simple, easily procured food was to be preferred [LR 19]; and no special food served for guests [20]. The superior was allowed a wide latitude in setting diets for individual monks that eventually becomes a part of medieval Byzantine monasticism as well. There was much subsequent elaboration on particulars of the monastic diet, however, for this was one of the favorite concerns of patrons in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹⁷ The regulation of clothing endorsed [LR 22] a single multi-purpose garment, especially one that was easy to obtain and maintain. Though more practical-minded in allowing additional garments, later Byzantine monasteries in the reform tradition endorsed the principles of ready access and easy maintenance.¹⁸ Basil guardedly endorsed [LR 55] the use of medical science, but also equated illness with punishment for sin. The authors of medieval Byzantine monastic documents did not share this belief, and were on the whole more sanguine about the value of medicine for their monks.¹⁹

h. External Relations

The extent to which monks should be allowed to maintain relations with their relatives was a

Christodoulos [A15]; (28) *Pantokrator* [32]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3]; (31) *Areia* [M8], [T1]; (32) *Mamas* [21], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [21]; (34) *Machairas* [31], [35], [42] ff.; (35) *Skoteine* [14]; (39) *Lips* [4]; (44) *Karyes* [12]; (45) *Neophytos* [C3]; (46) *Akropolites* [7]; (48) *Prodromos* [9]; (52) *Choumnos* [A16], [B14]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [10]; (55) *Athanasios I* [4]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [56]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [16].

¹⁶ For the views of medieval Byzantine founders on entrepreneurial activities, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [21]; (7) *Latros* [12]; (12) *Tzimiskes* [13], [15], [22], [24]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [44], [53]; (15) *Constantine IX* [3], [4], [6], [9], [10], [12]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A22]; (26) *Luke of Messina* [8], [9]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [66], [69], [86], [97]; (34) *Machairas* [110], [111]; (35) *Skoteine* [23]; (37) *Auxentios* [9]; (45) *Neophytos* [10], [C13]; (47) *Philanthropos* [2]; (53) *Meteora* [4]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [7], [8]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [66]; (59) *Manuel II* [2]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [C8].

¹⁷ For a discussion of the monastic diet in Byzantine times, see Appendix B: The Regulation of Diet in the Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents, along with the discussion in (43) *Kasoulon* Analysis, and the works cited in the General Bibliography, XXVII. Daily Life, B. Diet.

¹⁸ For monastic clothing in Byzantine times, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [12]; (4) *Stoudios* [38]; (9) *Galesios* [130], [187]; (10) *Eleousa* [9]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [35]; (22) *Evergetis* [25], [26]; (23) *Pakourianos* [9]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [52]; (28) *Pantokrator* [22]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [52]; (30) *Phoberos* [44]; (31) *Areia* [T4]; (32) *Mamas* [28]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28]; (34) *Machairas* [102], [103]; (35) *Skoteine* [23]; (37) *Auxentios* [7]; (39) *Lips* [36]; (45) *Neophytos* [15], [C15]; (53) *Meteora* [8]; (56) *Kellibara II* [7], [8]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [68], [97] ff.; (58) *Menoikeion* [12]; (60) *Charsianeites* [B20]; and the works cited in the General Bibliography, XXVII. Daily Life, C. Dress.

¹⁹ For the care of sick monks in Byzantine times, see (10) *Eleousa* [13]; (22) *Evergetis* [26], [41]; (23) *Pakourianos* [28]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [56], [57]; (28) *Pantokrator* [10]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [47], [53], [61]; (30) *Phoberos* [45], [55], [56]; (32) *Mamas* [33], [34]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33]; (34) *Machairas* [107], [108]; (39) *Lips* [33], [35]; (55) *Athanasios I* [4]; (56) *Kellibara II* [5]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [90], [91], [92]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [C3].

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difficult question, and would remain so in later times.²⁰ The *Longer Rules* provide that a monk's (needy) pious relatives be cared for by the community as a whole [LR 32], but not even visits were to be permitted from those who were irreligious. Monks returning from a journey were to be interrogated on their return [LR 44], a practice revived by some monasteries in medieval Byzantium.²¹

Basil's foundation was a double monastery, paired with a nunnery [LR 33], an arrangement that was much rarer in medieval Byzantine times when founders generally insisted on a much stricter sexual segregation, though in the fifteenth century the author of (54) *Neilos Damilas* [8] would justify his own similar foundation by appealing to the Basilian precedent.

2. The *Shorter Rules*

The structure and content of the *Shorter Rules* differ considerably from those of the *Longer Rules*. The number of questions (313) is much greater than for the *Longer Rules* (55). Basil's replies are also very much briefer. Many have no regulatory content at all, but belong in the category of scriptural exegesis (e.g., [SR 282]). There is also a great deal of discussion of disciplinary and attitudinal problems, much of it repetitious. These *Rules* also lack any evident pattern of organization, leading one to suppose that they may have been compiled incrementally as questions arose and Basil replied to them. Nevertheless, there is some material (about one-third of the whole) which can be said to have a bearing on the regulation of monastic life as in the *Longer Rules*.

a. Regulation of Admissions

The regulation of admissions was another subject of common interest to both the Basilian and later Byzantine traditions.²² The *Shorter Rules* permit admissions for short stays [SR 97] that are usually not foreseen by the authors of the later Byzantine documents. Applicants enmeshed in worldly affairs were discouraged [SR 107]; the later Byzantine tradition agreed but in practice was more tolerant. Here, new admissions require the consent of the brotherhood [SR 112]; in the Byzantine tradition this was left to the discretion of the superior. Like later monastic reformers (if not the overall Byzantine tradition), the *Shorter Rules* are wary of accepting gifts from outside

²⁰ For monks' relations with their families in Byzantine times, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [3], [8], [9]; (12) *Tzimiskes* [14]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [30], [32]; (22) *Evergetis* [14], [18], [22]; (23) *Pakourianos* [8]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], [17]; (30) *Phoberos* [37]; (31) *Areia* [T10]; (32) *Mamas* [44]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45]; (34) *Machairas* [136], [146]; (39) *Lips* [15]; (41) *Docheiariou* [5]; (45) *Neophytos* [C14]; (52) *Choumnos* [A4]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [7]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [75], [76]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [B13], [B14], [C9].

²¹ For similar interrogations in Byzantine times, see (57) *Bebaia Elpis* and (59) *Manuel II* [5].

²² For qualifications for admission to monasteries in Byzantine times, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [18]; (4) *Stoudios* [24]; (7) *Latros* [9]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [18]; (12) *Tzimiskes* [4], [5], [16]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [22], [34], [50]; (15) *Constantine IX* [1], [7]; (19) *Attaleiates* [30]; (22) *Evergetis* [37]; (23) *Pakourianos* [6], [7], [24], [25]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A26]; (25) *Fragala* [A8], [B8]; (26) *Luke of Messina* [5]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [4], [5], [30]; (28) *Pantokrator* [16]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3], [48], [49], [55]; (30) *Phoberos* [42], [51]; (32) *Mamas* [5], [22]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5], [22]; (34) *Machairas* [55], [56], [60]; (36) *Blemmydes* [9]; (37) *Auxentios* [12]; (38) *Kellibara I* [17]; (39) *Lips* [4], [17], [18], [20]; (42) *Sabas* [1]; (45) *Neophytos* [9], [C17]; (52) *Choumnos* [B17]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [5]; (55) *Athanasios I* [7]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [22], [23], [146]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [B12], [C2].

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ers.²³ The superior was to decide on gifts from postulants' relatives [SR 304] and others [SR 305]; the steward was responsible for providing any favor in return to benefactors [SR 308].

b. Prohibition of Private Property

The discussion of private property in the *Shorter Rules* foreshadows some major problems to come in this area later in Byzantine monasticism. These include the prohibition of private property in the brotherhood [SR 85], cf. [SR 92]—not excluding “personal effects” [SR 86]—and a discussion of whether admission to the community requires the payment of a gift [SR 89]. The Basilian tradition on these issues, ignored for a time in early medieval Byzantium, would be influential again during the late eleventh century with the advent of the monastic reform movement.²⁴

c. Food, Clothing, and Medical Care

The *Shorter Rules* also show that problems of diet were particularly troublesome, e.g., how to deal with demands of special diets [SR 71], self-imposed abstinences [SR 137] and private fasts [SR 138], claims that certain foods were harmful [SR 132], etc. These are either absent or not so prominent in the medieval Byzantine monastic foundation documents.²⁵ Yet the provisions for readings at mealtimes [SR 180] and for the punishment of monks late or absent for meals [SR 136] anticipate typical Byzantine monastic practices.²⁶

The *Shorter Rules* moderate the harsh (and no doubt untenable) position of the *Longer Rules* [LR 22] against more than one set of clothing and announce the principle that clothing should be appropriate to task and season [SR 210], cf. [SR 90], thereby bringing the Basilian tradition closer to the common-sense conventions of medieval Byzantine monasticism. Some harsh attitudes on the subject persist in the *Shorter Rules*, however, such as the declarations that while monks should

²³ For the views of medieval Byzantine founders on the acceptability of outside gifts and general discussions of patronage, see (6) *Rila* [7], [8]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [36]; (19) *Attaleiates* [30]; (22) *Evergetis*, Appendix; (23) *Pakourianos* [20]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A6], [A9]; (25) *Fragala* [B11], [C1], [C3]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [8], [71], [76]; (28) *Pantokrator* [8]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [86]; (31) *Areia* [M10], [T6]; (32) *Mamas* [5], [27], [37], [40]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5], [27], [37]; (34) *Machairas* [7], [9], [15], [22], [23], [153]; (35) *Skoteine* [9], [10], [11]; (37) *Auxentios* [15]; (39) *Lips* [19]; (45) *Neophytos* [20], (46) *Akropolites* [8], (49) *Geromeri* [15], (50) *Gerasimos* [2]; (51) *Koutloumoussi* [A8], [B12]; (52) *Choumnos* [A18], [A20], [A26], [B7], [B22]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [143], [156], [157], [158], [159]; (58) *Menoikeion* [1], [2], [21]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [A6], [A7], [A8], [A9], [A11], [A12].

²⁴ See discussion below in Chapter Four.

²⁵ For subsequent treatment of self-imposed dietary austerities, see (11) *Ath. Rule* [28], (20) *Black Mountain* [72], (22) *Evergetis* [9], (23) *Pakourianos* [15], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [24], (30) *Phoberos* [19], [24], (34) *Machairas* [66], (35) *Blemmydes* [11], and (45) *Neophytos* [C4]; for complaints about food, see (22) *Evergetis* [41], (27) *Kecharitomene* [57], (30) *Phoberos* [56], (32) *Mamas* [34], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33], (34) *Machairas* [108], (45) *Neophytos* [C12].

²⁶ For similar refectory procedures in Byzantine times, see (4) *Stoudios* [8], [28]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [21]; (20) *Black Mountain* [33]; (22) *Evergetis* [9]; (23) *Pakourianos* [8]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [40]; (28) *Pantokrator* [9]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [21], [24]; (30) *Phoberos* [21], [26]; (31) *Areia* [T3]; (32) *Mamas* [17]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17]; (34) *Machairas* [62]; (37) *Auxentios* [10]; (39) *Lips* [29]; (56) *Kellibara II* [4]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [85]; (58) *Menoikeion* [8]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [C10].

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endure poor quality or even ill-fitting garments or shoes [SR 168]; it is also a sin for a monk to insist on cheap clothes or shoes [SR 50].

Treatment of the sick [SR 155] moderates the rather hostile tone of the *Long Rules* [LR 55]. The instruction to take sick monks to a hospital for treatment [SR 286] anticipates the usual medieval Byzantine practice.

d. Importance of Manual Labor

Like the latter, the *Shorter Rules* place a major emphasis on manual labor that is not generally to be found in later medieval documents. The treatment of how to deal with those who would not work [SR 61], [SR 119], those who refused [SR 121] or could not endure [SR 69] especially heavy labors, and of care for [SR 143] and loss of [SR 144] tools shows a level of detailed regulation indicative of the importance of manual labor in a late antique foundation. Not surprisingly, this detailed regulation is absent in the later Byzantine monastic tradition, which generally placed a considerably lesser value on manual labor itself, and often restricted the performance of necessary duties to a separate—and less prestigious—class of monks.

e. Importance of Reading and Literacy

Although the *Shorter Rules* endorse the reading of scripture for all [SR 95], the superior was to determine who was to be taught the arts [SR 105] and letters [SR 96]. Like the *Longer Rules*, the *Shorter Rules* endorse [SR 292] the religious education of lay children. Overall, a commitment to literacy and a sense of educational mission would be less prominent in medieval Byzantine monasticism.²⁷

f. External Relations

The *Shorter Rules*' regulation of the external relations of the monks demonstrates that the community was an integral part of the public world of late antiquity, with concerns like paying for the tax arrears of monks [SR 94]; the sharing of goods [SR 181], provision of mutual assistance [SR 284] and conduct of commercial transactions [SR 285] with neighboring monasteries; and a hostility to liturgies [SR 310] held in private dwellings. This was very different environment from the more insular, private world in which later Byzantine monasteries would find themselves.

Similarly, the close relations portrayed here with the neighboring nunnery [SR 108], [SR 109] would not find many parallels in later Byzantine monasticism. However, certain precautions (e.g., having a witness present) taken in this connection would be adopted in regulating other necessary contacts between the sexes in medieval times.²⁸

²⁷ For the educational functions of monasteries in Byzantine times and the rationale for not providing such services, see (10) *Eleousa* [17]; (23) *Pakourianos* [31]; (28) *Pantokrator* [55]; (36) *Blemmydes* [9]; (53) *Meteora* [6]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [5]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [148]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [14].

²⁸ For medieval Byzantine precautions in connection with relations between the sexes, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [9], [15], [16], [17]; (9) *Galesios* [129]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34]; (22) *Evergetis* [38], [39]; (23) *Pakourianos* [23]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A10], [A13]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [17], [80]; (28) *Pantokrator* [18]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [56], [84]; (30) *Phoberos* [55]; (31) *Areia* [M6]; (32) *Mamas* [27]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [27]; (34) *Machairas* [115], [118], [119]; (37) *Auxentios* [12], [13]; (57) *Lips* [16], [26]; (42) *Sabas* [1]; (45) *Neophytos* [19]; (53) *Meteora* [7]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [7]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [76]; (58) *Menoikeion* [14]; (59) *Manuel II* [13]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [C2].

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g. Policies on Visits

Despite a critical tone, the *Shorter Rules* adopt what is in effect a relatively liberal regulation of visits and travel. As in the medieval Byzantine tradition, monks were not to travel without the superior's permission [SR 120], visits by friends and relatives were discouraged [SR 188] (but not forbidden), and only the steadfast were allowed home visitations [SR 189].²⁹ Reflecting a more open society than in medieval times, visits from the laity for prayer [SR 312] were encouraged, though these visitors were not to interrupt work [SR 313]. In the monasteries of medieval Byzantium, lay visitors (aside from patrons and their families) seem to have been less common.

h. Institutional Philanthropy

On some other matters, the *Shorter Rules* endorse charitable distributions [SR 100], to take place at the discretion of the steward [SR 302], but, significantly, not without limits [SR 101]. Still, charity had not yet become formulized and essentially ritualistic as it was in many monasteries in medieval times.³⁰ The reception of communion required a proper attitude [SR 172] and was not for the "unclean" [SR 309], anticipating the ever more cautious attitudes of the founders of Byzantine reform monasteries on the subject of frequent reception of the Eucharist.³¹ Confession was also recommended [SR 229], but only to priests [SR 288]; founders of Byzantine reform monasteries would attempt to restrict this further to an obligation to confess only to one's superior.

3. Other Testimonies to the Basilian Tradition

There are other ascetic works attributed to Basil but several may actually be the work of later authors writing for foundations loosely modeled on his. These documents provide further testimony on the Basilian monastic tradition. They include the *Introduction to the Ascetic Life*,³² which affirms the place of women within the monastic movement; the *Discourse on Ascetic Dis-*

²⁹ For travel and visitation policies for monks in Byzantine times, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [10]; (7) *Latros* [6], [12]; (9) *Galesios* [150]; (12) *Tzimiskes* [8]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [33], [35]; (21) *Roidion* [B5]; (23) *Pakourianos* [8], [15]; (25) *Fragala* [B10]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [17], [29], [80]; (28) *Pantokrator* [13], [21]; (32) *Mamas* [12]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [12]; (34) *Machairas* [118], [136]; (39) *Lips* [15], [16]; (42) *Sabas* [8], (44) *Karyes* [12]; (45) *Neophytos* [10], [C5], [C17]; (52) *Choumnos* [A21]; (55) *Athanasios I* [6]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [55], [72], [75], [76]; (59) *Manuel II* [5]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [B19], [C4], [C9], [C10].

³⁰ For charitable distributions to the poor in Byzantine monasteries, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [21]; (9) *Galesios* [192]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [49]; (19) *Attaleiates* [2], [20]; (21) *Roidion* [B7], [B13], [B15]; (22) *Evergetis* [38]; (23) *Pakourianos* [10], [21], [26], [29]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A25]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [59], [61], [63], [64]; (28) *Pantokrator* [8], [11], [45]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [6], [9], [10], [56]; (30) *Phoberos* [24], [54]; (32) *Mamas* [13], [39]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [13]; (34) *Machairas* [29], [118]; (37) *Auxentios* [7], [9], [13], [14]; (45) *Neophytos* [C18]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [115], [149], [150]; (58) *Menoikeion* [7], [22]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [A9], [C14], [C15].

³¹ For discussions of the appropriate frequency of reception of the Eucharist in Byzantine times, see (22) *Evergetis* [5], (27) *Kecharitomene* [33], (30) *Phoberos* [11], (32) *Mamas* [32], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [32], (34) *Machairas* [37], and (58) *Menoikeion* [16].

³² *Praevia instituto ascetica*, PG 31, cols. 619–26, trans. Clarke, *Works*, pp. 55–59, and Wagner, *Saint Basil*, pp. 9–13.

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cipline,³³ a succinct code of conduct for the pious monk also known in a Latin version of the fifth century; and two *Ascetic Discourses*,³⁴ the first, notable for its moderation, suggesting how a regulatory text like the later monastic *typika* could have developed out of a work of this genre, and another, quoted by some later Byzantine foundation documents for its analogy of the superior to an artist's model and its identification of inequality as the root cause of envy and hatred.³⁵

More influential than these texts was the *Discourse on Renunciation of the World*,³⁶ frequently quoted or endorsed by the *typika* of later reform monasteries for its condemnation of secret eating, its instruction to avoid quarrels over seating at meals, and its scriptural quotation that "the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence, and men of violence take it by force" (Matt. 11:12). The warning against homoerotic associations, not a concern of the *Rules*, suggests that this text is post-Basilian.

The *Ascetic Constitutions*, which is certainly not a genuine work of Basil of Caesarea, nevertheless was thought to be one by several of the authors of later Byzantine *typika*.³⁷ Another work from the *Ascetic Treatises* that was popular despite its illegitimate claim to genuine Basilian authorship was the *Penitential*, which was brought back into use by Theodore the Studite in the early ninth century and is quoted in two thirteenth-century *typika*.³⁸

The concerns and disciplinary provisions of these subsidiary works in the *Ascetic Treatises* are frequently quite different from those of the undoubted Basilian rules, raising some concern as to whether they can be used to establish a tradition dating back to the life of Basil himself. Perhaps these works are best seen as representatives of unidentified intermediary traditions between the Basilian *Rules* and the later monastic foundation documents included here in this collection that further study may elucidate.

³³ *Sermo de ascetica disciplina*, PG 31, cols. 647–52, trans. Clarke, *Works*, pp. 73–75, and Wagner, *Saint Basil*, pp. 33–36.

³⁴ *Sermones ascetici I et II*, PG 31, cols. 869–82 and 881–88, esp. 884B and 885A, trans. Clarke, *Works*, pp. 133–39, 141–44, and Wagner, *Saint Basil*, pp. 207–15, 217–22.

³⁵ For comparison of the superior to an artist's model, see (9) *Galesios* [180] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [30], cf. (30) *Phoberos* [3] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [9]; for inequality as the source of envy and hatred, see (9) *Galesios* [187], (56) *Kellibara II* [3], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [83]; for a contrary view, see (37) *Auxentios* [4] and (52) *Choumnos* [B20].

³⁶ *Sermo de renunciatione saeculi*, PG 31, cols. 625–48, trans. Clarke, *Works*, pp. 60–71, and Wagner, *Saint Basil*, pp. 15–31. For possible use of this work in later Byzantine documents, see (7) *Latros* [10]; (22) *Evergetis* [9], [42]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [42], [45], [49], [78]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [22], [23], [57]; (30) *Phoberos* [22], [23], [59]; (32) *Mamas* [20], [36], [46]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [20], [36], [45]; (34) *Machairas* [20], [64], [166]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [20].

³⁷ *Constitutiones asceticae*, PG 31, cols. 1321–1428; no English translation; cited by (20) *Black Mountain* [42R], [75]; (22) *Evergetis* [17]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A15], [A26]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [44]; (30) *Phoberos* [36] and [53B], a quotation in extenso; (32) *Mamas* [42]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [41]; (34) *Machairas* [144]; (39) *Lips* [30]; (58) *Menoikeion* [19]. Many of these are indirect citations, however, through the medium of (22) *Evergetis* [17]. This list is most likely not exhaustive.

³⁸ *Poenae in monachos delinquentes*, PG 31, cols. 1305–20; no English translation; endorsed by (3) *Theodore Studites* and quoted (generally very loosely) by (34) *Machairas* [122] ff. and by (45) *Neophytos* [CB1] through [CB12].

4. Utilization by Later Authors of Monastic *Typika*

A close study not only of the acknowledged citations but also of the unacknowledged borrowings of the authors in our collection from the Basilian *Ascetic Treatises* will some day reveal the true extent to which medieval Byzantine monasticism was “Basilian” in its inspiration. Certainly Basil was a popular saint in many Byzantine monasteries. In our collection of documents alone, there are provisions for the observance of his feast day in the late eleventh century in (20) *Black Mountain* [22] and in (28) *Pantokrator* [7] and (31) *Areia* [B13] in the twelfth century. Also in the twelfth century, Appendix B of (27) *Kecharitomene* records the presence of an icon of the saint in that foundation’s collection of consecrated objects. In the early ninth century, (3) *Theodore Studites* [13] orders that Basil’s “laws and canons,” presumably including the pseudo-Basilian *Penitential*, were to be considered as authoritative. In the tenth century, Athanasios the Athonite, in (11) *Ath. Rule* [19], [34], is anxious to attribute a Basilian origin ([SR 44] and [SR 85]) to several regulations that likely came to him more directly from Studite rules. In the mid-eleventh century, an imperial injunction to monastic stability found in (15) *Constantine IX* [7] is justified by appeal to Basil too.

Various works of Basil were to be found in the monastic libraries of the foundations for which (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 7] and (23) *Pakourianos* [33] were written in the late eleventh century, (35) *Skoteine* [24], [42] in the thirteenth century, and the *Inventory* associated with (54) *Neilos Damilas* in the fifteenth century.

Only a few of our authors may have been able to use the *Ascetic Treatises* directly. One of them, the eleventh-century author of (19) *Attaleiates*, had the work in his library, but, judging from his *typikon*, made little use of it. His contemporary, Nikon, the author of (20) *Black Mountain*, shows such a wide acquaintance with the *Ascetic Treatises* that he may be reasonably presumed to have had a copy.³⁹ Another contemporary, the author of (24) *Christodoulos*, shows a direct acquaintance with both the *Shorter Rules* as well as the pseudo-Basilian *Ascetic Constitutions*.⁴⁰

The author (or authors) of (22) *Evergetis*, written for the great Constantinopolitan reform monastery of the late eleventh century, apparently had access to a fine library and used a small selection of patristic works, including the *Ascetic Treatises*, in the *typikon*.⁴¹ The authors of the subsequent *typika* in the Evergetian tradition generally use the *Ascetic Treatises* indirectly, through the medium of (22) *Evergetis* or some other Evergetian text,⁴² though there are some indications

³⁹ See the citations from the *Asketika* in (20) *Black Mountain* [9], [20], [22], [29], [37], [42R] (twice), [44], [45], [69], [70], [72], [74], [75], [78], and in (21) *Roidion* [B10], [B15].

⁴⁰ See (24) *Christodoulos* [A17], [A15] and [A26]; cf. language similar to *Constitutiones asceticae* in [A4], [A17], and [A18].

⁴¹ See (22) *Evergetis* [4], attributed to Basil but unidentifiable; [7], a quotation from Basil’s [LR 26]; and [17], a quotation from the pseudo-Basilian *Constitutiones asceticae* 28.

⁴² See (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [44], (30) *Phoberos* [36], (32) *Mamas* [42], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [41], and (58) *Menoikeion* [19], all citing *Constitutiones asceticae* 28 through the filter of (22) *Evergetis* [17]; also (29) *Kosmosoteira* [17], (30) *Phoberos* [14], (52) *Machairas* [52], all citing Basil, [LR 26] through (22) *Evergetis* [7], and again (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13], (30) *Phoberos* [9], (34) *Machairas* [31] citing an unidentified Basilian source through the intermediary of (22) *Evergetis* [4].

of independent access as well.⁴³ The late eleventh and early twelfth century seem to have been a high point of Basil's prestige, coinciding with the strongly pro-cenobitic monastic reform movement, since the author of (26) *Luke of Messina* [6] speaks of having collected Basil's works and Gregory, author of (25) *Fragala* [B4], claims to have given the saint's laws to his monks.

Actual quotations in extenso from the *Ascetic Treatises* are relatively rare. Those that do occur are invariably taken from works we now recognize as not being genuinely Basilian. In (30) *Phoberos* [53B] there is a very lengthy verbatim citation from *Ascetic Constitutions* [21] that disturbs the numeration of the *typikon's* chapters. In the early thirteenth century, the authors of two Cypriot *typika*, (34) *Machairas* [121] ff., and (45) *Neophytos* [CB1] ff. cite very loosely from what may have been contaminated texts of the pseudo-Basilian *Penitential*.

There are few explicit Basilian citations of any kind from the last centuries of Byzantine history (13th–15th c.) during the Palaiologan dynasty, though there is unacknowledged use of a fairly broad group of tracts in the *Ascetic Treatises* in documents like Theodora Synadene's (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, written for a fourteenth-century Constantinopolitan convent.⁴⁴ The impression of a broadening acquaintance with Basilian ascetic literature independent of citation is confirmed by Patriarch Matthew I in (60) *Charsianeites* [C10] in which he provides for regular readings from the *Ascetic Treatises* to his monks.

5. Legacy of the Basilian Tradition

The customs of the Basilian *Ascetic Treatises* and those found in subsequent medieval Byzantine monastic foundation documents (especially those in the Evergetian reform tradition) were similar in many ways, especially in the regulation of daily life. Yet the Basilian *Rules* were very different from what followed in such features as the acceptance of a nearby community of nuns, the maintenance of close relations with other monasteries and a companion nunnery, the heavy emphasis on manual labor, and the willingness to take in orphans of both sexes. Perhaps the most significant differences stem from the very different public world of late antiquity and the more private world of the middle ages. The foundation regulated in the Basilian *Rules* needed to take cognizance of and establish proper relations with groups and institutions external to it, both secular and ecclesiastical. The Basilian monastery then was necessarily less isolated from the external world of its day than its distant successors would become in medieval times.

B. The Pachomian Tradition

The Pachomian tradition embodies the oldest form of cenobitic monasticism in Christianity as developed by the fourth-century Egyptian monk Pachomios († 346).⁴⁵ It is represented in the first

⁴³ See (27) *Kecharitomene* [51], from [LR 18]; (30) *Phoberos* [24], [25], [53B].

⁴⁴ Late citations include (54) *Neilos Damilas* [8], [10]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [96], but see also unacknowledged use in [30], [79], [126]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [19].

⁴⁵ For Pachomios, see Heinrich Bacht, *Das Vermächtnis des Ursprungs: Studien zum frühen Mönchtum*, vol. 2: *Pachomios—Der Mann und sein Werk* (Würzburg, 1983); James Goehring, "New Frontiers in Pachomian Studies," in *Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, ed. Birger Pearson and James Goehring (Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 236–57, and "Pachomios' Vision of Heresy: The Development of a Pachomian Tradition," *Le Muséon*

instance by a small collection of rules, best known in a translation made indirectly by the church father Jerome into Latin in 404 from Coptic texts then in use at the Pachomian monastery of Metanoia near Alexandria in Egypt, to which he added his own *Preface*.⁴⁶ The translation was made more than a half century after the death of Pachomios himself. The *Precepts*, which are very similar in content to the *typika* of the medieval Byzantine monastic tradition, are the most important of the Pachomian documents. Jerome also translated the *Precepts and Institutions* and the *Precepts and Penal Statutes*, both primarily penitential texts, and the *Precepts and Laws*, which serve as a supplement to the *Precepts*. Long known only in Jerome's translation, extensive Coptic fragments of the documents are now available as a control.⁴⁷ The documents are readily available in modern English translation.⁴⁸

Although Jerome used a Greek translation of the Coptic originals for his Latin version, this has not survived. The *Excerpts*, a collection of quotations from the *Rules*, is preserved separately in Greek, and may indicate some continuing influence by the Pachomian tradition during the first few centuries of medieval Byzantium before most of the monastic *typika* were composed.⁴⁹ Unlike the Basilian *Ascetic Treatises*, which were known and used by some of the authors of the medieval foundation documents in our collection, it is unlikely that any of the authors of these documents—with the possible exception of the author of (2) *Pantelleria*—had access to the Pachomian *Rules*. On the other hand, certain fundamentals of cenobitic monasticism established by the Pachomians in Upper Egypt in the first half of the fourth century were the enduring legacy

95 (1982), 241–62; Philip Rousseau, *Pachomius: The Making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt* (Berkeley, 1985); Fidelis Ruppert, *Das pachomianische Mönchtum und die Anfänge klösterlichen Gehorsams* (Münsterschwarzach, 1971). For the relationship with the earlier anchoritic tradition, see Heinrich Bacht, "Antonius und Pachomius. Von der Anachorese zum Cönobitentum," in Basilius Steidle, *Antonius Magnus Eremita* (Rome, 1956), pp. 66–107.

⁴⁶ Amand Boon, *Pachomiana Latina* (Louvain, 1932). *Praefatio Hieronymi*, pp. 3–9, *Praecepta*, pp. 13–52, *Praecepta et Instituta*, pp. 53–62, *Praecepta atque Iudicia*, pp. 63–70, *Praecepta ac Leges*, pp. 71–74.

⁴⁷ Ed. L. Th. Lefort, *Oeuvres de s. Pachôme et de ses disciples* (Louvain, 1956) = *CSCO*, vol. 159, *Scriptores Coptici*, vol. 23, pp. 30–36. See also the editor's earlier studies, "La Règle de S. Pachôme (Etude d'approche)," *Le Muséon* 34 (1921), 61–70, and "La Règle de S. Pachôme (2^e étude d'approche)," *Le Muséon* 37 (1924), 1–28. Studies of particular interest include Heinrich Bacht, "Ein Wort zur Ehrenrettung der ältesten Mönchsregeln," *ZKT* 72 (1950), 350–59, and Peter Nagel, "Diktion der römischen Kommandosprache in den Praecepta des Pachomius," *ZÄS* 101 (1974), 114–20.

⁴⁸ Armand Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 2: *Pachomian Chronicles and Rules* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1981). Translations of Jerome's Preface, pp. 141–44, Precepts, 145–67, Precepts and Institutes, 169–74, Precepts and Judgments, 175–79, and Precepts and Laws, 181–83. Bacht, *Pachomios*, has German translations of the Pachomian rules with extensive notes.

⁴⁹ *Excerpta*, ed. Amand Boon, *Pachomiana Latina*, pp. 169–82. Latin translation in *PG* 40, cols. 947–52. There is no English translation. For the subsequent history of Pachomian monasticism in Egypt, see Heinrich Bacht, "Pachome et ses disciples (IV^e siècle)," in *Théologie de la vie monastique* (Paris, 1961), pp. 39–71; Jean Gascou, "P. Fouad 87: Les monastères pachômiens et l'état byzantin," *BIFAO* 76 (1976), 157–84; James Goehring, *Chalcedonian Power Politics and the Demise of Pachomian Monasticism* (Claremont, Ca., 1989); Ewa Wipszycka, "Les terres de la congrégation pachômiennne dans une liste de paiements pour les apora," in *Le monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Brussels, 1975), pp. 625–36.

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of all later cenobitic traditions in the Eastern Mediterranean down to medieval times.⁵⁰

1. The Pachomian *Rule*

Of the constituent parts of the Pachomian *Rule*, the *Precepts* are the most comprehensive and offer the greatest number of parallels and contrasts to the later Byzantine monastic tradition. The extent to which the *Precepts* reflect the thought of Pachomios himself and the conditions of Egyptian monasticism in the mid-fourth century as opposed to the developed Pachomian monasticism of the end of the fourth century must be left to specialists to determine.⁵¹ The *Precepts* certainly form an incrementally developed text, with definite stages of composition like some later documents included in our collection (e.g., (22) *Evergetis*, (29) *Kosmosoteira*, and (30) *Phoberos*). Even though the *Precepts* form an early document, the similarity in structure to later Byzantine monastic *typika* is striking, except that there is little said about the liturgy and the monks' life of prayer. Also, this is in no way a personalized text (as many *typika* were) in which the author's imprint is readily evident.

a. Similarities with Medieval Byzantine Monasticism

Many of the conventions of Byzantine monasticism are already present in the *Precepts*. Officials rule in authoritarian fashion [47], [53], [55], [81], [84], [143], often in order to curb the assertion by monks that their personal relationships were more important than their communal obligations. The regulation of meals in the *Precepts* left a recognizable imprint (directly or indirectly) on medieval Byzantine monasticism with respect to such matters as proper deportment at mealtime [8], [29], [30], [31], [32], [90], the principle of equal portions of food for all [35], [41], and a prohibition on secret eating [78], [80], [114], though there is a provision for those abstaining from the common table to consume bread and water in their cells [79]. The *Precepts* stress punctuality, and those who were late for prayers and meals were to be punished [9], [32], though there was a concession for latecomers to night prayers [10]. Monks were not allowed to retain personal effects, which were subject to confiscation [81], [98]. Excuses for not participating in the common life of work, prayer, and eating were not to be tolerated [141], [142]. Hospitality [50], [51] was an important obligation incumbent on the community. Burial was also a common responsibility [127]. Certain auxiliary institutions of later monasteries such as the infirmary [42], [43], [93], [129] and the bakery [116], [117] are present already in the *Precepts* and taken for granted.

b. Differences with Medieval Byzantine Monasticism

The Pachomian tradition had some major differences with the monasteries portrayed later in the medieval Byzantine monastic foundation documents. First of all, the Pachomian foundation was large and structurally complex,⁵² unlike the mostly much smaller medieval foundations which followed. Manual labor was very important in the Pachomian tradition, and required a lot of special legislation (see [5], [58], [60], and [61] among many others). Like its Basilian counter-

⁵⁰ See Heinrich Bacht, "L'importance de l'idéal monastique de s. Pachôme pour l'histoire du monachisme chrétien," *RAM* 26 (1950), 308–26.

⁵¹ For a discussion of the problem, see Goehring, "New Frontiers," pp. 236–46.

⁵² See *Praefatio Hieronymi* [2].

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parts, the Pachomian foundation was not an institution cut off from the outside world. Travel, while perhaps not encouraged, was seen as both necessary and inevitable. Characteristically for late antique monasticism then, the Pachomian tradition regulates travel and visitation for its monks [50], [51], [52], [53], [54], [55], [56], [57], [63], [64], [118], [142] leniently.

The Pachomians took self-reliance more seriously than in medieval times, so personal care and housekeeping [67], [68], [70], [97] required regulation too. Perhaps this self-sustaining ethic made the Pachomian tradition willing to accept postulants on easier terms [49] than would be the case later on in the Byzantine Middle Ages. In some respects Pachomian monks adopted a stricter lifestyle than many later medieval institutions, for there was no consumption of wine [45], [54]; and (apparently) no bathing [92], [93]. Also, odd and presumably uncomfortable chairs served as beds [86] for the monks.

Unlike many later medieval foundations, particularly those under the influence of the monastic reform movement,⁵³ those of the Pachomian tradition were not misogynist institutions; women were welcome as guests, even at night [52], cf. [143]. Yet there is a notable amount of discreet anti-homoerotic legislation [95], [97], [107], [109], [118] which seems to have been directly related to the presence of boys in the foundations (for which see the *Precepts and Penal Statutes* [7], [13]) as in Basilian foundations of the fourth century. By the early ninth century, “beardless youths” had been formally excluded from many Byzantine monasteries, though frequently they were still present in practice.⁵⁴ The tradition also routinely stressed the importance of catechetical instruction for all the monks [19], [20], [138] (cf. *Precepts and Institutions* [15]). Along with the regime of manual labor, perhaps the biggest difference between the Pachomian and later medieval traditions is the stress the former tradition put on literacy and reading [25], [100], [139], [140] (cf. *Precepts and Laws* [7]).⁵⁵ The *Precepts* flatly declare [139] “even if he does not want to he shall be compelled to (learn how to) read.”

⁵³ For the misogynist tendency of later Byzantine monasticism, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [9], [15], [16], [17]; (7) *Latros* [9]; (10) *Eleousa* [17]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34]; (22) *Evergetis* [38], [39]; (23) *Pakourianos* [23]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A10], [A13]; (28) *Pantokrator* [18]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [56], [84], [86]; (30) *Phoberos* [55]; (32) *Mamas* [27]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [27]; (34) *Machairas* [115], [118], [119]; (37) *Auxentios* [12], [13]; (42) *Sabas* [1]; (45) *Neophytos* [19]; (53) *Meteora* [7]; (58) *Menoikeion* [14]; (59) *Manuel II* [13]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [C2].

⁵⁴ For the subject of “beardless youths” in Byzantine monasteries, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [18]; (7) *Latros* [9]; (9) *Galesios* [196]; (10) *Eleousa* [17]; (12) *Tzimiskes* [16], [25]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34], [48]; (15) *Constantine IX* [1], [15]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3], [49]; (42) *Sabas* [1]; (58) *Menoikeion* [14]; (59) *Manuel II* [13], [14]; (60) *Charsianeites* [C2]; cf. (2) *Pantelleria* [5], [6], [7], [12], [20] and (45) *Neophytos* [C6], [C7], [C17], [CB6].

⁵⁵ For evidence of literacy in Byzantine monasteries, see (2) *Pantelleria* [9]; (3) *Theodore Studites*, Preface; *Stoudios* [A2], [A8–9], [AB12], [AB13], [B14], [B16], [AB26], [AB33], [AB36]; (6) *Rila* [16]; (9) *Galesios* [138], [182], [191], [246]; (10) *Eleousa* [13]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [1], [21], [37]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [23]; (15) *Constantine IX*, Introduction; (17) *Nikon Metanoieite*, Foundation History; (19) *Attaleiates* [33], [40]; (20) *Black Mountain* [4], [17], [18], [21], [24], [33], [42], [56], [81], [89]; (22) *Evergetis* [4], [43]; (23) *Christodoulos* [A26], [B15]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [7], [15], [26], [32], [65]; (30) *Phoberos* [9], [15], [59]; (31) *Areia* [M4]; (28) *Pantokrator* [9], [24], [68]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13], [59], [106]; (32) *Mamas* [5], [10], [16], [32], [47]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5], [10], [16], [32], [46]; (34) *Machairas* [39], [60], [101], [167]; (35) *Skoteine* [12], (37) *Auxentios* [13]; (38) *Kellibara I* [17], cf. [3]; (39) *Lips* [8], [20], [28], [29]; (42) *Sabas*

2. Other Testimonies to the Pachomian Tradition

Jerome's Latin translations of documents from the Pachomian tradition also include the *Book of Horsiesios*, professedly the *Testament* of Horsiesios († ca. 380), Pachomios' second successor.⁵⁶ This document, of which there is no surviving Coptic or Greek text, demonstrates a very early stage in the evolution of the monastic testament as a regulatory text that would become one of the two principal formats of Byzantine monastic foundation documents in the medieval period. As such it deserves comparison with (1) *Apa Abraham*, the first document in our collection, which is more than two hundred years later in date, yet more primitive in construction and content.

Horsiesios' *Testament* marks a critical, defining turning point for the ideological development of the Byzantine monastic tradition. It condemns privatization of monastic property [22], denies monks the right to dispose of their personal effects [26], advocates equality as a principle of the monastic lifestyle [23], and is generally hostile to the outside world [39], [42]. These principles would eventually be taken up again by the Byzantine monastic reform movement in the eleventh century.⁵⁷ In his own day, Horsiesios had evidently come to realize the dangers close intercourse with the secular world posed for monastic communities. Specifically, Horsiesios astutely recognized the connection between the monks' maintenance of their personal possessions and ties to their lay relatives on the one hand and a corresponding threat to institutional well-being through privatization and secularization on the other. The peril was less well perceived in the early Pachomian tradition (see the *Precepts*) or in the early Basilian tradition (as exemplified by the *Longer* and *Shorter Rules*).

Just as the *Book of Horsiesios* anticipates the testamentary format of subsequent Byzantine monastic foundation documents, so the *Regulations of Horsiesios* look forward to the format of the monastic *typikon*.⁵⁸ If the *Regulations* are in fact correctly attributed to Horsiesios, then taken together with his *Testament*, they provide the first example of the coupling of a testament with a more formal regulatory document known from several examples in the Byzantine era.⁵⁹ The *Regulations*, preserved only in Coptic, provide a considerable amount of practical regulation on matters of everyday life, including cleanliness of kitchen vessels [25], kneading bread [47], irrigation

[2]; (43) *Kasoulon* [20]; (44) *Karyes* [8], [10]; (45) *Neophytos* [11], [13], [14], [22], [C18]; (51) *Koutloumoussi* [A10]; (52) *Choumnos* [A3]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [2], [5], [13], [20], cf. [18]; (55) *Athanasios I* [8], [9]; (56) *Kellibara II* [1]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [62], [66], [85], [120]; (58) *Menoikeion* [8], [9]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [C] Preamble, [C10]. Also, the literacy of at least the choir monks in those Byzantine monasteries in which the performance of liturgical services was a prominent part of the activities in those institutions may be presupposed.

⁵⁶ *Liber Orsiesii*, ed. Amand Boon, *Pachomiana Latina*, pp. 109–47; English translation by Armand Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 3: *Instructions, Letters, and Other Writings of Saint Pachomius and His Disciples* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1982), pp. 171–215, with notes 215–24; see also Heinrich Bacht, "Studien zum 'Liber Orsiesii,'" *HJ* 77 (1958), 98–124.

⁵⁷ For the monastic reform, see below, Chapter Four.

⁵⁸ *Orsiesii Regula*, Coptic text ed. L. Th. Lefort, *Oeuvres*, pp. 82–99; English translation by Armand Veilleux, *Pachomian Chronicles*, pp. 197–223.

⁵⁹ Compare to these later couplings: (3) *Theodore Studites* and (4) *Stoudios*; (13) *Ath. Typikon* and (11) *Ath. Rule*; (24) *Christodoulos* [A] and [B]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [A] and [C].

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of fields [57] and care of livestock [59]. These concerns all followed naturally from the author's insistence on manual labor [18], and not surprisingly lack ready parallels in the Byzantine medieval tradition in which manual labor was less important.

Then there is the so-called *Rule of the Angel*,⁶⁰ preserved in Palladius' *Lausiatic History*. Specialists now seem convinced that it is not, as was once thought by some, a primitive rule anterior to the other documents in the Pachomian tradition.⁶¹ The treatment of diet [2], manual labor [12], and dress [3] seems vaguely Pachomian, but it is hard to recognize other features of the cenobitic life in this picture of a monastic community so large that it was obliged to perform prayers [6] and to eat meals [11] in rotating shifts. This was the one monastic rule in the Pachomian tradition preserved in a Greek edition that was potentially available to the later Byzantine tradition.

Finally, the hagiographic tradition preserves much valuable information about Pachomian monastic institutions although it needs to be interpreted very carefully to distinguish the customs of Pachomios' own times from those of his successors.⁶² There was a Greek textual tradition among the six versions of Pachomios' *Life*, so some details of the saint's life were considerably better known to later Byzantine authors than was his monastic legislation.

3. Utilization by Later Authors of Monastic *Typika*

Later Byzantine authors represented in our collection of documents made only erratic use of the Pachomian texts, often just the less authentic *Rule of the Angel*. They were surely limited by the unavailability of Greek texts for the *Rule*, except possibly for the Greek *Excerpts* mentioned above. Among our later Byzantine authors, only John, the author of (2) *Pantelleria*, provides some indication of his acquaintance with the Pachomian *Rule*, specifically the *Precepts*, though even he does not acknowledge this dependence.⁶³ In the late eleventh century, Nikon, author of (20) *Black Mountain*, cites the *Rule of the Angel* as well as the Greek *Life* of Pachomios; he also provides for the observance of the saint's feast.⁶⁴ In addition to Nikon, the Greek *Life* was known about the same time to the author of (24) *Christodoulos* [A18], who cites it for election of the superior by the brotherhood, and the author of (30) *Phoberos* [19]. Later, the *Rule of the Angel* was known to the author of (45) *Neophytos* [C9] in the early thirteenth century and to Patriarch Matthew I,

⁶⁰ *Regula ab Angelo Allata*, ed. Cuthbert Butler, *The Lausiatic History of Palladius*, vol. 2: *The Lausiatic History*, chap. 32, pp. 87–96; English translation by Veilleux, *Pachomian Chronicles*, pp. 125–29; there is also a free-standing exemplar of the text, ed. François Halkin, *Le Corpus athénien de saint Pachôme* (Geneva, 1982), pp. 95–97.

⁶¹ See summary of the scholarship in Veilleux, *Pachomian Chronicles*, pp. 50–56.

⁶² Ed. François Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii vitae graecae* (= Subsidia Hagiographica 19) (Brussels, 1932); see also Halkin, *Corpus*; English translation of the first Greek life by Apostolos Athanassakis, *The Life of Pachomius (Vita Prima Graeca)* (Missoula, Mont., 1975), and by Armand Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 1: *The Life of Saint Pachomius and His Disciples* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1980), pp. 297–423. Veilleux also has translations of a Bohairic version and three Sahidic versions. For the *Vita Prima Graeca*, see Derwas Chitty, "Pachomian Sources Reconsidered," *JEH* 5 (1954), 38–77.

⁶³ For the Pachomian link, see Vera von Falkenhausen, "Patellaria," *ODB*, p. 1594.

⁶⁴ (20) *Black Mountain* [28], [29], [72], [78] (*Rule of the Angel*); [20], [29], [39], [42], [56], [78], [83] (*Life*); [89] (feast).

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author of (60) *Charsianeites* [C1] in the early fifteenth century. In the mid-twelfth century, Athanasios Philanthropenos, author of (32) *Mamas* [24], and in the early thirteenth century, Neilos of Tamasia, author of (34) *Machairas* [133], both fail to recognize a provision from the Pachomian *Rule*; the latter mistakenly attributes it to Basil of Caesarea, into the manuscript of whose unauthentically attributed *Penitential* it had become incorporated.

4. Legacy of the Pachomian Tradition

The foundations for much of cenobitical monasticism as practiced in medieval Byzantium had already been fairly well established in the Pachomian tradition by the time of Jerome's Latin translations of many of its regulatory documents at the beginning of the fifth century, if not before. The Byzantine monasteries portrayed in the later foundation documents found in our collection unknowingly followed many Pachomian usages, particularly in matters of daily life, even though it is only very rarely possible to trace back a direct lineage to the Pachomian texts.

The major differences between the Pachomian and the later Byzantine monastic traditions are held in common by the Pachomians with the roughly contemporary Basilian tradition: 1. the greater scale and complexity of foundations; 2. the importance of manual labor; 3. the expectation of literacy; 4. the absence of overt misogyny; 5. the openness of the communities to boys; 6. a rather stricter personal regime (no use of wine or bathing); and 7. the relative accessibility to the outside world, with travel and visits accepted as normal phenomena of social intercourse. Despite a oft-stated yearning for a revival of early ascetic practices on the part of certain Byzantine monastic reformers starting in the late eleventh century, these features of genuine Pachomianism remained largely alien to the medieval monastic tradition.

The actual relationship of the ideology and practices popularized by the later Byzantine monastic reform to those of late antique asceticism is now fairly obscure. It need not remain so, however, since a great deal is known about what the reformers were reading in the way of ascetic literature from their acknowledged forebears.⁶⁵ The Pachomian *Book of Horsiesios*, while clearly a text that would have been ideologically attuned to the concerns of the reformers, could not itself have been on their reading list since it apparently did not circulate in a Greek version. However, eventually it will be possible, from the vantage point of future work on the subject,⁶⁶ to show just what works were most influential in development of the medieval reform program.

C. Monastic Rules of the Syrian Orient

Arthur Vööbus' recent, posthumously published study of the monastic rules of the Syrian Orient⁶⁷ has laid the foundations for the study of Syrian monasticism from an institutional viewpoint. The

⁶⁵ This was in essence the *Evergetinon* of Paul Evergetinos, as Paul Gautier, "Le typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis," *REB* 40 (1982), 7, n. 9 recognized, based on its coincidence with the corpus of ascetic literature recommended by the reformer John V, patriarch of Antioch in the latter's *De monasteriis*, ed. Paul Gautier, "Réquisitoire du Patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat," *REB* 33 (1975), 101–3.

⁶⁶ Especially that currently being undertaken by the *Evergetis* Project, based at Queens College, Belfast, which proposes to produce an annotated translation of the *Evergetinon*.

⁶⁷ *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient: A Contribution to the History of Culture in the Near East*, vol. 3 (Louvain, 1988) = *CSCO*, vol. 500, *Subsidia*, 50, *Tomus* 81.

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documents for which his study provides English translations or summaries are outside the scope of our own collection of medieval Byzantine monastic rules, but since they provide the only link between the monastic traditions of late antiquity discussed above and our medieval rules, a brief discussion seems in order here.

1. *Canons of Rabbula of Edessa*

The *Canons of Rabbula of Edessa* (trans. Vööbus, *History*, pp. 71–74) were considered by their translator to be the oldest example of the genre in Syriac. Attributed to Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa, they reportedly date to the early years of the fifth century, about the same time as Jerome’s translation of the principal Pachomian rules. There are 26 canons in the main collection; Vööbus also translated four additional canons from what he called a “supplement” [S] attributed to the same author. Nearly the entire document is couched in terms of prohibitions, a convention typical of the canonical genre of monastic legislation. Vööbus noted (p. 70) the focus of the canons on problems of immediate concern, to the exclusion of more systemic treatments of ascetic practices, liturgical observances, and administrative matters. Despite this important difference with the more fully developed Byzantine monastic foundation documents, there are many areas of common concern, e.g., the regulation of commemorative feasts [8], the restrictions on the ownership of animals [9], obstacles placed in the way of monks wanting to adopt a solitary life [18], and the requirement that a monk have the permission of his superior before transferring to another monastery [26].

Vööbus believed (p. 70) that these canons anachronistically reflected early trends in Syrian monasticism. It seems more likely, however, that they are part of a later stage in the evolution of cenobiticism in which there was a greater awareness of the threats to institutional stability posed by the failure of earlier founders to restrict monks’ ties to the secular world. Many of the *Canons* testify unmistakably to this distrust of the secular world, such as various restrictions on entering local villages [2], on the ownership of animals [9], and on commercial transactions [11], as well as the prohibitions on visiting relatives [13] and on testifying in court [15]. The laity were discouraged from attending monks’ burials [24] or commemorative feasts [8], and for their part monks were told not to provide scriptural exegesis [19]. The admonition not to speculate in grain [25] fits in with the general hostility towards commercial activity [11] seen also in the Basilian *Rules*. The hostility of these canons to the use of medicine [14] also has a parallel in Basil’s *Longer Rules*.

Scruples against commercial activity might have led to a greater reliance on public charity [S15], mentioned here for the first time in the supplement, though manual labor [16], cf. [25] had not yet disappeared. The dependence on private charity was possible thanks to the existence of a network of monastic private churches [21], [22], [S15], [S29], another of this document’s novel features. The distinctly un-Pachomian banning of women [1], [S15] is another reflection of fears of external entanglements, as also, in a different way, the concern about heresy [10], [S49], yet the tradition of monastic hospitality [17] survives. The evident concern for maintaining a good public image (cf. [5], [6], and [19] ?) demonstrates an awareness that the late antique monastery for which these canons were written still had to relate to its surroundings. As in the Basilian and Pachomian traditions, personal property [12] and the use of wine [4] are not permitted. Literacy, vigorously promoted by the early traditions, is less prominently attested here [10], [19].

According to Vööbus (p. 76), an extensive manuscript tradition testifies to the enduring inter-

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est of this collection of canons. Later copyings produced small textual variations and reorderings in the interest of “greater accuracy and precision.” This phenomenon anticipates the adaptive use of some later Byzantine foundation documents, e.g., (4) *Stoudios*, (22) *Evergetis*, and (32) *Mamas*.

2. *Canons of the Monastery of Mar Mattai*

These canons (trans. Vööbus, pp. 173–75), composed for a West Syrian monastery and dated to 508/09, are another example of the genre of Syrian monastic canons that help fill in the gap between the earlier monastic traditions and the later Byzantine monastic foundation documents. Vööbus’ translation provides only summaries of the 24 canons. The monastery for which the canons were written was a private religious foundation in which the monks retained their personal property [10], [11], [12], [15], [23]. This was opposed to both the Pachomian and the Basilian tradition, and the practice of most (though not all) of the foundations represented by the later Byzantine foundation documents. The system of fines [4], [5], [6], [7] featured in these canons for punishing offenses was possible only because the monks retained their private resources after entrance. Resident monks apparently shared in the revenues of the monastery [15] even though there was some common property as in more conventional cenobitic institutions. The belongings of deceased monks were redistributed at death [10].

The *Canons* declare that the superior could not be removed from his office by a monk, layman or *pasnasa* (patron?) [21], and monks were explicitly warned against appealing to outsiders [6], [22] to settle internal disputes. These provisions imply that institutional governance was weak, with the superior possibly being obliged to share his authority with a non-resident patron. This combination of a weak superior and contentious monks with vested economic rights in their foundation would reoccur in Byzantine times (see (21) *Roidion*); it is a hallmark of the ambiguous governing structure under which many traditional private religious foundations operated.

3. Other Collections of Regulatory Canons

The sixth-century *Canons of Johannan bar Qursos* (trans. Vööbus, pp. 178–79) are really more a general letter of advice to sympathetic monasteries by this Monophysite bishop of Tella rather than a systematic attempt at legislation. The document is notable for its active encouragement of bringing lay children to the monastery [9], [10], [11] for their education. The *Canons for the Nuns* (trans. Vööbus, pp. 183–185), are a series of fourteen prohibitions regulating the life of an unnamed convent. Vööbus implied that this is a fifth-century text (an inference from the mention of stylites in [7]) of West Syrian provenance. This interesting document, possibly the earliest surviving regulation for female ascetics in the Eastern Mediterranean world, shares with subsequent Byzantine foundation documents for nunneries the overriding concern to maintain sexual segregation (though not claustration) for the sake of the moral probity of its inhabitants. The hostility of the canons to nuns receiving gifts from outsiders [3] (except for books!) and the restriction on conducting correspondence [9] with anyone except with close relatives would reappear in reform monasteries of the Byzantine era. Such suspicion of the outside world is also not out of character for an institution of the fifth century when the danger posed to a monastery by its inhabitants’ maintenance of close family ties had become fairly generally recognized.

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The *Canons for the Novices* (trans. Vööbus, pp. 187–91) continue this unusual series of regulations for special audiences from the Syriac tradition. Preserved in a manuscript tradition going back to the ninth century, it is attributed later to a certain Johannan of Dalyata (Vööbus, pp. 186–87). Evidently intended for youthful postulants, the canons emphasize obedience to elders [2], [6], [7], etc., suppression of homoeroticism [9], [10], [12?], [26], [39], [46] and masturbation [11], and avoidance of female sexual temptations [35], [36], [37], [45]. There are obvious parallels to the *Precepts* of the Pachomian tradition as well as to the early Byzantine foundation documents (e.g., (2) *Pantelleria*) that reflect that tradition. The hostility towards maintaining family ties [38] marks this document as being no earlier than the fifth century, but the endorsement of consuming wine [5] (a staple of the Byzantine monastic diet) suggests strongly that it is actually later, perhaps from the sixth century.

The *Canons for the Solitaries* (trans. Vööbus, pp. 192–93), the third in this collection of canons for specialized audiences, is preserved only in a modern manuscript from an original of uncertain date and provenance. There are some other monastic rules in Vööbus' collection, e.g., the *Alphabetical Admonitions Attributed to Aphrem* (trans. Vööbus, pp. 79–81), the *Rules from the Letter of Philoxenos of Mabbug* (trans. Vööbus, p. 172), and the *Rules for the Monastery of Mar Zakkai* (trans. Vööbus, pp. 180–81), but these seem to have no obvious importance for the evolution of the medieval Byzantine monastic tradition.

4. General Observations

It is difficult to generalize about the Syrian monastic tradition from this diverse group of documents of which we have at present only a very rudimentary understanding. Characteristically, Syrian rules composed for men show a greater aversion to women than in the early Pachomian tradition. Like the later Pachomian documents (especially the *Book of Horsiesios*), Syrian monastic rules feared the consequences of allowing monks to retain close ties to their family members. Literacy, education and manual labor remained features of the Syriac tradition as they had been in Basilian and Pachomian monasticism, but seemingly less so than before. The *Canons of Rabbula of Edessa* show one monastery moving away from self-sufficiency and provide an early foreshadowing of the typical economic dependence of medieval Byzantine monasteries on outside support. Therefore, the Syriac tradition is an intermediary one both chronologically and in terms of its evolving institutions and concerns as these texts anticipate the medieval foundation documents presented in this collection.

CHAPTER ONE

Traditional Private Religious Foundations

“So, today we have been led by the fatherly commands to leave this rule in writing as an enduring monument for later generations; and as far as we can, we have submitted ourselves in obedience.” (4) *Stoudios* [1]

“I made up my mind . . . to leave you the present fatherly testament of mine, just as carnal fathers leave their children an earthly inheritance of silver and gold and other property . . .” (6) *Rila* [2]

“When I said: ‘But the brothers are afraid, father, that you will die suddenly and leave the monastery high and dry, without having either made a will or given any other instructions for the two monasteries,’ the father answered: ‘They have no cause for fear on that score; there will be a rule, and the emperor and patriarch are going to see it.’” (9) *Galesios* [223]

There are ten documents in this first group of Byzantine monastic foundation documents, dating from the early seventh to the late eleventh century. Most of these were written for the traditional private religious foundations that dominated the ecclesiastical landscape of the Byzantine Empire during these centuries.¹ Since monasticism itself had its origins in Egypt in the fourth century as a movement of lay piety, the first monasteries were themselves necessarily private foundations. Although the emperors and the ecclesiastical hierarchy sponsored churches from the time of Constantine (306–337), there was at first no tradition of patronage of monasteries by the public authorities of late antiquity. Many bishops who did later found monasteries, beginning in the fifth century, chose to regard them as personal possessions rather than as diocesan institutions. So even before the end of late antiquity, the tradition of the Byzantine monastery’s independence of public authority had struck deep roots.

This proved to be one virtually ineradicable legacy of late antiquity bequeathed to the medieval Byzantine monastic tradition. Indeed, most of the documents included in this chapter take for granted the private status of the foundations for which they were written. They typically offer little explicit evidence on their patronage and legal status until either alternative forms of private organization or threats to their independence emerged, both of which happened in a significant way in Byzantium only in the eleventh century.

¹ For a survey, see my *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987), esp. chaps. 1, 2, and 4.

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A. Typology of the Documents

1. Predecessors to the Monastic Foundation Documents

The development of the monastic *typikon*, the Byzantine monastic foundation document par excellence, was one of the achievements of this era of private religious foundations. Already in late antique times, there were documents such as Basil of Caesarea's *Longer Rules* that covered much of the same content as later medieval *typika* even if their structure was entirely different. By the same token, there were documents like the Pachomian *Precepts* or the *Regulations of Horsiesios* that were structured somewhat like medieval *typika* even if the scope and content of their regulation was more restricted than the later, fully developed examples of the genre. These early documents, proto-*typika* really, coexisted with other kinds of texts like the Basilian penitential canons and those of the Syriac tradition that would also influence the development of the medieval Byzantine *typika*.

2. The Monastic Testament

The monastic testament, however, was the most important of the forerunners of the medieval Byzantine *typikon*, and the testamentary format would continue to have a long life well into late Byzantine times.² Seven of the ten documents in this chapter describe themselves as testaments. Foreshadowed by Horsiesios' fourth-century Coptic *Testament*, (1) *Apa Abraham* commences our collection of the medieval Byzantine monastic foundation documents preserved in Greek. This document's purpose was simply to transmit the private monastery for which it was composed from the author to his chosen successor; strictly speaking, there is no regulatory content. The other examples of the genre are (3) *Theodore Studites* in the ninth century, (5) *Euthymios*, (6) *Rila*, and (7) *Latros* in the tenth century, and (8) *John Xenos* and (9) *Galesios* in the eleventh century. Of these, (8) *John Xenos* is the most basic, a brief document asserting the foundation's independence (i.e., private status) without offering any disciplinary regulation for the guidance of the community. (5) *Euthymios* is similar, but it provides a little additional detail on the governance of its monastic community. While the other documents share the testamentary format, all contain substantial amounts of disciplinary regulation, an attribute more typically associated with monastic *typika*.

3. The First Regulatory Documents

The oldest straightforwardly regulatory document in the collection is (2) *Pantelleria*, which shares its format and, to a lesser extent, its content with the Pachomian *Precepts*. More fully developed is (4) *Stoudios*, produced by the Studite community to preserve the disciplinary regime of its spiritual father, the author of (3) *Theodore Studites*. This is the first pairing of a founder's testament with a regulatory *typikon*. The hagiographic *Life* in which (5) *Euthymios* is preserved, however, alludes to a now lost *typikon* that once regulated that monastic community, thus providing another testimony to the pairing of testament and *typikon*.

The subdivision of the monastic *typikon* into separate texts governing liturgical performances (the *typikon leitourgikon*) and determining the administrative matters (the *typikon ktetorikon*) was

² See Artur Steinwenter, "Byzantinische Mönchstestamente," *Aegyptus* 12 (1932), 55–64.

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still in the future when (4) *Stoudios* was composed sometime in the ninth century. It exhibits features of both of these types of documents. Since the *typikon leitourgikon* was the more formulaic of the two types, even later not every founder thought it necessary to compose one of these documents. The author of the tenth-century (7) *Latros* [8], for example, enjoins his monks to follow the “Rule of Jerusalem,” a likely reference to the *typikon leitourgikon* of the monastery of St. Sabas near Jerusalem. Still, the principle of pairing two documents to govern the foundation was preserved.

The document included here as (9) *Galesios* is in fact a collection of extracts from Gregory the Galesiote’s *Life* of the founder Lazarus that provides a fair idea of the content of the latter’s lost *typikon* which bore the formal title of *Testament (diatyposis)*. The extracts demonstrate that by the mid-eleventh century, the composition of *typika* had become so standardized that scribes knew appropriate boilerplate passages that needed to be inserted to cover routine contingencies.

The last document in this chapter, (10) *Eleousa*, is the product of nearly two hundred years of literary evolution since (3) *Theodore Studites*, during which *typika* developed under the influence of and as a supplement to testaments, while testaments gradually took on more and more of a regulatory function and became more like *typika* themselves.

4. Accidents of Preservation

The tenuousness of the preservation of many of the documents in this chapter deserves emphasis. One, (1) *Apa Abraham*, comes to us as an original text preserved by chance on an Egyptian papyrus. Another, (2) *Pantelleria*, was preserved through an extremely circuitous route in an Old Church Slavonic translation. Four of the documents owe their preservation to encapsulation in hagiographic literature.³ The long historical continuity of the foundations for which (6) *Rila* and (10) *Eleousa* were written surely helped assure the preservation of those documents. Only (4) *Stoudios*, an influential text for at least a hundred years after its composition, is attested today in many manuscripts.

B. Concerns of the Authors

1. Transmission of the Monastery

The overriding concern of the author of (1) *Apa Abraham* was the successful transmission of his foundation to his designated successor. Like the authors of certain documents in the later Pachomian and the Syriac traditions, he was aware of the peculiar peril which faced private religious foundations: the possibility that family members would attempt to assert their property rights and thereby effectively secularize the monastery.

Assuring the succession to the leadership of his foundation is also the principal concern of the author of (5) *Euthymios*. (6) *Rila* is another testament designed chiefly to transmit the foundation, but with some disciplinary content.

2. Maintenance of Institutional Autonomy

The author of (8) *John Xenos*, the shortest document in our collection, is concerned only to ward off threats to the independence of his foundation.

³ (5) *Euthymios*, (6) *Rila*, (7) *Latros*, and (8) *John Xenos*.

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3. Preservation of Morality and Discipline

(2) *Pantelleria*, a more sophisticated regulatory document, betrays its early date through its concerns about homoeroticism, shared with the Pachomian *Precepts* whose treatment it resembles on this subject. The importance of manual labor also marks it as a relatively early document in the Byzantine monastic tradition. On the other hand, the grim disciplinary regime and (curiously) the acceptance of the use of wine link it to practices shared in common with the Studite tradition and the documents associated with it.

4. The Studite Tradition

The strongly pro-cenobitic Studite monastic reform is only partially documented by (3) *Theodore Studites* and (4) *Stoudios*.⁴ (3) *Theodore Studites* demonstrates a concern, typical for this age, for strengthening institutional autonomy within the perilous legal framework of a private religious foundation and avoiding the threat to moral probity posed by close relations with women. Although the legislation of Basil of Caesarea is cited as a model, there is not much explicitly Basilian content. (4) *Stoudios* is primarily a detailed, but unsystematic, treatment of liturgical and dietary matters. It preserves roles for manual labor and for literacy, though both have clearly become less important than in the monastic rules of late antiquity.

The *Testament* of Paul the Younger, (7) *Latros*, written for a monastery under Studite influence, is a brief regulatory document with a diverse ideological heritage. The author cites Basil of Caesarea approvingly, and recommends the dietary tradition of the (Sabaitic) “Rule of Jerusalem” to his monks. The Studite influence is evident in the document’s ban on women and youths, disapproval of unnecessary travel, provision of a small role for manual labor, and warning against hoarding material goods.

5. The Defense of Cenobiticism

By the time (9) *Galesios* was written in the mid-eleventh century, the monastic communities it describes had been formally divided into groups of those monks who performed choir services and those who worked at ordinary labors. The founder Lazarus’ attempt to discourage cohabitation substitutes for the earlier Studite precautions against sexual temptations. The cenobitic life whose promotion was such an important part of the Studite reform had come under assault as many monks rejected common meals, retained personal property, and sought to embrace the lifestyle of solitaries. Thanks to its vivid portrayal of the decay of monastic life in old-fashioned private religious foundations, this document is a useful corrective to the preceding normative texts with their cenobitic bias.⁵

⁴ See Julien Leroy, “La réforme studite,” *OCA* 153 (1958), 181–214, and the discussion below in (4) *Stoudios*, The Studite Monastic Reform.

⁵ For the diversity of forms of Byzantine monasticism in the era before the great monastic reform began in the late eleventh century, see Denise Papachryssanthou, “La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines du VIII^e au XI^e siècle,” *Byzantion* 43 (1973–74), 158–80. Alexander Kazhdan, “Hermitic, Cenobitic, and Secular Ideals in Byzantine Hagiography of the Ninth through the Twelfth Centuries,” *GOTR* 30 (1985), 473–87, argues, however, for a cyclical variation on the popularity of cenobitic and hermitic alternatives.

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6. Regulation of a Transitional Institution

(10) *Eleousa* presents one founder's attempt to preserve as much as possible of the old order of private patronage as a new order was dawning under the auspices of the monastic reform movement of the late eleventh century. In this document, liturgical performances assume an important place, while the practice of manual labor has apparently disappeared. Nothing is said about book learning and literacy, though the Studite concern about preventing sexual misconduct remains. The greatest perceived threat to the monastery's independence is no longer the founder's family, as in earlier centuries, but the public authorities of the imperial government and the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

C. Historical Context

1. Private Religious Foundations after Justinian

The earliest documents in this chapter come from the era following the dismantling of the regulatory system of Emperor Justinian (527–565), who had energetically sought to restrict the prerogatives of private ownership in religious institutions in order to subordinate these foundations to the ecclesiastical hierarchy and to prevent their use as refuges for religious dissidents.⁶

Our first document, (1) *Apa Abraham*, illustrates a typical private monastery of its era, handed down by its owner to his designated successor as if it were any other piece of ordinary private property. For all practical purposes, that was what many monasteries had become, for private benefactors began to enjoy a free hand again as they had in the era before Justinian's regulations, particularly as political conditions became more chaotic with the Arab conquest of North Africa, Syria, and Palestine in the later seventh and eighth centuries.

Our second document, (2) *Pantelleria*, was almost certainly written for a private foundation as well, for nowhere in it is there any mention of an external ecclesiastical authority or any other public official. Most likely this document was written in the late eighth century, well before the completion of the Arab conquest of neighboring Sicily.

2. Private Religious Foundations in the Iconoclastic Era

The bitter Iconoclastic controversy, which commenced in 726 and was resolved only in 843, stimulated the interest of the imperial government in the patronage and control of monastic institutions.⁷ Byzantine monasteries in the ninth century had a very different economic base from the Pachomian and Basilian foundations of late antiquity that institutionalized manual labor and strove for economic self-sufficiency for their communities, or even the monastic foundations of the sixth

⁶ For the Justinianic regulatory system and his imperial-sponsored religious foundations, see Michel Kaplan, *Les propriétés de la couronne et de l'église dans l'Empire byzantin (V^e–VI^e siècles)* (Paris, 1976); A. Knecht, *System des justinianischen Kirchenvermögensrechtes* (Stuttgart, 1905); and my own *Private Religious Foundations*, chap. 2, pp. 37–58.

⁷ For an important study of the relationship between monasticism and Byzantine society during the Iconoclastic controversy, see Kathryn Ringrose, "Saints, Holy Men and Byzantine Society, 726 to 843" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1976).

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and early seventh centuries that had relied on cash incomes assigned by their patrons.⁸ While (3) *Theodore Studites* and (4) *Stoudios* show very little concern for such prosaic matters, they hint at the general changeover to formal landed endowments of property as the new means of supporting monastic foundations that other sources show took place at this time. Although the practice of manual labor was not yet abandoned and was still defended energetically on at least a theoretical level by Theodore the Studite himself, it became less important in the ninth century as it was no longer essential for an institution's support.

3. New Means of Financial Support

The adoption of landed endowments was not a drastic change, for it seems likely that few institutions had been truly self-supporting (in the Pachomian or Basilian sense) since Justinian's time. The reliance of many private monasteries on cash incomes during the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries surely cushioned the impact of the further change that took place at the beginning of the ninth century. But as Byzantine monasticism emerges in clear view at this point after several centuries of poor documentary attestation, the overall impact turned out to be considerable, sharply differentiating medieval monasticism from its late antique forebears. To mention just one obvious change, the size of the typical foundation had been significantly reduced. Henceforth, Byzantine monasteries would more typically be populated by a dozen or perhaps a score of monks rather than by hundreds or (if some Pachomian and Studite sources are to be believed) upwards of a thousand ascetics. The high costs of maintaining large communities of economically unproductive monks in prayerful leisure were surely responsible for this scaling down in size, though there were some exceptions, notably the Lavra monastery on Mount Athos, which was the beneficiary of an extraordinary amount of imperial support (see below, Chapter Two).

4. The Benefits of Imperial Patronage

Since the individual private fortunes available to support these monasteries necessarily had their limits, some founders of the ninth and tenth centuries began to seek an alternative or supplementary source of income for their foundations from imperial patronage. The emperors, both iconoclasts and iconodules, seem to have welcomed these requests for support as a means of extending their influence and control over privately founded monasteries. (3) *Theodore Studites* and (4) *Stoudios*, for example, are associated with one of the most famous and influential monasteries of Byzantium, named after its founder Stoudios, a consul of the fifth century. By the time these particular documents were composed in the ninth century, however, the constitutional status of the Stoudios monastery, once undoubtedly a private monastery, had become less clear, thanks to its expropriation under Constantine V (741–775) and a subsequent tradition of imperial patronage.⁹ (5) *Euthymios* is likewise associated with a monastic foundation (of the early tenth century) developed by a private patron (a future patriarch of Constantinople) as the beneficiary of imperial patronage by Leo VI the Wise (886–912).

5. Private Religious Foundations at Their Height

The early tenth century was really a golden age for private religious foundations in Byzantium.

⁸ See the discussion in my *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 123–25, 127–30; for earlier financing devices, see pp. 47–53, 115–18.

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Leo VI had effectively dismantled the last remaining Justinianic restraints on the prerogatives of their founders, and public subsidies and other means of support for these foundations were increasingly common. Yet private benefactors were not willing to permit imperial patronage to compromise their control of these institutions. The ultimate success of the author of (5) *Euthymios*'s attempt to "privatize" his imperial foundation is unknown, but other tenth-century founders sought to develop monasteries that would be immune from public control. In Bulgaria, (6) *Rila*, whose founder counsels [8] the rejection of gifts offered by "earthly kings and princes," and in Asia Minor, (7) *Latros*, whose author Paul ignores all public authorities, are illustrative of the trend.

6. The Crisis of Private Religious Foundations

In the second half of the tenth century, however, this favorable environment changed dramatically, first with the abortive ban on further private religious foundations issued by Nikephoros Phokas (963–969) in 964, withdrawn by Basil II (976–1025) in 988, then most menacingly of all with the innovation of the *charistike*, most likely about this same time. The *charistike* was a public program sponsored by the emperor and the ecclesiastical hierarchy for the private management of religious institutions.¹⁰ Temporary grants separated the rights of management and financial exploitation from the ultimate rights of ownership over older private religious foundations for the benefit of new private concessionaires, allegedly for institutional improvement and maintenance. At first only ruined foundations were brought into the program, but eventually what amounted to wholesale confiscations of private religious property became the rule.

7. Benefactors' Response to the Crisis

It was against the background of this infamous but lucrative *charistike* that the last documents in this chapter were written. Benefactors of the eleventh century, confronted frequently by hostile public authorities determined to assert control over the private monasteries located in their jurisdictions, responded commensurately. In 1031, the author of (8) *John Xenos*, clearly worried about a confiscation under this government program of his many dependent monasteries on Crete, pronounces [2] a curse on any emperor, patriarch or metropolitan who might dare to appropriate his foundation's properties. In more specific terms, (9) *Galesios* [141], [223] portrays its founder desperately trying to maintain his foundation's autonomy (i.e., its private status) from the local metropolitan of Ephesos. Finally, (10) *Eleousa* [16] shows its founder, a bishop, forbidding his own successors in office any rights over the foundation except for the blessing of a new superior.

8. Development of the Independent Monastery

By the late eleventh century, the independent and self-governing monastery, an attractive alternative form of institutional organization apparently invented in the mid-tenth century on Mount Athos, had become more common. The authors of (8) *John Xenos*, (9) *Galesios*, and (10) *Eleousa* all prudently exploited their friendly relations with a succession of emperors to gain recognitions

⁹ See the discussion below, (3) *Theodore Studites*, Institutional History.

¹⁰ For the *charistike*, see Michel Kaplan, "Les monastères et le siècle à Byzance: les investissements des laïcs au XI^e siècle," *CCM* 27 (1984), 71–83, and the other works cited in the General Bibliography, XXIV. Monasticism and the *Charistike*.

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of the independence of their foundations. An independent monastery had its own endowment, under the administration of its superior, and was managed by its own officials without interference by or concession of economic benefits to the founder or his family. Though the independent and self-governing monastery was in its origins a deliberate mutation of the traditional private religious foundation, it necessarily obliged a founder to make substantially greater financial sacrifices. Therefore, despite its increasing prestige towards the end of the eleventh century, the new form of organization was not universally popular. Manuel of Stroumitza, author of (10) *Eleousa*, clearly hesitated between the traditional and the new form of institutional organization, finally opting for the latter, but was unwilling to permit it to take effect until another generation of leadership after his own had passed on.

1. *Apa Abraham: Testament of Apa Abraham, Bishop of Hermonthis, for the Monastery of St. Phoibammon near Thebes, Egypt*

Date: first quarter, 7th c.

Translator: Leslie S. B. MacCoull

Edition employed: F. G. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vol. 1 (London, 1893), pp. 231–36 (= *P. Lond. I.77*), with corrections by Friedrich Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*, vol. 1 (Berlin-Leipzig, 1922), p. 241.

Manuscript: Original document (papyrus)

Other translations: English, by C. W. Goodwin, “Curiosities of Law. 1. Conveyancing among the Copts of the Eighth Century,” *The Law Magazine and Law Review* 6, no. 12 (1859), pp. 237–48.

Institutional History

Apa Abraham, the author of this document and the founder of the monastery for which it was written, was the fourteenth bishop of the city of Hermonthis (modern Armant) in Upper Egypt, as we know from his diptych which is preserved in the British Museum.¹ According to Krause (“Testamente,” p. 58), he was born about 540–50, became a bishop in 590–600, and lived until circa 610–20; according to MacCoull (“Apa Abraham,” p. 127) he appears to have been born ca. 554 and he died in 624. A portrait of the bishop has survived and is now in the collection of the Egyptian Museum in Berlin.² Apa Abraham did not reside in his diocesan see but rather at the monastery of St. Phoibammon located some five miles from the west bank of the Nile between Hermonthis and Medinet Habu (Krause, “Beziehungen,” p. 31). The site was excavated by the Société d’Archéologie Copte in 1948–49.³ This was not the monastery for which this document was written, however, for Apa Abraham was pressured to relocate his residence, evidently a remote site of difficult access, by Damian (578–605), patriarch of Alexandria, as we know from a surviving ostrakon.⁴ Apa Abraham then chose the abandoned Temple of Hatshepsut (of the XI Dynasty) at Dêr el Bahri (Arabic for “North Monastery”) near Djême (ancient Thebes), a Coptic settlement itself located in the temple of Medinet Habu, as the site of a new Phoibammon monastery. A Coptic papyrus illustrates Papnute, the *lashane* or *protokometes* (village headman) of Djême, joined by the local clergy as representatives of the local residents, recognizing Apa Abraham’s ownership of the site in his capacity as superior of the new monastery.⁵ The monastery was located in the upper terraces of the temple and provided the Arabic name for the site.

A series of preserved testaments, including this document, illustrate the foundation’s superiors transmitting the monastery as a private possession to their successors. In the present document, Apa Abraham designates [2] his disciple the priest Victor as his successor. In a Coptic testament of 634, Victor’s successor Peter designates Iakobos as his own successor.⁶ The testament

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of this Apa Iakobos, dating from towards the end of the seventh century, is also preserved.⁷ It lists Abraham, Victor and Peter as his predecessors in office and designates Victor II as his own successor. Victor II was still superior in 711/12 but there is no surviving testament. Other Coptic documents preserve the names of superiors down to Suros, circa 770–82.⁸ The neighboring monastery of Epiphanius was also transmitted over the course of several generations by its superiors through use of private testaments, one of which survives from the seventh century.⁹ It is not known how long the monastery of Phoibammon was inhabited. Dated graffiti from the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries survive at the site, but these may not have been related to the monastic settlement.

European explorers found considerable remains of the monastery on site in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.¹⁰ Old photos show some of the monastic buildings and a thirty-foot tower. The papyrus containing (1) *Apa Abraham* was found at the monastery about 1856 and added to the collection of the British Museum. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the French archaeologist E. Naville, working for the Egypt Exploration Society, demolished the Coptic buildings in order to uncover the Temple of Hatshepsut. Unfortunately he made no plans of the monastery before undertaking its demolition. Some ostraca found in the course of this excavation were eventually published by W. E. Crum in his *Coptic Ostraca [CO]* in 1902. Meanwhile, a silver treasure of liturgical vessels was found in the course of an excavation in 1893 of a small basilica dating from before 600 and located to the west of the great colonnade of the temple of Luxor, some of which bear the name of our bishop Abraham in Greek. These objects are now divided between the Egyptian Museum and the Coptic Museum in Cairo. Krause (“Disziplin,” p. 12) believes that the aforementioned diptych (purchased in Luxor in 1903) and portrait of Apa Abraham (bought in 1904), may also have come from the site of this church. In 1922, many Coptic ostraca written by the same individuals as those who wrote those published earlier by Crum, including Apa Abraham and his successor Victor, were found at Dêr el Bahri by excavators working for the Metropolitan Museum of New York in rubbish piles left behind by Naville after his excavation of the neighboring temple of Mentuhotep.¹¹ In his doctoral dissertation, Krause (“Apa Abraham,” pt. 1, pp. 132–33) listed 114 published and unpublished ostraca representing the correspondence of Apa Abraham, and more have been discovered since then. Thus there exists a considerable body of written sources as well as material artifacts that someday will make possible a better appreciation of the life of this monastery and its founder.

Analysis

Though there are other examples of the private testamentary transmission of a monastery extant from Egypt in Coptic, this is the only such testament composed in Greek. As such, it is an instructive forerunner (as Steinwenter, “Mönchstestamente,” p. 62, realized) of later Byzantine monastic testaments, particularly those like (5) *Euthymios* and (14) *Ath. Testament* in the tenth century as well as (8) *John Xenos* in the eleventh century, that are essentially transmissory documents rather than formal monastic rules. This type of simple testament would appear even later in Byzantine history, as (41) *Docheiariou*, (44) *Karyes*, (48) *Prodromos*, (49) *Geromeri*, and (50) *Gerasimos* illustrate.

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Like all of these testaments, this document does not establish any regulations for the life of the monastic community for which it was written. There are certain features, such as the author's provisions [7] for his own burial and the performance of commemorative services, that will be developed into detailed regulations in subsequent documents, e.g., (29) *Kosmosoteira* [89] ff. and (27) *Kecharitomene* [71], among others. Although this author professes [9] to have only minimal assets, the disposition of the founder's property will likewise become an important subject of regulation in subsequent documents (see (19) *Attaleiates* [4], [5]). The concern of the author with keeping the monastery out of the hands of his family [5] will also be shared by subsequent founders of private religious foundations and those of some independent and autonomous foundations. Later Byzantine founders would share this author's fear that the resolution of conflicting claims over the rights to ownership would involve the monastery in burdensome and potentially damaging litigation.¹² Yet while our author here, still accustomed to a relatively strong public authority inherited from late antiquity, relies [6] on the threat of fines to deter transgressors of his testament, later authors would have to rely on curses, the hope of divine sanctions, and powerful lay protectors.¹³ Most significant for the future history of religious institutions in the Byzantine Empire is the author's decision, even though he was a bishop, to treat this monastery as his private property rather than as a diocesan foundation, a right that, as we have seen, the neighboring community of Djême explicitly recognized. This is the same attitude that most later episcopal authors of the documents in our collection would take towards their monasteries, to the detriment of their successors in office.¹⁴

Like many of his contemporaries, this monastic leader was literate, in Coptic, though not in Greek. The present Greek text was prepared for him by the notary Joseph, priest of the local public church of Hermonthis. Most of the witnesses to the document merely state that they have heard (i.e., not necessarily read) the Greek text.

Notes on the Introduction

1. See Krause, "Disziplin," p. 11.
2. See Krause, "Tafelbild," p. 108.
3. Results published in Ch. Bachatly, *Le monastère de Phoibammon dans le Thébaïde*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1981), vol. 2 (Cairo, 1965), and vol. 3 (Cairo, 1961).
4. *CO* ad 59, as interpreted by Krause, "Beziehungen," pp. 31–34.
5. *KRU* 105, as interpreted by Krause, "Beziehungen," pp. 35–36; German translation by Till, *Rechtsurkunden*, pp. 188–90. In 408, *CTh* 16.10.19 permitted the public use of pagan temples that had been closed in 399 by *CTh* 16.10.16.
6. *KRU* 77, with Krause, "Phoibammon-Klöster," p. 266, and Till, *Untersuchungen*, p. 204. The first seven lines of the document are in Greek; a complete edition is still lacking.
7. *KRU* 65; for dating see Krause, "Beziehungen," p. 32; German translation in Till, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 152–58.
8. Krause, "Phoibammon-Klöster," p. 266; for a list with references to the Coptic documents, see Till, *Datierung*, p. 236.
9. *KRU* 75; German translation by Till, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 198–204. For a discussion of other monastic testaments from Coptic Egypt, see Steinwenter, "Rechtsstellung," pp. 12–16, and "Mönchstestamente," pp. 5–61.
10. For the rediscovery of the monastery and artifacts associated with Apa Abraham, see Kenyon, *Greek Papyri*, p. 231; Krause, "Phoibammon-Klöster," pp. 263–66, and "Disziplin," pp. 11–13.

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11. In 1930, these were divided between the Metropolitan Museum (sold in 1959–60 to Columbia University) and the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (now in the Coptic Museum); additional texts were discovered by a Polish expedition working at Dêr el Bahri in 1961; see Krause, “Disziplin,” pp. 12–13, and “Phoibammon-Klöster,” p. 265; and W. Godlewski, *Le monastère de St. Phoibammon* (Warsaw, 1986).
12. See (23) *Pakourianos* [18] and (60) *Charsianeites* [C7].
13. For curses and heavenly sanctions, see (8) *John Xenos* [2], (9) *Galesios* [246], (10) *Eleousa* [19], (22) *Evergetis* [12], etc.; for lay protectors, see the introductory discussion below in Chapter Three.
14. See (5) *Euthymios* [1], (8) *John Xenos* [1], (10) *Eleousa* [16], [18], (31) *Areia* [M11], [M15], (34) *Machairas* [9], (44) *Karyes* [3], and (58) *Menoikeion* [1]; but cf. (55) *Athanasios I* [9] and (60) *Charsianeites* [C12].

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Translation

[1.] . . . written¹ . . . to . . . who is also my *synkellos*² . . . since indeed there is an end for all, and lest I leave this life suddenly and unexpectedly by the collapse of this suffering body of mine, with the future being unclear. Wherefore I hastened [to set forth] this written and unaltered last testamentary assurance which has validity by force of law wherever it shall be produced in evidence and published. By this I declare that I entrusted [my possessions] to you of my own will and persuasion, subject to no trickery or fear or force or deception or necessity whatsoever, nor any legal dissembling nor swindling nor any kind of manipulation, without any sort of duplicity or malicious intent whatsoever, but rather from my own purpose and authentic intention, and my own free will, with a right understanding and firm faith, in [a position of] full ownership and unencumbered authority, persuaded by every intent, living, understanding and thinking, being of sound mind and with my intellect most sharp, walking upon the earth, going to the marketplace. This last will I have dictated in the Egyptian language, but I enjoined that it be also written in Greek words, as is proclaimed [p. 233] in the well and piously framed laws.

[2.] May it be possible for me to live and be in good health and enjoy all my modest goods! But should I (which I pray may be averted) suffer the common lot of humankind and leave this life, I wish and order that, after my death, you, the aforementioned Victor,³ the most pious priest and my disciple, shall enter upon all of the moderate property bequeathed by me and be my heir, viz. movable, immovable and animate property, of every kind and sort and of whatever type and quantity, in gold and silver and cloth and copper, and clothing and books and building sites and waste lands and buildings. In a word, [you will inherit] everything, from the most costly kind to the least and down to one *jugerum* and the worth of one *assarion*⁴ and one obol, and whatever there happens to be of pottery and wooden and stone household utensils, as regards all of that same moderate property bequeathed by me, including what I inherited from my forebears and what I acquired by my own sweat and by purchase and by charitable gift and by any manner or intent whatsoever, by written or unwritten means.⁵

[3.] Not only that, but also the holy monastery which is under me, that of the holy prize-bearing martyr Abba Phoibammon which lies in the aforementioned holy mountain of Memnonion, I leave to you in unhindered ownership, together with its venerable property, from the cheap kind to the costly, down to a cinder. I direct that you, the aforementioned Victor, the most pious priest and monk, my disciple, after my death immediately and forthwith are to enter upon the moderate property bequeathed by me, to manage it and own it and be master of it, of all the goods bequeathed by me, all of them from the small to least, down to one *jugerum* and one *assarion* and one obol, and whatever there happens to be of pottery and wooden and stone household utensils, even including the pure oratory together with its venerable property, from the cheap kind to the costly.

[4.] Just as [my] preceding statement made clear [you shall have the right] to possess, take care of, manage and improve the property, to dwell in it, build on it, enjoy [the revenues], rent it out, sell it, cede it, alienate it, give it as donation, grant it as a charitable gift or grant, and do everything

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concerning it as full owner without hindrance, and spend the revenues on the management of the aforementioned holy place and providing for the poor who come over.⁶ For this is what has seemed right and good to me and to this [decision] I have arrived gladly in the present complete testamentary guarantee.

[5.] So let no one of my close family or anyone else representing me, be it on [p. 234] my father's side or my mother's, brothers or sisters, relatives, cousins, or any other human being whosoever, be able at any occasion or time whatsoever to bring suit against you or your heirs or successors or assigns or any of your kinsfolk, neither bringing a charge nor having one brought, in court or out of court, in the local district or beyond the frontier, small or great, nor [shall they be able] to accuse you in the presence of friends nor to bring legal proceedings against you or those who come after you, before any magistrate or judge, neither by proclamation in the holy church nor in the *praetoria*,⁷ to make use of any other device or demand a divine and imperial decree with regard to this testament in whole or in part thereof, nor in any way to transgress it, on account of the fact that in every respect it has been deemed right and been compassed by me at my own good pleasure to receive and give whatever I am found to possess or owe or be owed, and to deal with all of my receipts and expenditures.

[6.] If anyone should try at any time to oppose this uncircumscribed testament, I declare the one doing any such thing at any time whatsoever in the first place to be liable to the divine and terrifying oath and the penalty and reproach that attend upon perjury, and to be subject to the fines appointed for those who dare to transgress divine and imperial oaths, and to pay to account of a fine for transgression six ounces of gold, by deed and power exacted from the property of the interloper and accuser.

[7.] Wherefore, since thus it is necessary to abide by everything written in this invulnerable testament, I wish and order that, after my exit from this life, the wrapping of my body and my holy [eucharistic] offerings⁸ and meals [in my memory]⁹ and the designated days of my death [period] be fulfilled by your care according to the custom of the country,¹⁰ and according to my intention and plan.

[8.] I charge you that, if another document should be brought forth, [p. 235] whether purporting to be earlier or later, to oppose this testament, I declare that that document is null and void and without force everywhere it may be produced as evidence, since this present document is what has the force of law.¹¹

[9.] For the support and guarantee of everything agreed upon by me, I swear by the holy and consubstantial Trinity and by the girdle¹² bound round me¹³ not to transgress or overturn in any way at all the things heretofore written, but direct that they are unshakeable and unbreakable in perpetuity by means of the present testament, from which may trickery and evil envy go away and stay away. So I have made this for you as a guarantee, which is valid and established wherever it shall be produced in evidence, and recognized by every government authority and power having

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the force of law, with its signature signed by me the signer and witnessed by trustworthy witnesses [whose signatures] follow, according to my intention and judgment; and having been asked about everything as interpreted for me in the Egyptian language by the notary [whose signature] follows, I agree and sign a release to the effect that everything is satisfactory as related by my own mouth, thus rightly to possess, to give, act upon, guard, respect, and abide by.

+ Wherefore clearly I have made plain, as far as gold and silver are concerned, that I swear by the faith of the Christians that I do not possess gold or silver, nor have I possessed them from birth. I have none, neither from inside nor from outside, up to one *trimesion*,¹⁴ and I have sworn an oath to that effect. +

Nor have I allowed [such possessions]. Even if I had any, I would have given them to the account of the poor. However, as I mentioned, I do not possess any gold or silver, and I am ready to give an account about this to my Master, God.+

[Subscriptions]¹⁵ + I, Abraham, by the mercy of God bishop and anchorite of the holy mountain of Memnonion, son of Sabinos of blessed memory, whose mother is Rebecca, the aforementioned, have made the present testamentary document in all the chapters and agreements in which it contains, together with the divine oath and the aforementioned stipulation of fine, and I assent to everything written as it stands, and give my release.

+ I, Joseph, son of John, most humble priest of the holy church of Hermonthis, having been requested to do so, wrote on his behalf since he does not understand [Greek] letters.¹⁶

+ I, Dioscoros, son of Jakobos, archpriest¹⁷ [p. 236] of the holy church of Hermonthis, am witness to the present testament, having heard it from the most holy Apa Abraham, bishop of Hermonthis, the one who also made it.

+ I, Flavios Pantonymos, son of Apadios, am witness to this present testament [having heard it] from the framer [thereof].

+ I, Flavios Abraham, son of Theodosios, member of the curial class¹⁸ of Hermonthis, am witness to this sale,¹⁹ having been asked to do so by the framer [thereof].

+ I, Paul, son of Abraham, most humble deacon, am witness to the present testament, having heard it from the framer [thereof]. P

+ I, Flavios Theophilos, by the grace of God, public defender²⁰ of Hermonthis, am witness to the testament, having been asked to do so by the framer [thereof]. P P P P

+ By me, Peter, this was written.+

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Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of our translator, Leslie S. B. MacCoull [LSBM], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri*, p. 231, notes “The beginning of the document is lost, but it does not appear to have contained anything beyond the date and heading, except some reflections on the uncertainty of human life.”
2. *synkellos*: lit. “one who shares the same cell.” By the late fifth century the title was used especially for the adviser of a bishop or patriarch; see A. Papadakis, *ODB*, p. 1993; Bilabel, “Testament,” col. 702, supposed that this was Victor, Apa Abraham’s chosen successor.
3. For this individual, see also *KRU* 65, 77.
4. *jugerum*: a measure of land, approximately two-thirds of an acre; *assarion*: i.e., worth as little as an *as*, an obsolete Roman coin.
5. This seems to include a reference to the grant of civic property on which the monastery was built, for which see *KRU* 105.
6. Note the congruity with the bishop’s rights as described in *KRU* 105, lines 4–8, trans. Till, *Rechtsurkunden*, p. 188, after Steinwenter: “die nach Gottes und eurem Willen nach euch kommen werden, wie es sich gehört, weil ihr Herr des ganzen *topos* des Apa Phoibammon seid, dass ihr darin wohnt, aufbaut oder niederreisst, Leute zu euch hinein nehmt von allen, die einen gottesfürchtigen Lebenswandel führen, für die ganze Dauer eures Lebens und (des Lebens dessen), den ihr nach euch in den *topos* einsetzt, dass er die Angelegenheit des Almosens (*agape*) der Armen verwalte.”
7. The governor’s residence; see Lampe, *PGL*, pp. 1126–27.
8. *prosporphorai*; for which, see Lampe, *PGL*, p. 1184 and my own *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 76–80: “*Prosphora* Donations,” with references therein.
9. *agapai*; for which see Eberhard Bruck, *Totenteil und Seelgerät im griechischen Recht* (Munich, 1926).
10. In the Coptic rite, a memorial liturgy is offered on the fortieth day after death. Whether “wrapping the body” means full mummification at this late date in the context of the Christian clergy is controversial. [LSBM]
11. Cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [3], in which the author reserves the right to change her mind by issuing a supplementary document.
12. *schema* of monastic habit, for which see Lampe, *PGL*, p. 1359, 8C.
13. For oaths on the monastic *schema*, see *P. Cairo Masp.* III.67299.50. [LSBM]
14. *trimesion*, see Lampe, *PGL*, p. 1408: “coin worth one-third of the *aureus*” (standard gold coin, i.e. *solidus*).
15. As Krause, “Beziehungen,” p. 36, notes, there is no overlap between the individuals, including local officials and clergy, who sign here and their counterparts who signed *KRU* 105. This suggests a considerable gap between the composition of the two documents.
16. The author is perfectly literate in Coptic (see Krause, *Apa Abraham*, pt. 1, pp. 132–33, for a partial list of his correspondence), just not in Greek. [LSBM]
17. *archipresbyteros*, see Lampe, *PGL*, p. 240: “the senior priest who took the place of the bishop when absent, and performed administrative functions.”
18. *politeuomenos*.
19. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri*, p. 232: “presumably a business man, [who] by force of habit calls the process he is witnessing a sale instead of a will.” This is common in Coptic documents.
20. *ekdikos* (in Latin, *defensor civitatis*); see Lampe, *PGL*, p. 427.

2. *Pantelleria: Typikon* of John for the Monastery of St. John the Forerunner on Pantelleria

Date: probably late 8th c.¹

Translator: Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Edition employed: Ivan D. Mansvetov, *Tserkovnii ustav (tipik), ego obrazovanie i sudba v grečeskoj i russkoj tserkvi* (Moscow, 1885), pp. 441–45; cf. Ivan Dujčev, “Il Tipico del monastero di S. Giovanni nell’isola di Pantelleria,” *BBGG*, n.s., 25 (1971), 3–17, with untranscribed facsimile of the Bodleian manuscript at 5–12.

Manuscripts: Ms. Russian State Library (Moscow), formerly Theological Academy 54, fols. 91v ff. (16th–17th c.). There are two other manuscripts: State Historical Museum (Moscow), formerly Patriarchal Library, Undol’skij Collection, 110 of the Synodal Checklist, fols. 549 ff. (16th–17th c.), and Bodleian Library (Oxford), 995–92, fols. 124r–127v (16th–17th c.).

Other translations: Italian, by Dujčev, “Riflessi,” pp. 208–12, and “Il Tipico,” pp. 13–17, from the Bodleian manuscript.

Institutional History

Very little is known about this foundation, and not much can be said with certainty even about such basic matters as when its founder John lived, how long his monastery was in existence, and when it disappeared. In addition to the present *typikon*, the founder is also known from his appearance in various *synaxaria* of the Greek church, in which he is customarily described as “confessor” as well as superior of this monastery on Pantelleria.² This has led some scholars to speculate that he may have been a refugee from Iconoclasm, and that his monastery must therefore date from some time after 726.³ John’s successor, Basil, was also commemorated as a saint, and a canon dedicated to him is extant that appears to refer to John’s monastic rules.⁴ The canon features the hard ascetic life conducted by Basil, which appears consonant with the stern tenor of John’s *typikon* (see below). The canon obviously must be later than the *typikon*, but since its own dating is speculative, it is no help in dating the latter document.

A few facts known about the island of Pantelleria itself hint at the likely duration and ultimate fate of the foundation. Located southwest of the westernmost tip of Sicily and due east of Tunisia, as an Italian possession it is even today a remote and sparsely populated site. Known in classical times as Cossyra, it became known as Patellaria circa 700,⁵ that is about the time Arab rule became firmly established in Ifriqiya on the nearby African coast with the fall of Carthage in 698. It had served as a refuge for Christians fleeing the Arabs since the second half of the seventh century, but around 700 it was seized by the latter temporarily, who used it as a base for raiding Sicily.⁶ The period of its recovery by the Byzantines, which cannot be precisely dated, is the most likely time for the foundation of John’s monastery. During the years 803–806, three dissident

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ecclesiastical hierarchs, Euthymios of Sardis, Theophylaktos of Nikomedia, and Eudoxios of Amorion, were exiled on the island at the orders of Emperor Nikephoros I (802–811).⁷ A chance reference in a Carolingian chronicle records that in 806 raiders from Muslim Spain captured sixty monks on Pantelleria, presumably from John’s monastery given the small size of the island, some of whom the Frankish Emperor Charlemagne was able to ransom a year later and enable to return home.⁸ How much longer the monastery survived cannot be determined. The island was still in Byzantine hands at the time of a naval battle between forces dispatched by Ziyâdat Allâh I (817–838) against a Byzantine fleet in 835.⁹

By this time the Muslims had already settled in Sicily itself at Palermo, where they had established a capital in 831, though the conquest of the larger island took several decades. Syracuse did not fall until 878 and Taormina until 902 (later reoccupied and lost again in 962). Von Falkenhausen (“Patellaria,” p. 1594) broadly assigns the Arab conquest of tiny Pantelleria to the period between 836 and 864. Although Malta did not fall until 870, an early date within the range proposed seems preferable.¹⁰ At whatever time the island fell to the Arabs, the monastic community cannot long have survived as Pantelleria was thoroughly Islamicized thereafter.

Analysis

This document is the only monastic *typikon* that predates the Studite monastic reform. Widely assumed (without certain evidence) to be only a fragment of a longer document, it has been preserved only in an old Slavic version, surely the most curious means of preservation of any of our documents given its original place of composition on remote Pantelleria. Unlike many later *typika*, the document shows no interest in regulating constitutional, administrative and financial matters. Instead, like (3) *Theodore Studites* and even (4) *Stoudios*, the documents closest to it in date, its principal concern is the regulation of the lives of the monks of the monastery for which it was written.

The *typikon* depicts a community living under strict, authoritarian rule (n.b. [18], restricting whispering and written communications) in one of the most remote parts of the Byzantine Empire. The monks lived a life emphasizing prayer, singing, genuflections, strict fasting, and strenuous manual labor. This was a hierarchically organized foundation, under the firm rule of a superior, overseers, and elders. Monks were also assigned places in the church according to their rank. Anyone who dared to differ was to “be shown his place” [1]. The emphasis of the document is on duties and punishments for infractions of the rules, particularly latenesses and absences.¹¹ Punishments include: lying face down, deprivation of food, and expulsion from the community. The suppression of homoeroticism was a particular concern of the author.¹² The penal emphasis, present earlier in the *Penitential* mistakenly attributed to Basil of Caesarea, finds some echoes in ninth- and tenth-century Byzantine documents (such as (4) *Stoudios* and (11) *Ath. Rule*), then drops out of sight again until the twelfth century, when (31) *Areia* [T9] shows its influence. Direct Basilian quotes turn up again in Cypriot *typika* (34) *Machairas* and (45) *Neophytos* of the early thirteenth century. However, nowhere else among the medieval Byzantine monastic foundation documents or their late antique predecessors is there evidence of such a grim regime for daily life and discipline as found here. The possibility that this was in fact a monastic prison might well seem worth entertaining, were it not for the inclusion of expulsion among the recommended punishments.

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Overall, this is a document of some sophistication, a recognizable if also brief (and possibly incomplete) *typikon*, all the more remarkable for its early date, remote provenance, and bizarre means of preservation—in a rough Church Slavonic translation (no Greek original has been found yet) that, judging from its archaic language and character, was probably made in the ninth century; the present shape of the text, often corrupted and difficult to understand, may however be due to tradition and subsequent copies. The Pachomian influence astutely observed by von Falkenhausen¹³ is an indication that this is one of the very earliest documents in our collection, but should not be overemphasized. Manual labor, absent or at any rate seemingly less important in subsequent documents, still has a place here as it does in the Pachomian, Basilian, and (to a lesser extent) Syriac traditions. Yet features such as the use of wine [4] and the bows accompanying prayers [3] as well as the regulations for liturgical observances ([8] through [10]) demonstrate that, despite the links to Pachomios and Basil, this is a document of a later era.

Notes on the Introduction

1. An eighth-century date seems most likely in view of the chronological framework provided by the history of the island of Pantelleria (see below, Institutional History).
2. For details, see Scalia, “Pantelleria,” pp. 79–81.
3. First proposed by E. Golubinsky, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1901), p. 652; see also Scalia, “Pantelleria,” p. 82, and von Falkenhausen, “Patellaria,” p. 1594, and “Monachesimo,” pp. 153–54 and 157.
4. Canon XV: *In Sanctum Basilium Patellariae hegumenum*, ed. Acconcia Longo, *Canones Iunii*, pp. 163–76, with commentary at pp. 375–81; the apparent reference to John’s *typikon* is at verses 63–64.
5. Scalia, “Pantelleria,” p. 74; there are many variants on the name, including Patallarea, Patelarea, Patalaria, etc.
6. M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Catania, 1933), pp. 235, 290, based on Arabic sources.
7. See Jean Gouillard, “La Vie d’Euthyme de Sardes († 831), une oeuvre du patriarche Méthode,” *T&M* 10 (1987), 1–101, at 5, 17, 25–27.
8. *Annales Fuldenses, sive annales regni Francorum orientalis*, ed. Fr. Kurze (Hanover, 1891), Anno 807, p. 124.
9. See the Arab historian Ibn al-Athîr, in A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, vol. 1: *La dynastie d’Amorium (820–867)* (Brussels, 1935), p. 360; Amari, *Storia*, p. 437.
10. This also provides a *terminus ante quem* for the iambic poem in honor of Antiochos of St. Sabas by the otherwise unknown Arsenios, “monk of Pantelleria, who became archdeacon.” See Odorico, “Sanzione,” pp. 11–13 and 16–19 (Greek text and Italian translation).
11. See [1], [5], [6], [7], [8], [10], [11], [13], [14], [15], [17], [20].
12. See [5], [6], [7], [12], [20].
13. See von Falkenhausen, “Patellaria,” *ODB*, p. 1594, and “Monachesimo,” pp. 155–57; and [6], [7], [8], [11], [13], [14], [17], [18]. For specific Pachomian parallels, see also notes to the translation for these chapters.

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Translation

[Note: The translation below is based on Mansvetov's edition of the Ms. Russian State Library, supplemented by sections in pointed brackets based on Dujčev's facsimile of the Bodleian manuscript.]

Rules of the Monastery of Our Holy Father John the Priest, Superior of Pantelleria

From the holy books teaching salvation to all [men]. Whoever has rejected [this world] and has entered the monastic state for the sake of [his] salvation cannot be saved unless he observes [the rules] which I intend to write down [here].

[1.] At the striking of the [sacred] semantron, let [the monks] gather at the porch of the church and go into the church as soon as the elders arrive.¹ Let them all bow together to the cross and start singing the Lord's Prayer as well as perform in the proper order the hymns of either the matins or the vespers or the hours. Let each one stay constantly at the place which becomes his rank and have no permission to move from this place and stay at another one. Should he start acting thus, leaving his own place and staying at another one, let him be shown [his place] once, twice, and thrice. Should he not hearken [in spite of this], let him be expelled from the church congregation.

[2.] Likewise, let [the monks] approach the communion, the meal, and the salutation according to the order² of their status. Again, let them keep the proper order also during the day. Let them recite their prayers three times from the first to the third hour, three or four times from the third to the sixth, two times from the sixth to the ninth, until vespers, and three times during the night.

[3.] Let prayers be recited as follows: after the Lord's Prayer let [the monks] stand a short while and then bow³ nine times, if they are in good health, and each time they stand up again let them lift their hands to God imploring for his grace. {Let them bow three times and lift their hands three times as well.} When they have finished, let them bow three times, and then bow to one another and take leave. (Should they be unable to bow, as it has already been said, nine times, let them bow three times [only], and lift their hands three times as well, and then take leave.) In all it will

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amount to twelve [times]. This we order to be done in the winter days, but in the summer days let prayers be increased. Thus, when the days are lengthening, let one more prayer be added to each [further] hour.

[4.] Once more, whoever seeks salvation and enters the monastic state, should he be physically healthy, [that is] able to do it, let him fast during the day.⁴ Should [he] instead be performing heavy work, let [him] have one fourth [of the regular portion], and a cup of wine before his meal. Whereas, should his body grow thin and look feeble, let him fast on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday [only]. He who is unwilling to comply with these commandments shall not achieve salvation.

[5.] When [the monks] gather in the cells where they sleep or while doing a service, it is unbecoming either to visit each other and sit on the bed or to ask concerning any matter.⁵ Should one's property be forcibly retained by someone else, let him go to the ecclesiastical overseers,⁶ that they repair this wrong [for him]. Should anyone manifestly disregard such rule, and not hearken two or three times to admonitions, let him be expelled from the monastery. Should anyone be seen drawing one of his brothers aside and taking him to his cell to converse with him, let that one be admonished [two or three times], then, if he is unwilling to hearken, let him be stripped of his garb and banished from the monastery. Again, should it be necessary for [one] to talk about any matter, let him stand and talk [to the other] outside the church before the brothers, so that no one may be misled.

[6.] Likewise, whoever is walking with another on a road, and they are seen holding hands or embracing or kissing, should one not hearken to admonitions, let him be expelled from the brotherhood, so that the others may not be corrupted at the sight [of this].⁷

[7.] Let also the monks not ride a beast of burden two of them together, but let each one go and ride in turn.⁸ The same [applies] to both sitting and sleeping.⁹ Whoever shall frequently converse with one, but it is not clear what the conversation is about, let him be liable to the aforesaid punishment.

[8.] When [the monks] get to the choir, should anyone come before [the beginning of] the song, let him enter, recite the prayer, and take his own place. Should anyone become lazy or, for any reason whatsoever, be late and not show up, let him stay outside the church and, as the brethren go out, let him fall down before them and explain the reason why he was not present, so that they come to know [it].¹⁰ Let the superior interrogate him, and if forgiveness is proper, let him forgive. If it is not, let him inflict the punishment. Let this be done for the matins or the vespers or any other service; for which, however, those who have arrived early must wait with the other brethren.

[9.] Should it happen that one is busy for whatever reason, let him join the [singing of the] canon later; and on account of this let the worshipers sing the odes, always in the entirety of their verses, and then start singing the *troparia*. When the nights are [too] short, let this be done after lunch

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time <as we have said>. We have also ordered that you, if at all possible, sing the odes in the entirety of their verses along with the *troparia*, but this is [left] to the authority of the elders. It is certainly always profitable to exert oneself on both the saints' and the Lord's days <in the summer>, but also in the winter¹¹ let us make every effort to sing the odes from the first to the last verse as well as the *troparia*. The ecclesiastical precept is the following: four *kathismata* and two lections during the winter, two *kathismata* and one lection during the summer (as for the lection, [let it be read] as long as the brethren are not judged to be overworked), and further prayers.

[10.] When you are <standing> in the church for the hymnody, listen to what the precentor says and sing [exactly] as he is prescribing. Let no one have power either to change any word or to sing a different hymn. Even if you become aware that the precentor is mistaken, only those who are in the front shall have the right either to change any of the words or to begin a different hymn. All others of you keep [observing] the proper order. Should anyone dare to break the present rule, let him be liable to the punishment of lying face downward. Again, we order to sing in the proper order, according to the habit acquired from deacon John. Let all sing in this way. Should any of you be accustomed to sing differently, we request him to relinquish his habit, and adapt to his brothers', [so that] harmony among the brethren be displayed in this matter.

[11.] As for the collective liturgy, should anyone fail to come [in time] without any reason, communion is not fitting for him. Should he start doing this often, let him be liable to the punishment of lying face downward.¹²

[12.] Rush zealously to the church and even more to the holy liturgy. Do not stay too close to each other. When you bow and recite the prayer, on bowing let each one keep away from the side of his brother and not stand close to him so that when he bows he crowds his brother.

[13.] Again, whenever a superior summons [the brethren] to meals, let [them] all move as [if they were going] to church. Should a few arrive before the others, let them wait a short while for their fellow [monks], and then start reciting the prayer over the food. Let the overseers interrogate anyone who comes late.¹³ Should he have been late because of laziness, let them send him back without food. Should it be Lent or the Christmas fast, let him remain [in this condition] until exactly the same hour of the next day. Should it not be a fast day, let him remain [thus] until evening; then, having obtained forgiveness, let him eat. Should he not repent his fault, let him not eat, for he is abusive of others and on account of this he refuses to humble himself to anyone.

[14.] Whenever the brethren are called to work, let them hasten [to it] as they do to food.¹⁴

[15.] Let the overseers keep the time for prayers and not strike [the semantron] whenever it is time to prostrate before Christ. There shall be two overseers, to announce the proper order of the mysteries, and if the brotherhood perceive that they are lazy, by the end of the day, there where they gather to eat, let it inflict upon them the punishment and say: "As our prayers were not perfect, [similarly] do not eat."

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[16.] Let it be forbidden to go to any kind of work without asking [permission from] the elders. Let these notify the monks who should leave to go to work and him who, instead, is ordered to sit in his cell while also working for the others, as is proper. Indeed, it is fitting that out of love you <do Christ's> work for one another.

[17.] Should anyone expose his garment outside, and the sun shines on it for three mornings, let him be liable to the appropriate punishment.¹⁵ Let him go himself to ask for punishment, confessing his sin, since he trespassed. Let this be done for any kind of fault, if one wants to be saved. Even if the elders do not come to know [of his sin], he himself must be conscious of both what it is and his desert. Whoever out of laziness does not care to undergo the punishment, may his soul have life!

[18.] Do not whisper among yourselves, since whispering presupposes the sin of theft.¹⁶ But should there be any necessity for conversing, then converse among yourselves in a clear manner, not shouting but with moderate voice. Let no one write any word on paper to another, unless he have a great need [for it], or else it be Lent. All the more so since we have already said to speak out in a clear voice.

[19.] We enjoin you to revere your overseers as [you would revere] God himself. Keep loving and revering not the elders alone, but all of you mutually. As we have said, your souls shall have life, or it will hardly be possible to have life.

[20.] Should a brother declare: "I cannot stay with this brother in the same cell or [sit] at the same table," let him be asked on account of what sin does he do (it).¹⁷ Should he answer [that it is] owing to extreme weakness, lest his brother cause scandal, we exact that an inquiry be made into this matter. Should the latter state: "[Yes], I am causing scandal," and this being the reason why he separates himself from the proper order of the brethren, and [why also he] says: "I wish to sit alone in my cell," let them bring the church priests to him and let him be instructed amidst the brethren. Should he still not hearken, let them take off his monastic garments in front of the church and then expel him from the monastery.¹⁸

[21.] For whoever does not observe all the monastic rules and, at the same time, does not keep and follow the present regulations becomes estranged from the Church. This is what is said in the book, and let this be done! He who loves his neighbor until death shall <be willing to> lay down his own life (for him), and shall serve him and remain¹⁹ with him. He who abides by such rules of our Fathers, and keeps them, shall have life.

Notes on the Translation

1. For use of the *semantron*, see (4) *Stoudios* [AB2], [B14], [AB31], [AB33], [AB36]; porch of the church: perhaps the *narthex* is meant here, cf. (4) *Stoudios* [AB2].
2. A reference to the performance of the canonical hours (the *akolouthia*).

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3. For bows, see (4) *Stoudios* [A2], [A6], (22) *Evergetis* [4], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13].
4. Requiring monks to fast throughout the day is an extraordinary requirement in the context of what is known from our other documents; see Appendix B: The Regulation of Diet in the Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents, A: General Rules.
5. For the discouragement of fraternization, compare to the regulation found in (4) *Stoudios* [18]; (7) *Latros* [11]; (22) *Evergetis* [9], [21]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [41], [47]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [21]; (30) *Phoberos* [21], [25], [39], [40]; (32) *Mamas* [17], [35]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], [34]; (34) *Machairas* [63], [113]; (55) *Athanasios I* [4]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [8], [17].
6. Slavonic *pristavniki*; for these overseers, see (4) *Stoudios* [18], (11) *Ath. Rule* [17], and (22) *Evergetis* [31], etc.
7. Vaguely reminiscent of the Pachomian *Praecepta* [95], ed. A. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina* (Louvain, 1932), p. 40; trans. A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Chronicles* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1981), p. 161: “No one may clasp the hand or anything else of his companion; but whether you are sitting or standing or walking, you shall leave a forearm’s space between you and him.”
8. Cf. Pachomian *Praecepta* [109], ed. Boon, p. 42; trans. Veilleux, p. 162: “Two men shall not sit together on a bare-backed donkey or on a wagon shaft.”
9. Cf. Pachomian *Praecepta* [95], ed. Boon, p. 40; trans. Veilleux, p. 161: “Nor shall you sit two together on a mat or a carpet.”
10. Cf. Pachomian *Praecepta* [17], ed. Boon, p. 17; trans. Veilleux, p. 148: “If anyone is missing when one of the elders is chanting, that is, reading the psalter, he shall at once undergo the order of penance and rebuke before the altar.”
11. That is, on feasts of the Lord.
12. Cf. Pachomian *Praecepta* [9], ed. Boon, p. 15; trans. Veilleux, p. 146: “. . . anyone who comes after the first prayer shall be punished in the manner described above and shall remain standing in the refectory.”
13. Cf. Pachomian *Praecepta* [32], ed. Boon, p. 21; trans. Veilleux, p. 150: “If someone comes late to eat, without [being detained by] an order of the superior, he shall likewise do penance, or return to his house without eating;” for later interrogation of latecomers to meals, see (22) *Evergetis* [31], (27) *Kecharitomene* [25], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [37], and (30) *Phoberos* [48].
14. Cf. Pachomian *Praecepta* [58], ed. Boon, p. 31; trans. Veilleux, p. 156: “When the signal is given to go to work, the housemaster shall lead them, and no one shall remain in the monastery except by order of the father.”
15. Cf. Pachomian *Praecepta* [68], cf. [69], ed. Boon, p. 33; trans. Veilleux, p. 157: “They shall not go do laundry unless one signal has sounded for all. They shall follow their housemaster and do the washing in silence and with discipline.”
16. Cf. Pachomian *Praecepta* [94], ed. Boon, p. 40; trans. Veilleux, p. 161: “No one shall speak to his neighbors in the dark.” For the restriction of (external) written correspondence, see the Basilian *Poenae* 59, PG 31, col. 1313C, (22) *Evergetis* [22], (34) *Machairas* [131], and (45) *Neophytos* [CB5].
17. A disciplinary problem analogous to that of (22) *Evergetis* [9], which, however, focuses on arguments over precedence at table.
18. For the ceremony of stripping monastic vestments from an unworthy monk, see (20) *Black Mountain* [76], [77].
19. Slavonic *ljazhet*, i.e., be buried.

3. *Theodore Studites: Testament of Theodore the Studite for the Monastery of St. John Stoudios in Constantinople*

Date: 826¹

Translator: Timothy Miller

Edition employed: PG 99, cols. 1813–24 = J. J. Sirmond, *Opera varia*, ed. J. de la Baume, vol. 5: *Sancti Theodori Studitae Epistolae aliaque scripta dogmatica* (Paris, 1696), pp. 80–88.

Manuscript: Parisinus graecus 891 (1136 A.D.)²

Other translations: Latin, by Sirmond, *Opera varia*, vol. 5, pp. 80–88, reprinted in PG 99, cols. 1814–23; Bulgarian (partial), by I. Goshev, “Pravilata na Studijskija monastir. Vvod, tekst i izjasnenija,” *Godishnik na Sofiiskiya Universitet VI. Bogoslovski Fakultet* 17 (1939–40), 5–75, with translation at 17–21 and commentary at 21–24.

Institutional History

A. Foundation of the Monastery

The Monastery of St. John the Forerunner Stoudios can be traced back to its foundation by a private benefactor, a certain Stoudios who was consul in 454.³ Mango (“Studius Basilica,” p. 122) has shown that the monastery church (*katholikon*)—reportedly founded on the site of an earlier parochial church—was built before 454, possibly in 453 or, as recent archaeological evidence suggests, as early as 450.⁴ This church, which survives today as a ruin in Istanbul—the city’s oldest remaining ecclesiastical building of any size—is to be found in the southwestern corner of the old city in the former Psamathia region, near the Golden Gate. The church may have been built, as Mango suggests, in the anticipation of serving as the reliquary for the head of St. John that contemporaries believed had been discovered in 453 in Emesa, though the new foundation did not succeed in gaining this valued relic.

A few years later, perhaps in 460, Stoudios installed a group of the “sleepless monks” (*akoimetoï*), famous for their continuous liturgical services throughout the entire day, at a monastery attached to the church.⁵ Monks observing this usage continued to staff the monastery down to the end of the eighth century, except perhaps for a decade or more after the iconoclast Emperor Constantine V (741–775) expelled the capital’s iconodule monks in 765.⁶ The names of some of the monastery’s superiors are known, and there are a few incidental historical references, but the monastery did not play an important role in Byzantine ecclesiastical history for the first three hundred years of its existence.⁷

B. Theodore the Studite

The foundation achieved prominence when in 798 or 799 the iconodule Empress Irene summoned our author, Theodore, then director with his uncle Plato of a private family monastery at Sakkoudion

in Bithynia, to Constantinople to assume the leadership of the Stoudios monastery, where fewer than ten of the sleepless monks had survived the iconoclast persecution.⁸ The constitutional status of the monastery at this point is obscure. It may well have been seized by the imperial government under Constantine V, which a grant by Irene to Theodore at this time would seem to suggest. In any event, Theodore chose to treat Stoudios as a private foundation, analogous to Sakkoudion—which continued in operation—as well as at least three other monasteries then under his control.⁹ As Kazhdan has noted (“Theodore,” p. 2045), Theodore’s intent, only partially realized, to be sure, was to create “an independent monastic organization able to resist imperial coercion.” Desirable as this goal must have seemed to iconodule patrons, many of whose foundations had been confiscated or even secularized under Iconoclasm, it proved impossible of attainment during Theodore’s lifetime, though the number of monks submitting to his authority is said to have ranged as high as 700–1000, apparently including those resident in the dependent houses (*metochia*) as well as at Stoudios itself.¹⁰

Theodore was a principled but also a highly contentious personality. He had generally bad relations with most of the Byzantine rulers after Irene. Even the iconodule Emperor Nikephoros I (802–811) was no exception, for he carried out the exile of the Studite leadership to the Princes’ Islands decreed by a church synod in 809 after Theodore refused to be reconciled to Patriarch Nikephoros I (806–815) in the Moechian controversy.¹¹ Dobroklonsky (*Prepodobnii Theodor*, vol. 1, p. 652) suggested that the resentment by other superiors of the monastic reforms Theodore was promoting (for which see the discussion below in (4) *Stoudios*, The Studite Monastic Reform) may have been a factor in the Studite superior’s downfall. Theodore was able to maintain a lively correspondence with various individual members of his monastic communities (which had been dispersed by the authorities) throughout this period of exile, which came to an end after the accession of Michael I (811–813).¹²

Theodore was exiled again in 815 after refusing to acquiesce in a revival of Iconoclasm under Emperor Leo V (813–820).¹³ Just before his departure, Theodore divided his monks into small groups and recommended that they disperse so as to avoid governmental pressure. Stoudios was reopened in Theodore’s absence, however, by the renegade monk Leontios, who thenceforth served as the monastery’s superior.¹⁴ Most likely Theodore never regained control of the Stoudios monastery. Finding himself in strict confinement under the watchful eye of the metropolitan of Smyrna from 819 to 821, Theodore wrote a letter in the form of a last testament in 819.¹⁵ Though Theodore was freed and recalled to Constantinople in 821 after Michael II (820–829) became emperor, he was unable to reach an accommodation with the new ruler.¹⁶ Instead, he seems to have gone voluntarily into exile again, probably in 823, first to the peninsula of St. Tryphon near Cape Akritas southeast of the city, and later to Prinkipo in the Princes’ Islands.¹⁷ He died there in November, 826, after having gotten his disciple and chosen successor Naukratios to write down his final *Testament*, which is translated here.¹⁸

C. Theodore’s Immediate Successors

It is unlikely that Theodore’s successors were able to return to the Stoudios monastery until after the death of the last iconoclast Emperor Theophilos (829–842). Shortly thereafter, the translation of the remains of Theodore and his brother Joseph from their original burial site on Prinkipo to

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Stoudios took place on January 26, 844.¹⁹ True to his teacher's ways, Naukratios (superior, 842–47) quarreled with the new orthodox Patriarch Methodios I (843–47) even though the latter's iconodule credentials were impeccable. Details are available from the hagiographic life of Naukratios' successor Nicholas the Studite (superior, 847–50 and 853–858).²⁰ This source also supplies us with the names of several other Studite superiors of the mid-ninth century as well as a discussion of Nicholas' refusal to accept Photios (858–67) as patriarch, preferring as he did to remain loyal to the deposed Ignatios (847–58).

D. Stoudios as an Imperial Monastery

In the early tenth century, during the final years of the reign of Leo VI (886–912), Stoudios seems to have changed over from its traditional oppositionist posture to being a predictable supporter of imperial authority, whose superiors and other high officials were entrusted by the emperors with many important missions, such as the Studite monk Euthymios whom Emperor John I Tzimiskes (969–976) sent to Mount Athos to adjudicate disciplinary problems, a mission that resulted in the issuance of (12) *Tzimiskes* (see below, Chapter Two). Also, beginning in 902 when Leo VI expelled Leo Musikos from the palace and had him imprisoned at Stoudios, the monastery came to serve the convenience of the emperors for this purpose as well, down into the 1070s.²¹ In the eleventh century, three former emperors were sent into exile at Stoudios: Michael V Kalaphates in 1042, Isaac I Komnenos in 1059, and Michael VII Doukas in 1078.²² The monastery's ability to supply three patriarchs of Constantinople, Antony III (974–979), Alexios Studites (1025–1043), and Dositheos (1189–1191), also testifies to its intimate connections with the imperial government. Therefore, it appears likely on circumstantial evidence that Stoudios had been an imperial monastery since circa 900, and perhaps considerably earlier.

E. Stoudios in the Last Centuries of the Empire

The monastery was quiescent during the Komnenian era and does not appear to have played an active part in the Evergetian monastic reform movement as it progressed throughout the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Stoudios lost part of its relics during the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, and was left abandoned in a neighborhood that became a sheep pasture. In 1293, Constantine Palaiologos, a brother of Emperor Andronikos II (1282–1328), restored the monastery by putting a new roof on the church, shoring up its walls, and recruiting new monks.²³ By the late fourteenth century, Stoudios ranked once again as the most honored monastery in Constantinople.²⁴ The monastery and its superiors continued to play an active part in Byzantine history right up to the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, at which time, however, the monks were likely dispersed and the foundation's thousand-year history as a monastery came to an end.²⁵

F. Conversion of the Church into a Mosque in Ottoman Times

Sultan Beyazid II (1481–1512) granted the buildings on the site to the Albanian Ilyâs (Elias) bey b. Abdullah, his *imrahor* or "stable-master," who converted the church into a mosque, which has henceforth been known as Imrahor or Mirahor Camii.²⁶ Evidently most of the monastery soon disappeared, since the traveler Peter Gilles found no trace of it during his visit to the site in the mid-sixteenth century. A fire that swept the old Psamatia neighborhood in 1782 damaged the

mosque severely, but it was rebuilt in 1820. After an earthquake struck in 1894, the building fell into ruins.

G. Archaeological Evidence from the Site

Although no adequate excavation of the site or survey of the building has ever been completed, the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople under Panchenko cleared the site, excavated a fifth-century crypt under the sanctuary, and made some preliminary observations in 1907–1909.²⁷ A few years later, Ebersolt and Van Millingen both published some plans before another fire damaged the remains further in 1920.²⁸ It has been determined that the monastery must have been located along the south side of the church's atrium, but only a cistern remains from that part of the foundation.²⁹ Old photographs, however, show that there was once a two-columned groin-vaulted chapel of middle or late Byzantine construction located over the corner of the cistern that must have been preserved down to the nineteenth century.³⁰

Analysis

Judging from the large number of provisions it shares with an earlier letter of Theodore's to his disciple Nicholas, Theodore's *Testament* must be considered a final copy of a work long in gestation.³¹ Therefore it should not be seen as reflecting only the reduced circumstances of the author's confederation of monasteries at the time of his death in 826, when the Stoudios monastery itself had been out of his control for over a decade. It is also just one of several important witnesses to Studite monasticism, for which we have an extraordinary wealth of source material, including the Studite *typikon*, (4) *Stoudios*, the next document in our collection.³²

The *Testament* illustrates the dramatic development of the testamentary format which took place in the two hundred years that had elapsed since the composition of (1) *Apa Abraham*. Unlike the latter, this testament has a great deal of regulatory content, though it may be considered to fall a little short of the scope of a *typikon*, even an early example of the genre like (4) *Stoudios* written for Theodore's own foundation after his death. A profession of orthodox faith heads up the document, a new feature, but one with subsequent parallels (e.g., (7) *Latros* [1] ff., (10) *Eleousa* [2], and (49) *Geromeri* [2] ff.).

Theodore enthusiastically (but vaguely) endorses [13] the patristic "canons and laws," especially those of Basil of Caesarea. There is, however, not much explicitly Basilian content in this document, which is true generally of Theodore's ascetic writings.³³ One readily apparent borrowing, the endorsement of the teaching of catechism [11], appears to have Pachomian roots, perhaps through the mediation of unidentified Palestinian ascetic sources of which our author was especially fond.³⁴

A. Lives of the Monks

The core of this document is made up of a series of injunctions in the style of the "canons" in the Syro-Palestinian tradition. The author directs most of his commandments to the superior; there are only a few general admonitions [25] ff. to the monks. An important theme in the injunctions is the avoidance of sexual temptations. Perhaps this is a recollection of perils that were more immediate when the foundation was being directed from the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople. Theodore

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is mostly concerned about women in this connection [9], [15], [16], [17], although he also forbids the superior an adolescent disciple [18], and there is a curious prohibition of female domestic animals [5] (to be repeated in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31] and elsewhere).³⁵ Maintenance of sexual segregation evidently was difficult, especially in an urban and aristocratic milieu, and Theodore explicitly allows for exceptions [16]. Total segregation (as espoused later by (42) *Sabas*) was not thought to be practical.

B. Constitutional Matters

The transmission of the monastery, the principal concern of (1) *Apa Abraham*, is our author's first concern here too after his profession of faith. Theodore exercises his patronal right to appoint his successor (not named, but known to be his disciple Naukratios). Subsequent superiors were to be chosen by the community, a common arrangement in medieval Byzantium which had the effect of lessening patronal influence after the next generation (cf. the arrangements in (10) *Eleousa* [16], cf. [11]).

An important theme in Theodore's admonitions to the superior is his concern, shared with the author of (1) *Apa Abraham* [5], that the superior not permit the monastery's resources to fall into the hands of outsiders; to this he adds the injunction that the superior not misuse the monastery's property for his own use either [3]. This reflects a strengthening of the notion of institutional integrity even within the context of private ownership.

It is important to view this document in the context of its association with a private religious foundation whose claim to independence from state control Theodore had been able to uphold with only partial success during his lifetime. Indeed, he had lost the Stoudios monastery itself, originally a gift from Empress Irene that her successors felt free to revoke twice, in 809 and in 815. In addition to confiscation, secularization was another threat, particularly during the bitter iconoclastic controversy in which Theodore and his monks had generally stood in opposition to imperial policy. Even aside from the extraordinary dangers of the times, for a superior of noble birth, kinship ties posed potential conflicts of interest [8]. The superior is explicitly told not to prefer eminent and powerful persons to the interests of the community [23].

Philosophically, Theodore preferred a consultative to an authoritarian style of rule, if not for himself (which seems doubtful), then at least for his successors. Accordingly, the superior was to supervise [22] the performance of the monks in various offices in conjunction with the "foremost brothers." Generally speaking, he was not to act [24] in any area without consulting with "those who are foremost in knowledge and prudence regarding the issue in question." Theodore even suggests [25] that the community itself is the ultimate source of authority within the institution by virtue of the fact that the monks have assented to the choice of their leader.

C. Financial Matters

Though there is no direct testimony, it would appear that the monastery itself was supported by the income from a landed endowment [4], cf. [21], worked, evidently, by free labor, since both agricultural and personal slaves are explicitly forbidden. Nothing is said about any manual labor engaged in by the monks, though we know from other sources that monks were engaged in agricultural labors at the Studite monasteries outside Constantinople, though not at Stoudios itself.³⁶

The author may have feared to arouse jealousy on account of the monastery's wealth, for modest clothing [19] is recommended for the superior and he is instructed not to flaunt the institution's wealth [20]. The monastery itself is not to store up gold; charitable distributions are enjoined for "sharing abundance" [21]. The superior is also ordered not to administer the monastery's finances personally, but to appoint officials for this task [24]. This separation of administrative and financial responsibilities is part of our author's preference for consultative (as opposed to authoritarian) rule.

D. Subsequent Influence

Overall, then, this is a distinctive document that is very much a product of the preferences and concerns of its time despite the author's stated allegiance to the revival of patristic tradition. It had the good fortune to be associated with the manuscript tradition of Theodore's popular *Small Catecheses*, with the result that it followed that work into wide circulation, particularly in the twelfth century at the very time that the later Evergetian monastic reform movement was coming to dominate the empire's religious life. Yet its earliest impact on the documents in our collection is to be found on (13) *Ath. Typikon* in the ninth century, which freely incorporates, generally verbatim, no less than 18 of the 27 chapters into which we have divided Theodore's *Testament*. While there would be no further literal quotations, such Studite institutions as the mandate [22], [24] for consultative rule and the ban [21] on accumulating cash assets in the monastery would be incorporated in the constitutions of later Byzantine monasteries.

Notes on the Introduction

1. The *Testament* was prepared shortly before Theodore's death on November 11, 826; see *Naucratii confessoris encyclica de obitu sancti Theodori Studitae* (BHG 1756), PG 99, cols. 1824–49, at 1844B, cf. Michael the Monk, *Vita S. Theodori (Vita B)* 66, PG 99, cols. 324D–325A.
2. There are many other witnesses, for the *Testament* is preserved along with Theodore's popular *Small Catecheses*; see Leroy, "Petites Catéchèses," p. 337, n. 37.
3. The standard history, though much dated, remains E. Marin, *De Studio*, supplemented by B. Panchenko, "Ha. Ioannes Studios," *IRAIK* 14 (1909), 136–52; 15 (1911), 250–57; 16 (1912), 1–359; Alexander Kazhdan et al., "Stoudios Monastery," *ODB*, pp. 1960–61, provide summary accounts of the history of the monastery.
4. Sources for the foundation are: *Anthologia Palatina* 1.4, ed. Hugo Stadtmüller (Leipzig, 1894); *Suda*, ed. Ada Adler, vol. 4 (Leipzig, 1935), p. 438; Theodore Lector, *Historia ecclesiastica* 384, ed. G. C. Hansen (Berlin, 1971), p. 108; cf. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, a.m. 463, ed. Karl de Boor, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1883–85), p. 113. For archaeological evidence from brick stamps, see Urs Peschlow, "Die Johanneskirche des Studios in Istanbul," *JÖB* 32.4 (1982), 429–34.
5. For the *akoimetoï*, see General Bibliography, X. Early Constantinopolitan Monasticism.
6. Theophanes, *Chronographia* a.m. 765, ed. de Boor, pp. 443–45; Frazee, "St. Theodore," p. 31; Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 430.
7. For a list of superiors, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 432.
8. *Vita B* 19–20, PG 99, cols. 257B–260A, and "Theodore of Studium, *Laudatio Platonis* 32, PG 99, cols. 833D–836A; for the date, which cannot be precisely determined, see Henry, "Theodore," p. 47. Leroy, "Réforme," pp. 202, 205, rejects the traditional view that the move to the capital was motivated by the appearance of Arab raiders in Bithynia as mentioned in Theophanes, *Chronographia* a.m. 799, ed. de Boor, p. 473.

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9. Leroy, "Réforme," p. 206, nn. 191–93.
10. *Vita B* 20, *PG* 99, col. 260C (1000 monks); Theophanes, *Chronographia* a.m. 806, ed. de Boor, p. 481 (700 monks); rightly qualified by Henry, "Theodore," p. 49, Kazhdan et al., "Stoudios Monastery," p. 1960, and Leroy, "Réforme," p. 206, n. 200.
11. *Vita B* 27, *PG* 99, col. 269; Theophanes, *Chronographia* a.m. 809, ed. de Boor, p. 484; Frazee, "St. Theodore," p. 47; Henry, "Theodore," pp. 64–65.
12. Henry, "Theodore," p. 66, n. 1, based on Dobroklonsky, *Prepodobnii Theodor*, vol. 1, p. 671, reports 22 surviving letters from this period, with another 180 now lost. Notable among the surviving letters is one edited by R. Devreesse, "Une lettre de s. Théodore Studite relative au synode moechien (809)," *AB* 68 (1950), 44–57, that was addressed to Basil, superior of the monastery of St. Sabas in Jerusalem. For Theodore's recall to Constantinople, probably in 812 (so Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 387), see *Laud. Plat.* 40, *PG* 99, col. 844C, and *Vita B* 28, *PG* 99, cols. 272D–273A, with Henry, "Theodore," p. 68.
13. *Vita B* 37, *PG* 99, col. 288B, with Henry, "Theodore," p. 81; Frazee, "St. Theodore," p. 48, and J. Pargoire, "La Bonita de s. Théodore Studite," *EO* 6 (1903), 207–13.
14. *Vita A* 40–41, *PG* 99, cols. 196–97.
15. *Ep.* 22, ed. Georgios Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae epistulae*, vol. 1 (Berlin-New York, 1992), pp. 57–62, with Henry, "Theodore," p. 83.
16. *Vita B* 48, *PG* 99, col. 304; Frazee, "St. Theodore," p. 49; Henry, "Theodore," pp. 84–87, who at 88, n. 1, following Dobroklonsky, *Prepodobnii Theodor*, vol. 1, p. 859, n. 5, is surely right to challenge Gardner, *Theodore*, p. 197, 199, in her assertion that Theodore temporarily regained Stoudios at this time.
17. Frazee, "St. Theodore," p. 49; Henry, "Theodore," p. 88.
18. Naukratios, *Encyclica de obitu s. Theodori Studitae*, *PG* 99, cols. 1824–49; *Vita B* 66, *PG* 99, 324D–325A; with Frazee, "St. Theodore," p. 49, and Henry, "Theodore," p. 90.
19. See Van der Vorst, "Translation."
20. *Vita s. Nicolae Studitae*, *PG* 105, cols. 863–926; for a list of the superiors, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 433.
21. For details and references to the sources, see Janin, *Géographie* vol. 3, p. 437.
22. For details and references, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 427, with Kazhdan et al., "Stoudios Monastery," p. 1960.
23. Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina historia* 6.5, ed. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, *CSHB*, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1829–55), p. 190; Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 432; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, pp. 149–50.
24. See Darrouzès, *Regestes*, vol. 1, pt. 6 (Paris, 1979), no. 2714 (March 1381) = MM 2, p. 22, with Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 431, and Kazhdan et al., "Stoudios Monastery," p. 1960.
25. For details and references, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 432.
26. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 432; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, p. 150.
27. Results published in Panchenko, "Ha. Ioannes Studites" see comments by Mathews, *Early Churches*, pp. 19–20, and *Byzantine Churches*, p. 143.
28. Ebersolt and Thiers, *Églises*, pp. 3–18; Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, pp. 35–61.
29. Mathews, *Early Churches*, p. 22.
30. Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, p. 144.
31. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, pp. 31–34, with cross-references to (3) *Theodore Studites* in the Document Notes below.
32. For a discussion of the other sources for Studite monasticism, see below (4) *Stoudios*, The Studite Monastic Reform Movement.
33. See Leroy, "Influence," p. 491.
34. See the Pachomian *Precepts and Institutes* [15], ed. A. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina* (Louvain, 1932), p. 57, and trans. A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 2 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1981), p. 171; for Theodore's partiality to Palestinian sources, especially Dorotheos of Gaza, see Leroy, "Réforme," pp. 188–90.

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35. See also (12) *Tzimiskes* [22], [23]; (15) *Constantine IX* [3].

36. See Leroy, "Réforme," p. 204, with references in nn. 185–86, and "Vie," p. 37, n. 2, cf. p. 39, n. 1.

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Translation

The *Testament* of our father, the holy, inspired confessor Theodore, the Studite superior, which was read aloud before his final repose.

[Preface]

Since this wretched body of mine has fallen into a constant state of ill health and I am unable to summon all of you—my sons, brothers, and fathers—at the time of my departure because the monasteries are located in diverse places and especially because some of you have journeyed afar on business, I have heeded the words of the sacred David, “I prepared myself and was not terrified” (Ps. 118 [119]:60); and again, “My heart is ready” (Ps. 56 [57]:7). Since the hour of my passing out of this life has already arrived, I have hastened to draw up this *Testament* beforehand. I thought that this was a fitting and sure method for you to hear my final utterance and discern exactly what I believe and think, and what sort of person I leave as a superior to succeed me so that you might thus enjoy harmony and peace in Christ—that peace which the Lord left to his holy disciples and apostles as he was about to return to the heavens.

Concerning Faith¹

Therefore, I believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit—the holy and consubstantial and primal Trinity, [in whose name] I was baptized and regenerated and perfected. I confess God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit—the three are one with respect to divinity just as conversely the one is three with respect to individual persons. For the Trinity is one God according to substance although it is divided by the distinction of persons. I also confess that one of the Trinity, our Lord Jesus Christ, came into the flesh out of immeasurable charity, that is to say for the salvation of our race, having assumed the flesh from the holy and blameless Mother of God.

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He was born of her womb in accordance with the law of nature save for human procreation as the divine prophecy had foretold. This same Christ is dual [in nature], whole and complete in his divinity so that that which he was suffered no change, and whole and complete in his humanity so that that which he assumed lacked nothing. The same Christ is one in person as he is made manifest in two natures. So also he is manifest in two wills and two energies through which he acted in accordance with both things divine and things human. [col. 1816]

In addition, I follow the six holy and ecumenical councils and reject every error of heretical association. I also follow the Second Council of Nicaea which was recently assembled against the accusers of Christ. I accept and revere the sacred and holy images of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the Mother of God, of the apostles, prophets, martyrs, and of all the holy and just. Moreover, I ask for their undefiled intercessions to propitiate the Godhead. With faith and awe I embrace their all-holy relics as full of divine grace.

I also accept every God-inspired book of the Old and New Testaments as well as the biographies and divine writings of all the holy fathers, teachers, and ascetics. I say this on account of the crazed Pamphilos who has come from the East attacking these holy people—I mean Mark, Isaiah, Barsanouphios, Dorotheos, and Hesychios²—but not the Barsanouphios, Isaiah, and Dorotheos who belonged to the fellowship of the headless ones³ and had the same number of horns as did the ten-horned one,⁴ for these men were anathematized by the saintly Sophronios in his booklet.⁵ These last individuals are obviously different from those aforementioned men whom I accept as part of the patristic tradition after having questioned the patriarch Tarasios,⁶ who recently held the office of bishop [of Constantinople], and other trustworthy men, both natives and Easterners. Moreover, the image of Barsanouphios was placed on the sacred altar covering of the Great Church together with the holy fathers, Antony, Ephraem, and others.⁷ Also, I have found no impiety in their teachings, but on the contrary, much of spiritual assistance. I will accept them until some charge against them has been proven by a synodal inquiry. For, if these very men should appear worthy of anathema or others whom they have led to heresy, may they be anathematized and cursed, totally anathematized from the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

In addition, I acknowledge that the monastic life is lofty and exalted, even angelic, pure of every sin on account of its perfect way of life. It is clear that the monastic life must be ordered according to the ascetic rules of the holy Basil the Great and not by half measures so that some in one place choose some rules and let others go. For, one cannot choose to lead this life lawfully in some other fashion without the three revealed orders of the divine ladder.⁸ Nor is it possible to own a slave or a domesticated animal of the female sex because this would be alien to the religious profession and dangerous to souls.⁹ I have treated such things cursorily since there is not time to explain them fully, but only to prevent some from holding an inferior opinion of me contrary to what I truly think and believe. [col. 1817]

Concerning the Superior

Having treated of these points in this way, I shall speak in second place about the superior. Now as the first one I leave the lord, my father as well as yours, the most holy recluse and father who is

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both a luminary and a teacher. This man has been set before both you and me in the Lord and is established as the head even though he has removed himself to perfect his humility in solitude by imitating Christ. Through his directions and prayer I trust that you will be saved, if indeed on your part you show him attentive and ready obedience. Thereafter, elect someone by a common vote in a godly fashion and in the manner which the fathers have established, for my desire is to support whomever the community finds suitable.

But now, my father and brother, whoever you are, before God and his chosen angels I entrust all the community in Christ to you so that you may receive it. But, how should you accept? In what grand manner should you guide them? In what fashion should you guard them? As the lambs of Christ! As your own dear limbs! Cherish and respect them, loving each one of them with an equal measure of charity since each man cherishes the limbs of his body equally.¹⁰ Open your heart in sympathy, welcome them all in mercy. Nurse them, reform them, make them perfect in the Lord. Sharpen your understanding with prudence; rouse your will with courage; make your heart steadfast in faith and hope. Lead them forward in every good work. Defend them against spiritual enemies. Shield them, regulate them. Introduce them to the place of virtue. Distribute shares in the land of tranquility. Therefore, I give you these rules which of necessity you ought to uphold.

Rules for the Superior

1. Therefore, save for grave necessity, you shall not alter at all the constitution and rule which you have received from my lowliness.
2. You shall not possess anything of this world nor store up anything for yourself as your own, not even one piece of silver.
3. You shall not divide your soul and heart by attachments and cares other than for those whom God has entrusted to you and I have handed over, those who have become your spiritual sons and brothers. You shall not use the things of your monastery for those who were at one time yours according to the flesh—either for your relatives or friends or associates. Neither in life nor after death shall you do this for these aforementioned people—neither according to the requirements of charity nor the rules of heredity. For you are not from those of the world so that you have to share with those of the world. But if some should cross over from the life of society to our order, then you should take thought for them in imitation of the holy fathers.
4. You shall not possess a slave either for your own use or for your monastery or for the fields since man was created in the image of God. This institution has been allowed only to those in worldly life just as marriage is. It is necessary for you rather to dedicate yourself spiritually as a slave to your brothers of the same spirit, [col. 1820] even though when appearing in public you are reckoned their lord and teacher.
5. For necessary duties you shall not have an animal from among those of the female race since you have renounced completely the female sex. You shall not have one either in the monastery or in the fields as no one of our holy fathers did nor does nature herself allow it.
6. You shall not ride on horses or mules when not necessary; rather you shall travel by foot in

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imitation of Christ. If it should be necessary, however, let your beast of burden be a colt.

7. You shall always be vigilant that all things in the community be held in common and be indivisible and that nothing be owned on the part of any individual, not even a needle. Your body and your soul, nothing else, should be divided up for all your spiritual children and brothers in the impartiality of love.

8. As a fugitive from the world and from marriage, you should have no part of adopting those of the world as brothers or engaging in spiritual relationships¹¹ with them since such practices are not found in the fathers, or if they have been found, then only rarely so that they do not constitute a law.

9. You shall not dine with women other than your mother according to the flesh and your sister, whether these be women in religious life or lay persons. I do not permit this unless some pressure or necessity should require it as the holy fathers warn.

10. You should not go out frequently or roam about unnecessarily, leaving your own flock. For, it is desirable that you have time to spend with the flock and be able to save these sheep endowed with reason, but most wily and given to straying.

11. You shall always be on your guard to teach catechism three times a week in the evening either by your own agency or through another of your children since this is the salutary tradition of the fathers.

12. You should not grant what they call the little habit and after that the great one, for the habit like baptism is one according to the usages of the fathers.

13. You should not transgress the laws and canons of the holy fathers, above all those of the holy and great Basil. Whatever you do or say, you should do it in accord with the testimony of the Scriptures or of patristic custom without violating the command of God.

14. You shall not leave your flock and transfer to another one or return to an office without the approval of your own community.

15. You shall not have a friendship with a woman in religious life nor enter into a women's monastery. Nor shall you speak alone with a nun or a woman of the world unless necessity at some time compels you and then with two persons from either party present since one person is easily influenced as they say.

16. You shall not open the door of the monastery for any woman at all to enter unless it is absolutely necessary. If you are able to meet discreetly, this opportunity should not be rejected.

17. You shall not make for yourself a lodging or a secular house for your spiritual children in which there are women and go there frequently. [col. 1821] Rather you shall choose to attend to your temporary and essential needs at the home of pious men.

18. You shall not have an adolescent disciple in your cell out of affection, but you shall be served by various brothers and by a person above suspicion.

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19. You shall not possess very distinctive and expensive clothing besides the priestly vestments. Rather, you shall put on humble clothes and shoes in imitation of the fathers.

20. You shall not spend lavishly either for your own lifestyle or for the reception of guests. This will distract you since it belongs to a life devoted to pleasure.

21. You shall not store up gold in your monastery, but you should share your abundance of whatever sort with those in need at the portal of your court as the holy fathers did.

22. You shall not take charge of the treasury room nor assume the cares of stewardship, but let your key be the greatest care of souls, of loosing and binding according to the Scriptures (cf. Matt. 16:19). You shall entrust the gold and other necessities to the stewards, the cellarers, and as seems appropriate to each service, all under your manifest authority. Together with the foremost brothers, you can take an account of each administration and transfer the offices to whichever person you decide.

23. You shall not place the person of any other man, eminent and powerful according to the present age, ahead of that which benefits the community. Nor shall you shrink from laying down your life even to the point of bloodshed in guarding these godly laws and commands.

24. You shall not make or do anything according to your own opinion whether regarding a spiritual or a physical matter of any kind. First, you should not act without the advice and prayer of your lord and father; second, without the advice of those who are foremost in knowledge and prudence regarding the issue in question. For there is need of one advisor or perhaps two, three, or more as the fathers have instructed us and as we have discussed in detail.

All these commands and whatever else you have received, you shall guard and observe that you may do well and prosper in the Lord. Far be it from [me] to say or even think of the opposite.

Rules for the Brothers

[25.] Now it is time for you, my children and brothers, to hear my most pitiful voice. Accept the lord your superior as you all selected him.¹² It is not possible for anyone in any way to choose any other life for himself other than that which is laid down. This is a bond of the Lord. Looking upon him with respect and honor, embrace him as my successor. Just as you did with me, so with him too observe the rule of obedience and do not think less of him because he has been recently appointed in the Lord. Nor should you expect anything more than the gifts which were given to him by the Holy Spirit. It is sufficient that he maintain that which was laid down by my humility. Love me, my children, and keep my commandments (cf. John 14:15). Keep peace among yourselves, [col. 1824] and marching in a heavenly fashion, preserve your angelic profession inviolate.

[26.] Hating the world, do not return to the works of the world. Having been loosed from the bonds of physical attachments, do not be bound again to the affections of the flesh. Having denied all pleasures and perishable things of the present life, do not depart from your struggle with obedience through negligence and become the sport of demons.

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[27.] Stick to the race of obedience until the end so that you will “obtain the unfading crown of righteousness” (cf. I Pet. 5:4 and II Tim. 4:8). Led by humility, you should always deny your own will and pattern yourselves only after the judgments of your superior. If you keep in mind these things and if you should guard them to the end, you will be blessed. For the chorus of martyrs will receive you. Wearing crowns in the kingdom of heaven, you will enjoy the eternal blessings.

Epilogue

So farewell now, my children. I set out on a journey with no return, a journey which all those of old have traveled and on which you will set out in a short while after carrying out the duties of life. I do not know, my brothers, where I am going or what judgment awaits me or which place will receive me. For I have not completed a single good work before God. Rather I am responsible for every sin. But still, I rejoice and am glad that I am going from the world to heaven, from darkness to light, from slavery to freedom, from temporary lodging to true abode, from strange and alien lands—for I am a sojourner and a stranger as all my fathers were (cf. Ps. 38 [39]:12)—to my very own country. Still more boldly I will declare that I return to my Master, to my Lord and my God whom my spirit has loved, whom I have acknowledged as Father, even if I have not served him as a son. I have possessed him before all else, even if I have not served him as a noble slave. Raving, I have spoken these things, but I have said them for you so that you will take heart and pray for my salvation. If I achieve it, see, I give you my word before the truth that I will not be silent, but shall boldly beseech my Lord and Master for you all that you shall flourish, be saved, and multiply. I expect to see, receive, and embrace each and every one of you as you depart from the world. For I have such faith that, since you have observed his commands, his goodness just as he did here will also preserve you in the coming age for the same purpose: to sing the praises of his all-holy power. My children, remember my humble words. Keep the advice I have given in Christ Jesus our Lord in whom is glory and power forever and ever, Amen.

Being sixty-seven years old, our all-holy father and great confessor Theodore went to sleep in the month of November, the eleventh day, a Sunday, at the sixth hour, the fifth indiction, the year 6335 [A.M., = 826 A.D.].

Notes on the Translation

1. For an analysis of Theodore’s profession of faith and a discussion of the historical circumstances that promoted it, see Henry, “Theodore,” p. 173, n. 1.
2. Mark the Hermit: pupil of John Chrysostom, opponent of Nestorianism, and superior of a monastery at Ankyra in Galatia, who died sometime after 430; Isaiah: probably Isaiah of Skete or Gaza, fifth-century Egyptian monk who, Henry, “Theodore,” p. 173, n. 1, believes is identical with the Monophysite of this name condemned below; Barsanouphios: hermit who lived in the lavra of Seridos at Gaza, circa 540, and author of a collection of spiritual letters, for whom see Beck, *KTL* 395, and S. Vaillhé, “Les lettres spirituelles de Jean et de Barsanuphe,” *EO* 7 (1904), 268–76; Dorotheos of Gaza, pupil of Barsanouphios, superior of a cenobitic Palestinian monastery, and author, circa 540–60, of ascetic treatises that influenced Theodore the Studite, for whom see Beck, *KTL*, p. 396; Hesychios, perhaps

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- Hesychios of Jerusalem: for whom see B. Baldwin, "Hesychios of Jerusalem," *ODB*, p. 924. Some of the individuals cited here were important sources for the doctrine and institutions of the Studite monastic reform (see below, (4) *Stoudios*, The Studite Monastic Reform, C. The Sources of Theodore's Reform Program). Their accuser, Pamphilos, is probably to be identified with the 6th century presbyter, Pamphilos of Jerusalem, author of a tract against the Monophysites. See Beck, *KTL*, p. 379
3. Barsanouphios: Monophysite bishop of the sixth century condemned by Sophronios, for whom see Beck, *KTL*, p. 395; Isaiah, moderate Monophysite of the fifth century and author of ascetic tracts, for whom see L. Petit, "2. Isaïe," in *DTC*, vol. 8, pt. 1, cols. 79–81; Dorotheos: a sixth-century Monophysite bishop; *akephaloi*, the "headless ones," a name for the extreme Monophysites who refused to accept the *Henotikon* issued by Emperor Zeno (474–491) in 482.
 4. *dekakeratos*: derisive epithet of Monophysites. See Lampe, *PGL*, s.v.
 5. Patriarch of Jerusalem (634–638); the reference is to his letter to Patriarch Sergios (610–638) of Constantinople, ed. *PG* 87.3, cols. 3148A–3200C, that was read out during the Sixth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 681; see Henry, "Theodore," p. 173, n. 1.
 6. Patriarch of Constantinople (784–806).
 7. Antony: Egyptian monk († 356), recognized as the founder of anchoritic monasticism; Ephraem: Ephraem Syrus († 373), Syriac monk, regarded as the founder of Syriac monasticism.
 8. John Klimakos, *Scala paradisi*, *PG*, 88, cols. 632A–672B: renunciation (*apotage biou*), freedom from desire (*aprosatheia*), and solitude (*xeniteia*).
 9. See below, [5].
 10. For the anatomical analogy, drawn from Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae*, *PG* 31, cols. 1381B, 1396B, 1417BD, etc., see Leroy, "Réforme," p. 199.
 11. The reference is to *adelphopoiia* (the adoption of a brother or sister for reasons of mutual support) and *synteknia* (baptismal sponsorship). On these spiritual relationships and the obligations and legal impediments they created, see R. S. Macrides, "Adelphopoiia," *ODB*, 19–20; eadem, "Godparent," *ODB*, p. 858.
 12. Naukratios, Theodore's designated successor.

Document Notes

- [1] Inalterability of the constitution (*typos*) and rule (*kanon*). *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 31, lines 4–6, is similar. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [30].
- [2] Ban on personal possessions. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 31, lines 6–7, is similar. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [30].
- [3] Prohibition on use of monastic property for friends or relatives. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, pp. 31–32, lines 7–16, is similar. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [30].
- [4] Ban on personal or agricultural slaves. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 32, lines 16–21, is similar. This is probably a feature of Theodore's reform program intended to return monasticism to the economic self-sufficiency more common in monasteries of late antiquity; possibly anticipated by his uncle Plato at the Sakkoudion monastery. See discussion by Leroy, "Réforme," pp. 191–92, with Pargoire, "Loi monastique." Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31].
- [5] Ban on female domestic animals. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 32, lines 21–24, is identical. See discussion by Pargoire, "Loi monastique," and Leroy, "Réforme," pp. 191–92. Leroy believes this is not moral legislation but an attempt to curtail cattle breeding and the attendant commercial activity to which that might give rise. This seems to have been the motivation for related legislation in (12) *Tzimiskes* [22], [23] and in (15) *Constantine IX* [3], but see (45) *Neophytos* [19] where the identical prohibition is motivated by fears of bestiality. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31].
- [6] Ban on the use of horses or mules. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 32, lines 24–26, is similar. See subsequent related provisions in (12) *Tzimiskes* [22], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31], and (15) *Constantine IX* [3]

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- [7] Communal ownership of property. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 32, lines 26–33, is similar. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [32].
- [8] Ban on adoptions and spiritual relationships with lay people. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 32, lines 33–36, is identical. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [32]; alluded to later by (26) *Luke of Messina* [3].
- [9] Ban on dining with women. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 32, lines 37–39, is similar. See also [15] and [16] below. Alluded to later by (26) *Luke of Messina* [3].
- [10] Condemnation of frequent and unnecessary absences. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, pp. 32–33, lines 40–43, is similar. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [33].
- [11] Teaching of catechism. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 33, lines 44–46, is similar. See provision for catechetical instruction in (4) *Stoudios* [B16], [21], [36], with Leroy, “Petites Catéchèses,” p. 335. *Vita B*, *PG* 99, col. 264A, identifies the tracts read as being from the *Small Catecheses*.
- [12] Rejection of distinctions in monastic dress. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 33, lines 47–49, is similar. By the time (4) *Stoudios* [A2] was drawn up by Theodore’s successors, the distinctions had become accepted. See discussion of this issue in (9) *Galesios* [130] and (36) *Blemmydes* [9].
- [13] Endorsement of patristic laws (*nomoi*) and canons (*kanones*). *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 33, lines 50–53, is similar. See discussion of Theodore’s respect for patristic precedent in Leroy, “Réforme,” pp. 187–90, with a partial list of patristic sources utilized at p. 188, n. 58; for an inventory of Theodore’s Basilian citations, see “Influence,” p. 495. The Basilian reference here is probably to Pseudo-Basil, *Poenae*, *PG* 31, cols. 1305–20.
- [14] Requirement of community approval before the superior can transfer to another office. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 33, lines 54–55, is similar. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34].
- [15] Ban on relations with nuns or private conversations with any women. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 33, lines 56–59, is identical. See also [9] above; for a later discussion of this problem, see (26) *Luke of Messina* [3].
- [16] No access by women to the monastery. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 33, lines 60–62, is similar. This principle is adopted later by (22) *Evergetis* [39] and related documents.
- [17] Ban on frequenting inns or private residences frequented by women. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 33, lines 63–66, is identical. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34].
- [18] Ban on adolescent disciples. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, pp. 33–34, lines 67–69, is identical. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34].
- [19] Recommendation of humble clothing. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 34, lines 70–71, is identical. For Theodore’s views, see Leroy, “Réforme,” p. 192, with references to our author’s other writings. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [33].
- [20] Ban on lavish personal spending and entertainment by the superior. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 34, lines 72–74, is similar. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [33].
- [21] Ban on accumulating cash assets. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 34, lines 75–77, is similar. Compare to contrary provisions in (23) *Pakourianos* [26] in the eleventh century and (27) *Kecharitomene* [24] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [94] in the twelfth; in the late thirteenth century, however, (37) *Auxentios* [9] returns to the Studite practice.
- [22] Superior not to administer finances directly. See also [24] below. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 34, lines 77–83, is similar. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [32]; a possible influence on other later documents, e.g., (32) *Mamas* [48] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [48]. Similarly, the governing role accorded to the “foremost brothers” is adopted in (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14] and documents following it closely like (30) *Phoberos* [35], [38], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [34], [35]. Collaborative rule would become even more common in late Byzantine monasteries (see below, Chapter Nine).
- [23] Interests of outsiders not to be preferred to those of the community. Not in *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [35]. See subsequent discussions in (22) *Evergetis* [18] and related documents.
- [24] Recommendation of consultative rule. *Ep.* 10, ed. Fatouros, vol. 1, p. 34, lines 83–90, is similar. See

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also [22] above.

[25] – [27] Rules for the brothers. Copied later by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [56]. See discussion by Leroy, “Influence,” p. 505, of the importance of obedience (*hypotage*) to Theodore’s conception of monasticism.

4. *Stoudios*: Rule of the Monastery of St. John Stoudios in Constantinople

Date: after 842¹

Translator: Timothy Miller

Editions employed: First recension [A]: Aleksei Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rykopisei*, vol. 1: *Typika*, pt. 1 (Kiev, 1895), pp. 224–38. Second recension [B]: Angelo Mai and J. Cozza-Luzi, *Nova patrum bibliotheca*, vol. 5 (Rome, 1849), pp. 111–25, reprinted in *PG* 99, cols. 1704–20.

Manuscripts: [A] Codex Vatopedi 322 (956) (13th–14th c.); [B] Codex Vaticanus graecus 2029, fols. 179–85 (9th–10th c.).²

Other translations: Latin, by Mai and Cozza-Luzi, *NPB*, vol. 5, pp. 111–25, reprinted in *PG* 99, cols. 1704–20. Bulgarian, by Ivan Goshev, “Pravilata na Studijskija monastir,” *Godishnik na Sofiiskiia Universitet VI. Bogoslovski Fakultet* 17 (1939–40), pp. 27–37, with commentary at 37–44.

The Studite Monastic Reform

The present document and the preceding (3) *Theodore Studites* provide only a very incomplete and—to some extent—misleading picture of Studite monasticism. Moreover, the monastic reform launched by Theodore the Studite was to dominate Byzantine monasticism until a new monastic reform, typified by (22) *Evergetis*, swept its usages away in the course of the twelfth century except in peripheral areas like Southern Italy, Sicily, and Cyprus. Since among the other documents in our collection only (11) *Ath. Rule* and (13) *Ath. Typikon* can be said to stand directly in the Studite tradition, it seems useful to discuss briefly various aspects of the Studite reform as background to both those documents and (4) *Stoudios* as presented here.

A. Additional Sources for the Study of the Studite Reform

1. Hagiographic Sources

Theodore the Studite is probably the best documented of the authors of our documents. Four hagiographic lives have been preserved.³ As Kazhdan (“Theodore of Stoudios,” *ODB*, p. 2045) observes, these are unusual for their genre in eschewing accounts of miracles and for portraying (accurately) Theodore as a politician and administrator. We have, therefore, very useful information on Theodore’s personal role in creating his monastic confederation seen against the background of his generally hostile contemporaries. *Vita B*, the earliest *Life*, is by Michael the Monk, a Studite who most likely did not know Theodore personally (Leroy, “Petites Catéchèses,” p. 334), but was acquainted with those who did, like the later superior Nicholas the Studite. Michael’s *Life* was probably written after the latter’s death in 868. The anonymous *Vita A* appears to be a tenth-century embellishment of Michael’s *Life*, while *Vita C*, later still, conflates the accounts

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found in its two predecessors. The claim of *Vita D*, contained in an unedited manuscript in Mainz, to being an independent witness to Theodore's life is unproven.⁴ Two associated texts, the *Encyclical Letter* of Theodore's successor Naukratios and the anonymous account of the translation of Theodore's relics to the Stoudios monastery in 844, provide important information on the composition of (3) *Theodore Studites* and the canonization of its author, respectively.⁵

2. Theodore's Own Works

Theodore's own substantial body of writings is even more important to our understanding of the Studite monastic reform. His *Eulogy* of his uncle Plato, founder of the first family monastery at Sakkoudion circa 780, is useful for the question of what Studite customs might have originated at that institution.⁶ Some 556 letters, now available for the first time in a much-needed modern edition, have also survived.⁷ These show how their author utilized his personal correspondence to hold the support of influential backers both in ecclesiastical ranks and among the laity as well as to keep a sense of brotherhood alive among his monks when they suffered dispersion during their leader's several exiles. Theodore also wrote many hundreds of catechetical lessons on ascetic subjects that were gathered into two collections. The *Great Catecheses*, made up of three books, are presently only partially edited.⁸ They appear to provide the most important testimony on the actual customs of Studite monasticism in Theodore's own lifetime; some date back to the original foundation at Sakkoudion. According to Leroy ("Petites Catéchèses," p. 336), they were not originally intended for publication, and at any rate are much rarer in manuscript than the more widely disseminated *Small Catecheses*, of which 160 witnesses (so Leroy, "Vie," p. 24, n. 1) are known. These latter are a complete collection of 134 items, apparently assembled for liturgical purposes.⁹ Van de Vorst ("Petite Catéchèse," pp. 31–41) fixed their composition to the years 821–26, that is, at the end of Theodore's life during his voluntary exile from Constantinople. Both collections need to be examined carefully before Studite monasticism can be reasonably well understood. Leroy maintained, however, that the customary provisions of the *Catecheses* were consonant with the content of the later Studite *typikon*, our (4) *Stoudios Vers.* [B] as reproduced below.¹⁰

The authenticity of the *Penitentials* traditionally attributed to Theodore has been questioned,¹¹ but Leroy ("Réforme," p. 210) maintained that a reading of the *Catecheses* indicates the existence of a penitential during Theodore's lifetime. One of the *Penitentials* features punishments particular to the anticipated offenses of the incumbents of various offices, which finds a parallel in another of Theodore's works, his *Iambics*, many of which take the form of generic exhortations of monastic officials.¹² Finally, there are some *Hymns* attributed to Theodore that are occasionally useful for aspects of the Studite monastic reform.¹³

B. Principles of the Studite Reform

1. Revival of Cenobitic Monasticism

Broadly stated, the aim of Theodore's monastic reform was to revive cenobitic monasticism as it had been practiced in late antiquity, a goal that he thought could be mapped out by a close study of the relevant literary texts (Leroy, "Réforme," p. 187). Reviving the prestige of cenobiticism was a difficult undertaking, since Byzantine monasticism traditionally honored the solitary life as the pinnacle of personal pietistic achievement, even within the context of a cenobitic institution.¹⁴

Moreover, the most prestigious monasteries of Theodore's own day, the Bithynian monasteries on Mount Olympos, also saw cenobitic life as a preparation, for the select few to be sure, for a solitary life.¹⁵ But Theodore claims that it was his uncle Plato, who himself lived the life of a solitary as superior of Sakkoudion, itself a Bithynian monastery, who instituted the first components of what later became the Studite monastic reform, specifically the bans on slaves and female animals that turn up later in (3) *Theodore Studites* [4], [5].¹⁶ These basic elements of the reform were important for reviving the practice of manual labor by the monks themselves and—by virtue of making cattle breeding impossible—removing them from what was thought to be unnecessary commercial activity. Michael the Monk more plausibly attributes these bans to Theodore himself rather than his uncle Plato, although we learn from Theodore's *Great Catecheses* that his monks still possessed slaves as well as female animals even after the relocation to Stoudios in Constantinople.¹⁷ This suggests that these particular reforms cannot have been successfully implemented until the early years of the ninth century, if then.

2. Manual Labor

There is no question that Theodore, readily perceiving the importance of manual labor in his patristic sources, was an advocate of hard work for the monks in his own times, as reportedly every one of his *Great Catecheses* (so Leroy, "Réforme," p. 195) testifies. So this too, integrally related to the "Platonic" reforms discussed above, must be considered an integral part of the ideology of the Studite monastic reform. Yet, as will be seen, the regulation of manual labor was not one of the principal concerns of (4) *Stoudios*. As Leroy himself admits ("Réforme," p. 204), the relocation of Theodore and many of his monks to Stoudios at the end of the eighth century inevitably meant that the type of work pursued changed from being primarily agricultural at Sakkoudion to mostly artisanal at the new foundation in Constantinople, though the other monasteries of the emerging confederation located in rural locations perhaps continued to practice agricultural works. The institutional allegiance to the principle of self-sufficiency that is implicit in the practice of manual labor may have weakened considerably by the time (4) *Stoudios* was composed in the mid-ninth century or later, and perhaps even more so as the foundation came under imperial patronage in later times.

3. Definition of Administrative Offices

More enduring features of the Studite monastic reform were Theodore's exaltation of the importance of a monk's submission (*hypotage*) to the will of the superior (Leroy, "Influence," p. 505) and his notion of the monastic community as a mystical body, with the superior as the head, the officers as the hands and eyes, and the ordinary monks as the feet. As an outgrowth of the latter conception, Theodore developed a fairly elaborate structure of monastic offices for his foundation, whose responsibilities he discusses not only in the *Great Catecheses* but also in his *Iambics* and (implicitly) in one of his *Penitentials*.¹⁸ His biographer Michael the Monk states that this delimitation of functions was one of the essential aspects of the reformer's work.¹⁹

4. Liturgical Life

Another enduring feature of Theodore's reform, though one not much discussed in his work, was his importation of the office of the St. Sabas monastery near Jerusalem into the Stoudios monastery,

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displacing the continuous 24-hour service that was the trademark of the “sleepless” monks previously resident there since the middle of the fifth century.²⁰ In time this would merge with the office of the cathedral church of Hagia Sophia to produce a hybrid Studite office.

C. The Sources of Theodore’s Reform Program

1. Extent of Basilian Influence

Michael the Monk tells us that at the beginning of his monastic career Theodore studied the texts of the fathers, particularly Basil of Caesarea.²¹ Yet as Leroy (“Influence,” p. 504) convincingly demonstrated, the Basilian influence in Theodore’s work is not sufficient to term the latter a Basilian disciple. In all of Theodore’s huge corpus of published and unpublished work, there is only one precise reference to a Basilian text (“Influence,” p. 492), though as Leroy correctly realized, we must assess the Basilian impact on Theodore not only by actual citations but also by vaguer allusions and palpable evidence of Basilian impact in the absence of precise quotations. Even so, Basil is mentioned only 78 times in all of Theodore’s works, 39 times in his 556 letters, 32 times in the 395 authentic *Catecheses*, 3 times in his Iconodule tract, the *Antirrhetics*, and no more than once in all the other works (Leroy, “Influence,” p. 495).²² These citations are neither numerous nor particularly important for content.

Outside of the *Catecheses*, Theodore’s Basilian citations are usually dogmatic in character. Despite the intent of the *Catecheses* to justify the Studite reform by an appeal to tradition, citations are rare there too, although with Dorotheos of Gaza, a sixth-century Palestinian ascetic author, Basil is the patristic source Theodore does cite when he is inclined to seek external support. According to Leroy (“Influence,” p. 498) these citations, rarely literal, fail to exploit the central themes of Basilian spirituality, though they do demonstrate Theodore’s acquaintance with the works in the Basilian *Ascetic Treatises*, including those like the *Penitential* and the *Ascetic Constitutions* now thought to have been erroneously attributed to Basil.²³ Leroy (“Réforme, p. 190) believed that this last work had a very great influence on Theodore’s doctrines and teachings, including his notion of the monastery as a mystical body,²⁴ but he thought that much of this influence came through the mediation of similar work by Dorotheos of Gaza.

2. Palestinian Sources

Indeed, it seems that overall, Dorotheos, along with his teachers Barsanouphios and John, had a more important influence on Theodore than Basil. Leroy noted that Theodore cites Dorotheos, whose own collection of 24 *Catecheses* may have been collected at Stoudios, more frequently than Basil, though perhaps only because, having lived in the sixth century, he was considerably closer to Theodore’s own time and therefore was able to advocate a more advanced form of cenobiticism than was possible for Basil in the fourth century.²⁵ In any event, the complex administrative organization Theodore set up for Stoudios has a parallel in Dorotheos’s Palestinian monastery, and the two institutions shared a number of the same officials, though as Leroy rightly noted, many of the offices probably had already entered the mainstream of Byzantine monasticism in the long intervening period before the Studite reform.²⁶

Theodore also apparently looked to his Palestinian sources for some of the ideological components of his reform. The notion of monastic submission, absent in Basil, was to be found in the

more authoritarian monasticism of Dorotheos, along with a variety of other technical terms that Theodore was accustomed to use.²⁷

It is difficult to pinpoint the source of Theodore's interest in reviving manual labor, since it was so common in the cenobitic monasteries of late antiquity and correspondingly prominent in the ascetic literature that was available to him.²⁸ Yet other elements of the reform can be traced to Palestinian origins with certainty. Long before the composition of (4) *Stoudios*, Theodore had his monks follow the *Testamentary Rule* (*diatyposis*) of Theodosios the Koinobiarch († 529), an older contemporary of Dorotheos of Gaza and Sabas of Jerusalem, for the regulation of diet.²⁹ This rule may in fact be incorporated at least in part in (4) *Stoudios* [28], [29] below. Finally, we know that Theodore wrote to Patriarch Thomas of Jerusalem to ask him to send monks to introduce the Sabaitic chants at the Stoudios monastery.³⁰

D. Subsequent Influence of the Studite Reform

1. The Early Versions of the Studite Rule

Initially, the present document, (4) *Stoudios*, was the means by which many of the institutions of Studite monasticism were handed down to later monasteries. Our Version [B] of this document, known only in Italo-Greek manuscripts, appears to be a lightly edited version of the prototype of (4) *Stoudios* that was surely closer if not identical to our Version [A].³¹ Leroy ("Vie," p. 24) dated the appearance of (4) *Stoudios* in Greek monasteries in Calabria to the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century. In the tenth century, Athanasios the Athonite, founder of the Lavra monastery on Mount Athos, made use of a version of (4) *Stoudios* that combined elements of both Versions [A] and [B] in his own (11) *Ath. Rule*, but without feeling the need to acknowledge his source, just as he was to use (3) *Theodore Studites* some years later in his (13) *Ath. Typikon* (see below, Chapter Two).³² In 1034, one of the later superiors of the Stoudios monastery who had been promoted to the patriarchate as Alexios Studites (1025–1043) founded a monastery at Constantinople dedicated to the Mother of God for which he composed a *typikon*, now lost, that evidently was based on (4) *Stoudios*.³³ Subsequently, Theodosios Pétcherski had a complete Slavonic version of Alexios Studites' now lost *typikon* prepared for the Monastery of the Caves at Kiev in 1061. This survives in several manuscripts but has never been edited even though there are partial translations available in both Russian and (recently) English.³⁴ It is likely that further study of the unpublished witnesses to the manuscript tradition of (4) *Stoudios* and closely related documents, particularly those with a provenance in Byzantine Italy, will yield important insights into the dissemination of Studite liturgical traditions that cannot now be surmised. We already know that in its own right and through its adaptation in the liturgical *typikon* accompanying (22) *Evergetis*, the Studite *typikon* found acceptance in most Byzantine monasteries outside of Palestine until the thirteenth century.³⁵

2. Influence of Theodore's Own Works

As will be seen, (4) *Stoudios* is concerned primarily with the regulation of liturgical and dietary matters. Other Studite usages were transmitted through the dissemination of Theodore's personal writings. Of these, the *Small Catecheses* were by far the most popular, having circulated widely in more than 70 surviving manuscripts dating from before the sixteenth century.³⁶ In the late

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eleventh century in the midst of the Evergetian monastic reform, John V, Patriarch of Antioch, included them on his list of essential works of ascetic literature,³⁷ and they are cited as an authority by another reformer of the late eleventh century, Nikon of the Black Mountain, in (20) *Black Mountain* [56]. Indeed, they served as a kind of liturgical book for catechetical purposes in some monasteries, such as the Constantinopolitan monastery of St. John the Forerunner of Petra where, according to a manuscript of the *Small Catecheses* drawn up by the monk Arsenios in 1136, there were to be three readings per week from the collection throughout the year.³⁸ Theodore's *Testament*, our (3) *Theodore Studites*, is to be found in this manuscript as well as in many others of the *Small Catecheses*, and so its usages may have gained some currency along with the better known document.

The *Great Catecheses*, which contain so much of the institutional and ideological content of the Studite reform, apparently remained behind at the Stoudios monastery, in Leroy's words "as a piece of the family archives" ("Réforme," p. 212). Slowly they began to circulate, with the surviving manuscript tradition suggesting some usage in Southern Italy, particularly Sicily, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, though generally only in partial editions.³⁹ In the mid-eleventh century, Paul Evergetinos, founder of the famous Constantinopolitan reform monastery for which (22) *Evergetis* would later be written, made use of the *Great Catecheses* in the compilation of his own catechetical collection, the *Evergetinon*.⁴⁰ Later, a manuscript of Paul's work would pass to another reform monastery in Constantinople, Christ *Philanthropos*, and an unidentified nunnery, most likely its sister institution for which (27) *Kecharitomene* was written (see below, Chapter Five).⁴¹

3. Subsequent Role of Stoudios in Byzantine Monasticism

The monks and the monastery of Stoudios and, to a lesser extent, the traditions of the Studite reform, continued to play a part in the rest of the documents in our collection. As noted above, the tenth century (11) *Ath. Rule* is textually dependent upon a version of (4) *Stoudios* while (13) *Ath. Typikon* makes some considerable use of (3) *Theodore Studites*. In the contemporary (12) *Tzimiskes* [28], we find the Studite monk Euthymios sent out by Emperor John Tzimiskes to arbitrate various disputes among the monks of Mount Athos; Euthymios was also the actual author of this document, as (15) *Constantine IX* [15] states in the middle of the next century. Later on in the eleventh century, the author of (19) *Attaleiates* [38], [41] entrusted the superior of the Stoudios monastery with the responsibility of consecrating the superior of his own monastery at Constantinople. This monastery also had a copy of the Studite *Catecheses* (see [INV 7]), most likely the *Small Catecheses*.

4. Stoudios and the Monastic Reform Movement

The importance of Stoudios to the great monastic reform movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries is confirmed by (20) *Black Mountain*, which cites approvingly both (4) *Stoudios* and the *Catecheses*.⁴² (22) *Evergetis*, the most important *typikon* of the monastic reform movement, does not cite any of Theodore's works directly, but shares at least a part of its ideological outlook with (3) *Theodore Studites*. An unidentified book by Theodore was in the library of the reform monastery for which (23) *Pakourianos* [33] was written towards the end of the eleventh century. In (24) *Christodoulos* [B8], the author's nephew Theophanes is mentioned as being the current assistant

steward at Stoudios, but the nephew is expressly denied any inheritance rights to the author's reform monastery on Patmos.

5. Studite Influence in Norman Italy and Sicily

The popularity of the Studite tradition in Southern Italy and Sicily suggested by the provenance of our surviving manuscripts of the *Catecheses* as well as of (4) *Stoudios* is confirmed by the testimony of (25) *Fragala* [B4], whose author claims to have bound his monks to the observance of "the rule of Theodore of Stoudios" among other patristic documents and who in [B7] refers to (3) *Theodore Studites* as a precedent for his own testamentary provision. The author of another Sicilian document of the twelfth century, (26) *Luke of Messina* [10], cites (4) *Stoudios* as one of the sources of his own rule.

6. Waning of Studite Influence in the Twelfth Century

Elsewhere during the twelfth century, the prestige of (22) *Evergetis*, its companion liturgical *typikon*, and the *typika* of other monasteries in the Evergetian reform tradition began to displace (4) *Stoudios* as a document of reference. (31) *Areia*, which references (4) *Stoudios* both for dietary regulation and liturgical services, is a provincial exception.⁴³ (32) *Mamas* is more typical, gladly relying on the prestige of the Studite superior Theophylaktos and five of his monks as witnesses to a judicial confirmation (in the *First Semeioma*) but providing [46] that the Evergetian *synaxarion*, i.e., its liturgical *typikon*, was to guide the services in its own foundation. A few years later, however, (33) *Heliou Bomon*, otherwise a very close follower of its model, (32) *Mamas*, returns [45] to a recommendation of the Studite *typikon*, the last citation of it to appear in our collection of documents.

7. Stoudios' Role in the Last Centuries of the Empire

Thereafter, Stoudios appears to have had no direct impact on Byzantine monasticism, surely in no small part due to the fact that the monastery itself lay abandoned during most of the thirteenth century, thanks to the Latin occupation of Constantinople, up until 1293. The popularity of the pseudo-Basilian *Poenae* among certain Cypriot foundations of the thirteenth century, however, may reflect indirect Studite influence.⁴⁴ The monastery makes one last appearance in our documents in the fifteenth century in (60) *Charsianeites* [A7], where it—benefiting as usual in its later history by its close ties to the imperial government—is the recipient of a property confiscated from the Charsianeites monastery.

Analysis

This document is the first extant *typikon* preserved in Greek from the medieval Byzantine monastic tradition. The anonymous author⁴⁵ acknowledges existence of many rivals, but asserts that this is the "best," chosen "by a majority of excellent monks." None of these rival contemporary *typika* survive, though there are a number of testaments preserved from the early medieval period (7th–11th centuries), probably because, being shorter and essentially biographical, they lent themselves to incorporation into hagiographical literature. In the case of this foundation, however, both a testament, (3) *Theodore Studites*, and the present *typikon* have survived, illustrating how these two types of documents complement one another.

At this point in the still very preliminary research on the Studite reform tradition, it seems most prudent to interpret this *typikon* as a document in the Studite tradition rather than as an

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explicit statement of the founder's own views on the concerns addressed.⁴⁶ It is even hard to say how far removed was its date of composition from Theodore's death in 826. The latter half of the ninth century, after the definitive defeat of Iconoclasm in 842, seems a reasonable supposition, though any date prior to that of (11) *Ath. Rule* in the mid-tenth century is possible. A more precise dating will have to await further study.

We present here the two versions of this document that have appeared in printed editions although readers should be aware that other versions exist in manuscript.⁴⁷ Version [A] derives from a 13th-14th century manuscript in the Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos, while Version [B] is derived from an Italo-Greek manuscript of the late ninth or early tenth century. They have been translated here in parallel columns. A comparison of the two versions illustrates how an influential model *typikon* could be adapted in different ways for monasteries in other locations.

The restricted scope of this *typikon*, which is primarily (though not exclusively) concerned with the regulation of dietary matters and liturgical services, reflects the circumstances that are thought to have given birth to the genre in medieval Byzantium. First of all, there was the problem of how to resolve conflicts among the cycles of the proper of the liturgy, specifically the regular weekly services, the services for the feasts of the saints occurring on particular days during the year, and the Paschal cycle determined by the date of Easter. The first *typika* are intended to provide some guidance for resolving these conflicts (Taft, "Mount Athos," p. 182). Then there was the analogous problem of reconciling conflicting dietary prescriptions, specifically the regular rules for normal consumption or fasting on particular days of the week, the provisions for feasts of the saints marked by special dietary treats, and the obligation to observe specific periods of fasting, not only Lent but also other fasts such as those of the Holy Apostles after Pentecost and of St. Philip before Christmas. Finally, the monastic observance of a solar day necessarily meant that the lengths of the hours in any given day would vary considerably from season to season, with very short hours in winter and very long ones in summer (Leroy, "Vie," p. 28). This alone had a considerable impact on the scheduling of liturgical services, which in turn affected when meals, work, and all other activities could be fitted into the daily schedule as well. Eventually, increasingly sophisticated resolutions of these problems would lead to the development of more specialized texts, and the definitive division of the *typikon* genre into the *typikon ktetorikon* (regulating administrative and disciplinary matters) and the *typikon leitourgikon* (regulating liturgical and dietary matters).

A. *Lives of the Monks*

1. Liturgical Duties

The discussion begins with the Easter service, which would become the trademark of *typika*, like (22) *Evergetis* and other documents influenced by it, in the Studite tradition (Taft, "Stoudite Typika," p. 1961), then continues through the calendar of the liturgical year, not in any systematic way, but in order to resolve cyclical conflicts of the sort described above (e.g., the order of psalms and readings on certain feasts [12], [13]), that presume a basic understanding of the calendar. Similarly, particular problems relating to the service of the hours are discussed in several places (e.g., [3], [4], [5], [10], [11]) but nowhere is there a comprehensive treatment, as in the Basilian rules. This is despite the fact that we know (Leroy, "Cursus," p. 17) that the Studites observed seven

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canonical hours: 1) the canon, which included the midnight office (*mesonyktikon*) and matins (*orthros*), 2) prime, 3) terce, 4) sext, 5) none, 6) vespers (*lychnikon*), and 7) complines (*apodeipnon*). Perhaps it was this “incompleteness” of the liturgical regulation which led Beck (*KTL*, p. 494) to suspect that the document is itself incomplete.

2. Manual Labor

Despite Theodore’s own well-known allegiance to the practice of manual labor, it is absent from (3) *Theodore Studites*, and is mentioned [26], [33] only in passing here.⁴⁸ It does not receive either the vigorous defense seen in the Basilian rules or the detailed regulation seen in the Pachomian tradition. Actual hours of work varied seasonally [33]; Leroy (“Vie,” p. 47) estimates between eight hours in the middle of summer to only four and a half hours during the shortest days of winter.

3. Sacramental Life

There is a provision [22] for the superior to hear the monks’ confessions at the matins service, though this *exagoreusis* does not necessarily imply confession in the sacramental sense (Leroy, “Vie,” p. 33). There is an incidental reference [A38], [B37] to the reception of communion. Catechetical instruction, seen earlier in the Pachomian *Rules*, returns to prominence here, with provisions for it at compline during Lent [AB21] as well as for lessons from Theodore’s own *Catecheses* [B16], [AB36] at other times (cf. (3) *Theodore Studites* [11]).

4. Diet

The *typikon* presents the first lengthy treatment ([28] through [31]) of the monks’ diet to be found in the monastic foundation documents.⁴⁹ As with the treatment of the liturgy, there is no systematic discussion, however, just prescriptions for decorum in the refectory [28], and special diets for the Easter season and the fasts of the Holy Apostles and of St. Philip [29], for Lent [30], and for the feast of the Annunciation [31]. As in later documents, the diet is mostly vegetarian, permitting fish but not meat. Wine is the staple beverage (except during fasts), a difference from the Pachomian and the earlier part of the Syrian monastic tradition, but not the more liberal (2) *Pantelleria*, which also allows the use of wine. There was a midday meal [28] for which food was prepared, and (at least during the Easter season) an optional evening meal [29] of bread and leftovers. Aspects of the regulation [28] for decorum at table, especially the reading, would become part of the mainstream Byzantine tradition.

5. Clothing

The provisions for clothing, footwear, and bedding [A37], [B38] are, as one might expect, more generous, sturdy, and (concerning bedding) less idiosyncratic than in the Pachomian tradition, sited as it was in a much hotter climate in Egypt.

6. Length of the Novitiate

The period of testing [24] for postulants is brief (2–3 weeks) compared to later monastic traditions. They were to be kept in the monastery’s hospice during this period, then brought to the superior for instruction and enrollment.

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7. Importance of Reading

Reading [26] coexisted and indeed alternated with manual labor,⁵⁰ but as Leroy (“Vie,” p. 47) has estimated, the time available was generally no more than three hours, except in the summer when days were longer. There was a keeper of books and a kind of library system for checking books out by the day. Copyists [33] are mentioned, and were exempted from recitation of the psalter during their work. That monks could read seems presumed, and there is an incidental reference [36] to some of them who were learning the psalter, but the aggressive pro-literacy stance of the Pachomian tradition is absent here. It is noteworthy that sleeping [A33] is offered as an entirely acceptable alternative to studying during midday breaks.

8. Disciplinary Regime

The discussion [25] of confinement and corporal punishment (the former endorsed and the latter rejected) is based without attribution on the pseudo-Basilian *Penitential* and recalls the stern disciplinary regime of (2) *Pantelleria*. It will be repeated in (11) *Ath. Rule* [19], then drop out of our documents entirely until the twelfth century. In the same spirit, there is a provision for the public humiliation of a monk who might have accidentally broken a ceramic or a metal vessel [35].

B. Constitutional Matters

Despite the well-attested interest of Theodore in the subject, the *typikon* has little to say about the administration of the monastery. Certain officers identified include: disciplinarians, two choir monitors, wakers, and two overseers [18].

C. Differences between the Two Versions

Version [B], though somewhat shorter than Version [A], is more logically organized, with paragraph numberings that are original to the text. These have been editorially inserted where possible in [A] to support comparisons between the two texts. Topographical information provided in conjunction with the description [A2] of the monks' procession during Easter week serves to identify [A] as the one closest to the original setting of the document at the Studios monastery. This version also provides [A2] a considerably longer regulation of Easter week services than is found in Version [B2], but the latter has a treatment ([B14] through [B17]) of special problems associated with Holy Week and Easter that is not found in [A]. The regulation of the Lenten diet in [A30] is longer than that in [B30]. In [B8], the graveside memorial service for departed monks elaborates on the singing of canons for the departed found in both versions [7] and looks forward to the great importance commemorative observances were to have in later monastic foundation documents. The relative positions of [37] and [38] are reversed in the two documents. There are also many smaller differences.

Although the evidence is slight, Version [B] seems to have been written for an institution that was smaller than the Studios foundation (cf. Easter procession [A2] and [B2]), possibly in a location where the climate was cooler (cf. [A28] and [B28]) and where olives were not part of the diet (cf. [A30] and [B30]), and heavier clothing was needed (cf. [A37] and [B38]).

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Notes on the Introduction

1. One must distinguish the date of the prototype of the present document from the likely dates of the two versions presented here. Leroy, "Vie," p. 24, citing the conformity of contents to Theodore's other works, argued for a date soon after the latter's death in 826, but the tone of the document suggests a considerable passage of time. Since the Studites most likely did not regain possession of the Stoudios monastery itself until 842, it seems to us that the original document must have been written after that date. Leroy dates the Italo-Greek manuscript tradition represented by [B] to the late ninth or early tenth century, which seems reasonable to us, but argued for its priority over [A], which he termed (p. 24, n. 4) "a certainly posterior redaction of this text, not earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century." However, even a cursory comparison of [A] and [B] will show that the former, with its geographically specific references [A2], cf. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 439, to the Constantinopolitan topography around the Stoudios monastery that are lacking in the latter, is surely the earlier document, and closer to the prototype.
2. For the manuscript tradition, see Leroy, "Vie," p. 24, n. 5, and Taft, "Mount Athos," p. 182, n. 30.
3. Published editions for *Vitae A, B, and C* are listed above in (3) *Theodore Studites*, Biography of the Author. For details, see P. Henry, "Theodore of Studios: Byzantine Churchman," (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1968), p. 25, n. 1.
4. Monacensis gr. 467; see the contradictory assessments of Leroy, "Réforme," p. 187, n. 45, and "Petites Catéchèses," p. 333, n. 17.
5. Naukratios, *Encyclica de obitu S. Theodori*, PG 99, cols. 1824–49; *Translatio Theodori et Iosephi fratris*, ed. Ch. Van de Vorst, "La translation de S. Théodore Studite et de S. Joseph de Thessalonique," AB 32 (1913), 27–62.
6. *Laudatio sancti Platonis hegumeni*, PG 99, cols. 804–49.
7. The new edition by Giorgios Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1992) replaces the separate editions by J. J. Sirmond, *Opera varia*, ed. J. de la Baume, vol. 5: *Sancti Theodori Studitae Epistolae, aliaque scripta dogmatica* (Paris, 1696), reprinted in PG 99, cols. 903–1669, and J. Cozza-Luzi, *NPB*, vol. 8, pt. 1 (Rome, 1871). For an overview, see A. Tougard, "La persécution iconoclaste d'après la correspondance de s. Théodore Studite," RHQ 1 (1891), 80–118.
8. Ed. J. Cozza-Luzi, *NPB*, vol. 9, pt. 2 (Rome, 1888), pp. 1–127 (77 items), and A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Tou hosiou Theodorou tou Stouditou Megale Katechesis* (St. Petersburg, 1904) (143 items, including 23 shared with Cozza-Luzi); cf. Beck, *KTL*, p. 492. For details on the manuscript tradition, see Leroy, "Petites Catéchèses," p. 336, n. 34.
9. Ed. E. Auvray, *Sancti patris nostri et confessoris Theodori Studitis praepositi parva catechesis* (Paris, 1891), pp. 1–318; see also *Vita B*, PG 99, col. 264A. For details on the manuscript tradition, see Leroy, "Petites Catéchèses," p. 336, n. 34.
10. Leroy, "Petites Catéchèses," p. 355, n. 127; "Réforme," p. 208; "Vie," p. 24.
11. See Beck, *KTL*, p. 494; Leroy, "Petites Catéchèses," p. 356, n. 130, affirms the authenticity of the *Penitentials* of the first series, PG 99, cols. 1733–1748.
12. Speck, *Theodorus Studites*; German translation by Franz Schwarz, *Theodoros Studites Monastische Epigramme*, in Leroy, *Studitisches Mönchtum*, pp. 105–16.
13. Ed. J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1876), pp. 336–80.
14. For the coexistence of cenobitic and solitary forms of monasticism in this era, see Denise Papachryssanthou, "La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines du VIII^e au IX^e siècle," *Byzantion* 43 (1973–74), 158–80; Alexander Kazhdan, "Hermitic, Cenobitic, and Secular Ideals in Byzantine Hagiography of the Ninth Centuries," *GOTR* 30 (1985), 473–87, esp. 476.
15. For Bithynian monasticism as centered around Mount Olympos, see B. Menthon, *L'Olympe de Bithynie* (Paris, 1935); Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 126–91; Leroy, "Réforme," p. 183.
16. *Laudatio Platonis*, PG 99, col. 824D, with J. Pargoire, "Une loi monastique de St. Platon" *BZ* 8 (1899), pp. 98–101.

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17. *Vita B*, PG 99, col. 245B; GC 2.109, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Megale Katechesis*, p. 802, with discussion by Leroy, "Réforme," p. 191.
18. *Iambics*, ed. Paul Speck, *Jamben*, nos. 4, 6–19, 26–29, pp. 118–20, 124–53, 167–75; *Penitential*, PG 99, cols. 1733–1748; for references to various offices in *Great Catecheses*, see Leroy, "Réforme," p. 201, nn. 158–164.
19. *Vita B*, PG 99, col. 261A, with Leroy, "Réforme," p. 200.
20. For this development, see Taft, "Mount Athos," p. 182, based on Miguel Arranz, "La liturgie des heures selon l'ancien Euchologe byzantin," *Studia Anselmiana* 68, *Analecta liturgica* 2 (Rome, 1979), pp. 1–19.
21. *Vita B*, PG 99, col. 245BC, with Leroy, "Réforme," p. 187.
22. Leroy, "Influence," p. 495; for details of citations in particular works, see pp. 495–97.
23. For Basilian citations in Theodore's *Great Catecheses* and *Small Catecheses*, see Leroy, "Influence," p. 189, n. 59, for the three citations of the pseudo-Basilian *Constitutiones asceticae*, p. 189, n. 63, and for the single citation of the *Poenae*, p. 189, n. 61.
24. *Constitutiones asceticae*, PG 31, cols. 1381B, 1396B, 1417BD, and 1421A; with Leroy, "Réforme," p. 199.
25. Leroy, "Influence," p. 190, with Theodore's citations of Dorotheos in n. 66. For the latter's works, see L. Regnault and J. de Préville, *Dorothee de Gaza. Oeuvres spirituelles* (= SC 92) (Paris, 1963).
26. Leroy, "Réforme," p. 190, with a list of shared officers in n. 67.
27. Leroy, "Cursus," p. 18, and "Influence," p. 505.
28. For a list of the sources from the *Paterikon* and the *Gerontikon* known to Theodore, see Leroy, "Réforme," p. 188, n. 58.
29. According to Leroy, "Réforme," p. 209, n. 220, Theodore refers to this rule twice, in *Great Catecheses* 1.53 (unedited) and *Carmina* 3.40, ed. Pitra.
30. *Ep.* 2.15, PG 99, cols. 1160–64, and 2.16, cols. 1164–68, with Taft, "Mount Athos," p. 182.
31. For the provenance of [B], see Leroy, "Vie," p. 24, n. 5. Leroy failed to realize that (11) *Ath. Rule* contains elements of both [A] and [B] and therefore cannot be used as an argument for the priority of [B] over [A].
32. Julien Leroy, "S. Athanase l'Athonite et la Règle de S. Benoit," *RAM* 29 (1953), 108–22; Ph. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 15–20.
33. For this monastery, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 18–19.
34. For details, see Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pp. xx–xxx; K. Menges, *Die Sprache der altrussischen Übersetzung des Stoudion-Typikon* (Gräfenheinen, 1935); M. J. Rouët de Journel, "Byzance et le monachisme russe," *SBN* 7 (1953), 317–21; and Leroy, "Réforme," p. 213, and "Vie," p. 24. Discussion and partial Russian translation by Evgenii Golubinsky, *Istoriia Russkoi Tserkvi*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Moscow, 1904), p. 607ff.; resume given by Rouët de Journel, *Monachisme et monastères russes* (Paris, 1952), 28–32. Partial English translation by David M. Petras, *The Typicon of the Patriarch Alexis the Studite: Novgorod-St. Sophia 1136* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1991).
35. For unedited manuscripts of (4) *Stoudios*, see Leroy, "Vie," p. 24, n. 5; for its liturgical dominance, see Taft, "Mount Athos," pp. 182–87, and "Stoudite Typika," *ODB*, p. 1961.
36. Leroy, "Réforme," p. 212; cf. "Vie," p. 23, with n. 1.
37. John of Antioch, *De monasteriis*, chap. 5, lines 190–91, ed. Paul Gautier, "Réquisitoire du patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat," *REB* 33 (1975), 77–132, at 103.
38. Paris gr. 891, as described in Leroy, "Petites Catéchèses," p. 337, n. 37; for liturgical use of *Small Catecheses*, see also "Réforme," p. 212.
39. Leroy, "Réforme," p. 212, with n. 259, and "Vie," p. 24, with n. 3.
40. Julien Leroy, "Un nouveau témoin de la Grande Catéchèse de Saint Théodore Studite," *REB* 15 (1957), 73–88, and "Réforme," p. 213.
41. Leroy, "Vie," p. 26, n. 3.

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42. (20) *Black Mountain* [22], [23], [31], endorsing (4) *Stoudios*; [56] endorsing the *Catecheses*.
43. (31) *Areia* [M6], [T3], [T5] cite (4) *Stoudios* for dietary regulation, [T1] for liturgy.
44. (34) *Machairas* [122] ff., and (45) *Neophytos* [CB1] ff.
45. Perhaps Nicholas the Studite (superior, 842–47), who was responsible for editing Theodore’s correspondence; see Leroy, “Nouveau témoin,” p. 73, n. 1.
46. Against Leroy, “Petites Catéchèses,” p. 355, n. 107, “Réforme,” p. 208, and “Vie,” p. 24, who, based on a cross-examination of Theodore’s *Catecheses*, considered this document a generally trustworthy record of the usages of Theodore’s own times. The difficulty is determining which of the manuscript witnesses, including those currently unedited, are closest to the prototype *typikon*, for they clearly do differ in their prescriptions, as a comparison of the translations of [A] and [B] presented here shows.
47. E.g., the version by the eleventh-century monk and hagiographer Niketas Stethatos, mentioned by Leroy, “Réforme,” p. 208, n. 214; see also “Vie,” p. 24, n. 5.
48. See Leroy, “Vie,” pp. 36–47, who gives, however, a greater importance to the subject than does (4) *Stoudios* itself.
49. The Studite diet is analyzed by Jeanselme, “Régime alimentaire,” pp. 15–16, and by Maria Dembinska, “Diet: A Comparison of Food Consumption between Some Eastern and Western Monasteries in the 4th–12th Centuries,” *Byzantion* 55 (1985), 431–62, at 445–49.
50. See Leroy, “Vie,” pp. 47–48, with Nikephoros Eleopoulos, *He bibliotheke kai to bibliographikon ergasterion tes mones tou Stoudiou* (Athens, 1967), esp. pp. 11–18.

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Translations

Version A

With God’s Help, the Rule of Observance of the Most Holy Monastery of Stoudios [p. 224]

[1.] Although there are many and various traditions from prior times holding sway in the holy monasteries and although different monasteries are administered and governed by different rules for the heavenly kingdom, there is one of all these—the one in force among us—which is the best and most excellent, avoiding both excesses and deficiencies. This rule we have received from our great father and confessor Theodore.¹ [p. 225] We are not alone in choosing it; the majority of excellent monks have chosen it as well. So, today we have been led by the fatherly commands to leave this rule in writing as an enduring monument for later generations; and as far as we can, we have submitted ourselves in obedience. For, clearly, through our shepherd’s prayers on our behalf, God provides us the appropriate style in composing this treatise in order to present in a sound fashion the helpful and salutary precepts of our inspired father. We have done this for the glory of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and for the protection and safety of those who have chosen to observe these precepts in faith. Therefore, let this composition begin whence came the first fruit of men’s salvation.

Version B

The Rule of Observance of the Monastery of Stoudios [p. 111]

1. Although there are many and various traditions from prior times holding sway in the holy monasteries and although different monasteries are administered and governed by different rules for the heavenly kingdom, there is one of all these—the one in force among us—which is the best and most excellent, avoiding both excesses and deficiencies. This rule we have received from our great father and confessor Theodore.¹ We are not alone in choosing it; the majority of excellent monks have chosen it as well. So, today we have been led by the fatherly commands to leave this rule in writing as an enduring monument for later generations; and as far as we can, we have submitted ourselves in obedience. For, clearly, through our shepherd’s prayers on our behalf, God provides us [p. 112] the appropriate style in composing this treatise in order to present in a sound fashion the helpful and salutary precepts of our inspired father. We have done this for the glory of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and for the protection and safety of those who have chosen to observe these precepts in faith. Therefore, let this composition begin with God’s help.

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Concerning the holy Paschal feast

[2.] It should be known that after the second or third watch, that is the ninth hour, has passed, the signal of the water clock² strikes, and at this signal the waker is roused together with the precentor. Both receive the blessing before the superior, and the waker goes around to the bed chambers with a lantern summoning the brothers to raise up the morning doxology. The precentor departs to sound the wooden semantron in the appointed places. While all the brothers assemble in the narthex of the main church and pray silently, only those consecrated—both the deacons and the priests—together with the superior enter the church. The person whom the superior shall designate to take the censer receives the superior's blessing and with hands washed clean censes first the holy sanctuary. From there he walks through the screen in front and passes along the north side of the church while before him the ecclesiarch marches with a bright candle of large size. Arriving at the so-called royal gate,³ he makes the sign of the cross [p. 226] over the middle of the lintel and begins to cense the brothers. After he has censed all and when one of the deacons has said in a loud voice the "O Father, bless," the priest intones the "Glory to the holy, consubstantial, and life-giving Trinity now and always." Immediately, he begins the *troparion* "Christ is risen" in the first plagal mode.⁴ As all the brothers sing together in the same manner, they enter the church. The priest, however, returns by the south side while censing and enters into the sanctuary.

How we conduct services for the holy and glorious Resurrection of our Savior on the third day.

Concerning the wooden semantron

2. It should be known that after the second or third watch of the night has passed, that is when the signal of the water clock² strikes at the sixth hour at the point where the seventh hour is beginning, at this signal the waker is roused. He goes around to the bed chambers with a lantern summoning the brothers to raise up the morning doxology. Immediately, the wooden semantra sound up and down [the monastery].

While all the brothers assemble in the narthex of the main church and pray silently, the priest takes the censer in his hands and censes first the holy sanctuary.

From there he walks through the screen in front and passes along the north side of the church.

Arriving at the royal gate,³

he censes the brothers

and immediately returns by the south side [of the church] to the place whence he came out.

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When the brothers have finished chanting the “Christ is risen” three times, the priest places aside the censer, and standing with his face toward the sanctuary, he says the verse, “This is the day which the Lord has made; celebrate the feast with thick branches” (Ps. 117 [118]:24–27) as far as [the end]. He adds the doxology while the brothers sing the “Christ is risen,” each one of them. After completing this, he begins “Let us sing to the Lord” (Exodus 15, 1), and immediately “The day of resurrection,” since we do not sing the Six Psalms⁵ during this week. There is one reading from [St. Gregory] the Theologian, “The day of the resurrection and the right beginning.”⁶ In addition, after the sixth ode, there is the *kontakion* “Having seen the resurrection of Christ” and also the fiftieth psalm. With this the service of matins is dismissed.

It should be known that the aforementioned assembly of brothers in the narthex and the routine service of the precentor and the waker just described extend to the whole year. In the same way the priest’s rite is performed without delay at every matins service except for the doxology in the narthex instead of the sanctuary. On account of the holy resurrection of Christ our God, the fathers decided to change the routine of this Radiant week only. [p. 227]

It should be known that after completing the matins of the Radiant Sunday, the embrace takes place as follows⁷. Changing his sacerdotal robes, one of the deacons takes the holy Gospel and stands before the entrance of the holy sanctuary. Coming forward, the superior kisses the holy Gospel and then the deacon; after doing this, the superior stands beside him.

The brothers enter the church behind him. Having put aside the censer in the sanctuary, the priest comes out and stands with his face towards the sanctuary to begin the *troparion* in the first plagal mode⁴ “Christ is risen from the dead.” After this has been sung [p. 113] the third time by both the priest and the brothers, he says the verse “This is the day which the Lord had made” (Ps. 117 [118]:24); the brothers repeat the *troparion*, then [the priest] recites the second verse: “Celebrate the feast” to its conclusion. Again the congregation repeats the *troparion* and concludes with the doxology. After this has been completed, the canon is begun immediately, since we do not sing the Six Psalms⁵ during this entire week. Two readings then take place,

and after the second reading, the Fiftieth Psalm. When matins has been completed, the embrace and dismissal occur.

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Next, with their candles in hand, every one of the priests and the brothers kiss one another in the same fashion according to the appropriate order. They say, “Christ is risen” and those so greeted respond, “For He is risen indeed.” All stand in a row while the choir monitors maintain this good order. When they reach the royal gates, they [all] return to the same royal gates and then they fill up the other section of the church in the same fashion as all sing in a loud voice the “Christ is risen.” Thereupon, they take up the “Let the heavens rejoice and the earth exult” (Ps. 95 [96]:11).

Thereafter, the precentor, or perhaps another of the brothers, goes up to the ambo and reads the sermon of our holy father John Chrysostom, the one which begins “Whoever is pious and loves God.”⁸ When the reading is completed, all assemble in a group and give thanks to the Lord. After they have made three bows, a prayer is said by the superior and the service of matins is dismissed.

It should be known that at the divine liturgy we do not say the antiphons which are normally sung, the “Bless the Lord, O my soul” (Ps. 102 [103]:1) and the rest; rather we say what is traditional at the Great Church. Similarly, we act in the same fashion at every other feast of the Lord. The deacon recites the *prokeimenon* and the apostolic reading together with the alleluia within the sanctuary; in the same manner the senior priest reads the Gospel.

It should be known that at the office of lamplighting during this entire week, the customary *prooimion* is not said, but only the “Christ is risen” and immediately the “O Lord, I have cried [to thee]” (Ps. 140 [141]:1). This is also the case at the dismissal. [p. 228] At

At the office of lamplighting during this week

we say the “Christ is risen” and immediately the “O Lord, I have cried [to thee]” (Ps. 140 [141]:1) and at the dismissal the “Christ is risen.”

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the office of lamplighting of the Radiant Sunday, when the entrance has taken place, the *prokeimenon* is said and then the Gospel according to John, “On the evening of that day” (John 20:19). At compline, then, we say only the *trisagion* hymn and the “*Kyrie eleison*” twelve times.

Next morning, at the second hour of the day when the precentor knocks three times, we assemble in the Church of [St. John] the great Forerunner. Vested in their priestly robes, the priests and all the brothers take up the venerable crosses and the revered and holy icons. We circle the vineyard close to the monastery with all of us saying in a loud voice the “Christ is risen.” Then, we go out in the same manner to the shore of the sea. Having finished an *ektenes*, we go over to the Church of the all-holy Mother of God. Saying an *ektenes* there as well, we turn back to the Church of [St. John] the Holy Forerunner. Before the entry of the procession, the precentor gives a signal and the opening prayer is offered. When the priests have walked in, the divine liturgy takes place. In the same manner, we conduct processions on Palm Sunday and on the Annunciation if atmospheric conditions are clear.

It should be known that on the Tuesday of Renovation [Easter Week] we grant the great habit to those brothers who have been designated to receive it.

It must be noted that on the Saturday of Renovation [Easter Week], at the office of lamplighting, we begin to sing the customary *prooimion* “Bless the Lord, O my soul” (Ps. 102 [103]), and immediately the “O Lord, I have cried [to thee]” (Ps. 140 [141]:1), and at compline we say the “God is with us.”⁹ We always sing in this same manner on all the other Saturdays.

Similarly, during the compline [we say] the *trisagion* hymn and the “*Kyrie eleison*” twelve times.

On the Saturday of Renovation [Easter Week] and on the evening of Low Sunday at compline we say the “God is with us”⁹ and the rest.

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[3.] On the Sunday of Renovation we begin the Six Psalms. We also sing the “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) in the grave mode¹⁰ and the *troparion* “When the tomb was sealed” and immediately the canon.

On this Sunday in the evening we also begin the [p. 229] “Blessed is the man” (Ps. 31 [32]:2) in the first resurrection mode. It should be known, however, that the “Blessed is the man” (Ps. 31 [32]:2) is always begun at the office of lamplighting in the fourth plagal mode, then the second and third [parts of the psalter] are begun in the mode of the day. “O Lord I have cried [to thee]” (Ps. 140 [141]:1), however, is sung in the mode of the *stichera* belonging to the feast.

[4.] The next morning at matins after the Six Psalms, we sing the “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) in the first mode, the *troparion* “When the stone was sealed,” and one *kathisma* of psalms. Then, we have three readings. When the readings are finished, there follow the gradual antiphons in the first mode, the resurrection *prokeimenon* “Let everything that has breath” (Ps. 150:6) and the Gospel; then the “In the nights” (Ps. 133 [134]) and the “Having seen the resurrection of Christ,” the fiftieth psalm, and immediately the canon.

3. On the evening of the Sunday of the Radiant Week [Low Sunday] the Six Psalms are begun, and we sing the “God is the Lord” in the fourth plagal mode. Then, immediately, we sing the gradual antiphons in the same mode, the *prokeimenon* “Let everything that has breath” (Ps. 150:6) and finally the Gospel. Then, we sing the “In the nights” (Ps. 133 [134]) and after the Fiftieth Psalm, the canon is begun. Two readings also take place.

On Sunday evening the “Blessed is the man” is begun,

and on Monday at matins we sing again the “God is the Lord” in the first mode and one *kathisma* of the psalms followed by the canon of the Resurrection. Then, three readings take place. From that time on, we carry out the full compline services except for a Saturday evening, a feast of the Lord, or a commemoration [p. 114] of a saint which brings for us rest from our work, our hours, and our prostrations whenever these occur, for on those days [we do only the prayers] from the “God is with us” and what follows. We begin performing our tasks again on Tuesday morning of the second week [after Easter]. At the office of lamplighting we sing the *prokeimena* of each day until the feast of Pentecost.

4. It should be known that at all lamplighting offices of feasts of the Lord the “Blessed is the man” (Ps. 31 [32] 2) is begun in the fourth plagal

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mode. Then, the second and third parts of the psalter are begun in the mode of the day. Then follows the “O Lord, I cried [to thee]” (Ps. 140 [141]:1), in the mode of the verses of the feast.

[5.] It should be known that until the holy Ascension, the resurrection *triodia* precede the canon of the day just as the resurrection *stichera* precede the other *stichera* with the exception of those dealing with the crucifixion. Also, until this feast, we say each day the “Having seen the resurrection of Christ” before the fiftieth psalm.

5. It should be known that until the feast of the Ascension, resurrection *stichera* precede the penitential *kathismata* and those of the apostles.

6. It should be known that from Easter until the Ascension we say the “Resurrection of Christ,” then the fiftieth psalm, and hymns in honor of the martyrs in the psalmody. This is not done after the feast of the Ascension.

[6.] It should be known that until the holy day of Pentecost we do not sing the hours nor genuflect; in place of genuflections those who are zealous perform bows. [p. 230] So, too, the *proimnia* of the hours with the *trisagion* are sung at each hour.

[7.] It should be known that even though we reckon these days as those of the resurrection, we nevertheless sing the canons for the dead on Saturdays and on any other day if it happens to be a commemoration of a brother.

7. It should be known that until Pentecost, even though we neither sing the hours nor bend our knees, we do sing the canons for the dead on Saturdays, and we sing them on any other day if there happens to be a commemoration of a brother.

[8.–9.] It should be known that on the holy day of Pentecost the morning Gospel is not read nor is anything sung from the *Oktoechos*, but only that which pertains to the feast.

8. It should be known that on the Saturday of Pentecost at the *exaposteilarion* we sing the “O Lord, the remembrance of those who have fallen asleep.” Singing this, we go to the graves of the brothers, and while standing there, we sing the *stichera* of the day, and matins closes. We do this again on the Saturday of Meatfare.

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9. It should be known that in the evening on the Sunday of Holy Pentecost at the office of lamplighting [p. 115] we make three genuflections and say immediately after the *proimion* the “O Lord I have cried [to thee]” (Ps. 140 [141]:1) and in the morning at matins after the Six Psalms we say the “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27). Immediately, the canon and two readings follow. We pass this week as well without singing the hours.

[10.] Then the Fast of the Holy Apostles arrives,¹¹ and we begin to sing the hours with the *kathismata* at all times. When the psalmody is finished, we say the “*Kyrie eleison*” twenty times. At first, we make three genuflections at the same rate, all following the superior and stretching our hands out a little way toward God. Then, we genuflect twenty times more in the same fashion each at his own speed. This is the order at each service. At compline we genuflect fifty times and at matins forty.

It should be known that, when we sing any canon whatsoever, everyone sings the first hour in a plain fashion. Whenever we sing the three *kathismata*, the psalter, and the *triodion* however, we all join together and sing the first hour together with the *kathisma* at the ninth hour. If a canon should be sung during the Great Lent, all chant the first hour together.

[11.] It should be known that at each matins service, we rise up after the reading is completed and say twelve times the “*Kyrie eleison*,” and thus the psalmody takes up again.

[12.] It should be known that on Saturdays and Sundays we read the *Apostolos* whenever there is no feast of the Lord or commemoration of a saint on those days. On Saturdays we sing a *kathisma* at matins before the psalm “Blame-

10. Then the holy fast of the Holy Apostles arrives, and we begin to sing the hours with the *kathisma* at all times. When the psalmody is finished, we say the “*Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison.*” At first, we make three prostrations at the same rate, all following the superior and stretching our hands out a little way toward God. Then, we genuflect twenty times more in the same fashion each at his own speed. This is the order at each service. At compline we genuflect fifty times and at matins forty.

11. It should be known that at each matins service, we rise up after the reading is completed and say twelve times the “*Kyrie eleison*,” and thus the psalmody takes up again.

12. It should be known that on Saturdays and Sundays we read the *Apostolos* whenever there is no feast of the Lord or commemoration of a saint on those days. On Saturdays we sing a *kathisma* at matins before the psalm “Blame-

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less” (Ps. 118 [119]), then this psalm followed by the fiftieth psalm and [p. 231] the canon. Three readings then take place. For we do not have a reading at the psalm “Blameless.” In place of the *exaposteilarion* we say the “The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance” (Ps. 111 [112]:6). [This order stipulating] what we sing and how much we sing extends as far as the Exaltation of the Life-giving Cross.¹²

[13.] It should be known that at the Transfiguration and at the Dormition of the All-holy Mother of God,¹³ that is in the evening at the office of lamplighting of the afterfeast, the “O Lord I have cried [to thee]” (Ps. 140 [141]:1) immediately follows the *prooimion*. Also, in the morning at matins the Six Psalms come first, followed by the “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27), and immediately the canon, and then two readings.

The same order is followed at the Exaltation, at the Birth of the Mother of God,¹⁴ and at the Nativity of Christ as well as at the Feast of the Epiphany¹⁵ and at the Feast of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple.¹⁶ The other feasts besides those listed above are not celebrated in two days.

From the Exaltation to Eastertide, another *kathisma* is added to the matins services. Moreover, the *troparia* of the *kathisma* are repeated twice and a verse is recited in between. There are also four readings. On these Saturdays we sing two *exaposteilaria* before the psalm “Blameless” (Ps. 118 [119]), then this psalm followed by the canon. There are also four readings inasmuch as we do not read at the psalm “Blameless.” [p. 232]

less” (Ps. 118 [119]), then this psalm followed by the fiftieth psalm and the canon. Three readings then take place. For we do not have a reading at the psalm “Blameless.” In place of the *exaposteilarion* we say the “The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance” (Ps. 111 [112]:6). [This order stipulating] what we sing and how much we sing extends as far as the Exaltation of the Life-giving Cross.¹² [p. 116]

13. It should be known that at the Dormition of the All-holy Mother of God,¹³ that is in the evening at the office of lamplighting of the afterfeast, the “O Lord I have cried [to thee]” (Ps. 140 [141]:1) immediately follows the *prooimion*. Also, in the morning at matins the Six Psalms come first, followed by the “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27), and immediately the canon, and then two readings.

The same order is followed at the Exaltation, at the Birth of the Mother of God,¹⁴ and at the Nativity of Christ as well as at the Feast of the Epiphany¹⁵ and at the Feast of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple.¹⁶ The other feasts besides those listed above are not celebrated in two days.

From the Exaltation to the Great Lent, another *kathisma* is added to the matins services. Moreover, the *troparia* of the *kathisma* are repeated twice and a verse is recited in between. There are also four readings. On these Saturdays we sing two *exaposteilaria* before the psalm “Blameless” (Ps. 118 [119]), then this psalm followed by the canon. There are four readings in as much as we do not read at the psalm “Blameless.”

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Concerning the Holy Lent

[14–17.] Not in Version [A]

14. It should be known that during the Holy and Great Lent we sing four *kathismata* and the *triodion*. There are also four readings. When the brothers have rested a little while, the ecclesiarch gives the signal about dawn, and when all have assembled in the main church, we sing the first hour with a *kathisma*, but we do not have a reading at this time. At the third, sixth, and ninth hour, however, we do read. At each antiphon, that is doxology, there is a prayer by the priest and the deacon. Both at these hours and at the office of lamplighting we perform thirty prostrations, at compline one hundred and at matins eighty.

15. It should be known that during all of Holy Week—with the exception of Holy Saturday—we sing the hours just as we do during the previous weeks. We also make our prostrations until [p. 117] the time when the morning *trisagion* begins, which is said after the *stichera* of the verse. After this comes the *prokeimenon*, the reading of the *Apostolos*, the reading of the *Propheteia*, and the Gospel.

16. It should be known that on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Sundays, the *Catechesis* of our God-bearing father Theodore is read after the dismissal of matins. Thereupon, the superior imparts one of his own [thoughts] to instruct the brothers. After this *Catechesis* is completed, they say the doxology together with the “Our Father” and the “Bless, O holy ones, bless O father.” Then they are dismissed. This is the order throughout the whole year.

17. It should be known that on Saturday the Resurrection *stichera* are repeated three times at the “O Lord I have cried [to thee]” (Ps. 140 [141]:1), and two times at the lauds. The same is true on feasts of the Lord.

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[18.] It should be known that there are to be disciplinarians to whom the faults of the junior brothers are referred and who undertake their correction. There should also be two choir monitors, one in each choir, who are to remind the brothers to stand in an orderly manner at choir. There should also be a waker who at the matins readings goes quietly around to the brothers and wakes those sleeping. Moreover, two overseers should be appointed who, each evening after the wooden semantron sounds, are by turns to urge the slothful to run to compline services and again, after the service is dismissed, are to visit the hidden places of the monastery and with fitting severity break up those who are meeting at an improper time.

[19.] It should be known that at each compline all the community should greet one another with the hands in the form of a cross,¹⁷ a sign of reconciliation one with another for all the offenses which have arisen during the day.

[20.] It should be known that on the vigil of the Nativity of Christ and of Epiphany as well as on the evenings of Holy Thursday and of Holy Saturday, we do not sing compline but rather each by himself sings the *trisagion*.

[21.] It should be known that at almost all of the compline services during Holy Lent either the superior or one of the older brothers who is also experienced in speaking should give a catechism lesson to the brothers.

[22.] It should be known that at each matins service the superior leaves the choir at the beginning of the fourth ode, and taking his seat, receives the brothers who come forward for confession and ministers to each one of them for their benefit.

18. It should be known that there are to be disciplinarians to whom the faults of the junior brothers are referred and who undertake their correction. There should also be two choir monitors, one in each choir, who are to remind the brothers to stand in an orderly manner at choir. There should also be a waker who at the matins readings goes quietly around to the brothers and wakes those sleeping. Moreover, two overseers should be appointed who, each evening after the wooden semantron sounds, are by turns to urge the slothful to run to vespers and to compline services and again, after the compline service is dismissed, are to visit the hidden places of the monastery and with fitting severity break up those who are meeting at an improper time.

19. It should be known that at each compline we should greet one another with the hands [p. 118] in the form of a cross,¹⁷ a sign of reconciliation one with another for all the offenses which have arisen during the day.

20. It should be known that on the vigil of the Nativity of Christ and of Epiphany as well as on the evenings of Holy Thursday and of Holy Saturday, we do not sing compline but rather the *trisagion* in the refectory.

21. It should be known that at almost all of the compline services during Holy Lent either the superior or one of the older brothers who is also experienced in speaking should give a catechism lesson to the brothers.

22. It should be known that at each matins service the superior leaves the choir at the beginning of the fourth ode, and taking his seat, receives the brothers who come forward for confession and ministers to each one of them for their benefit. [p. 119]

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[23.] It should be known that during Holy Lent an aged brother is chosen who should at the third hour visit each of the ministries, and [p. 233] making a deep bow, say: “Brothers and fathers, brothers and fathers, let us take thought for ourselves, since we shall die, we shall die, we shall die.”

[24.] It should be known that when we receive brothers, either those from another monastery or laymen seeking the monastic life, we require them to stay in the hospice for two or three weeks to see and to experience the monastery. Then, if he remains steadfast in his decision, after the superior has informed him of what awaits him, he, thereupon, introduces him to instruction and enrolls him into his flock. With the permission of the superior the newly arrived prostrates himself before the brothers while they pray for him.

[25.] It should be known that we have also places of confinement in which disobedient and refractory brothers are to be confined; there they are to eat only dry food as they are disciplined in virtue. Punishment with the whip, however, was properly judged unacceptable by the fathers, though it is suitable in the secular world.

[26.] It should be known that on the days when we rest from our corporal work, the keeper of the books sounds the wooden semantron once, and the brothers assemble at the book station; each one takes a book and reads it until the evening. Before the signal for the office of lamplighting, the man in charge of the books sounds the semantron again, and all the brothers come to return their books in accordance with the register. If anyone is late in returning his book, he should suffer some penalty.

[27.] It should be known that when we observe the ninth hour, the priest celebrates the liturgy

23. It should be known that during Holy Lent an aged brother is chosen who should at the third hour visit each of the ministries, and making a deep bow, say: “Brothers and fathers, let us take thought for ourselves, since we shall die, we shall die, we shall die; let us also be mindful of the heavenly kingdom.”

24. It should be known that when we receive brothers, either those from another monastery or laymen seeking the monastic life, we require them to stay in the hospice for two or three weeks to see and to experience the monastery. Then, if he remains steadfast in his decision, after the superior has informed him of what awaits him, he, thereupon, introduces him to instruction and enrolls him into his flock. With the permission of the superior the newly arrived prostrates himself before the brothers while they pray for him.

25. It should be known that we also have places of confinement in which disobedient and refractory brothers are to be confined; there they are to eat only dry food as they are disciplined in virtue. Punishment with the whip, however, was properly judged unacceptable by the fathers, though it is suitable in the secular world.

26. It should be known that on the days when we rest from our corporal work, the keeper of the books sounds the wooden semantron once, and the brothers assemble at the book station; each one takes a book and reads it until the evening. Before the signal for the office of lamplighting, the man in charge of the books sounds the semantron again, and all the brothers come to return their books in accordance with the register. If anyone is late in returning his book, he should suffer some penalty.

27. It should be known that when we observe the ninth hour, the priest celebrates the liturgy

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at the sixth; if, however, we are going to eat at the sixth, [the liturgy takes place] at the third hour. If we are not performing the hours and are working, the signal for the divine liturgy is at the third hour. When the liturgy is finished, the wooden semantron sounds three times, and all the brothers assemble in the same place, and after singing the required verses and receiving the blessed bread, they go down to the refectory.

Concerning what is to be eaten and drunk and how much and also concerning the proper order at table

[28.] When the brothers come down for the mid-day meal, they should carry a verse [of the psalm] on their lips. They are to sit nine to a table. The [p.234] monitors ensure that the tables are filled up in an orderly fashion without commotion. A reading then takes place, and if it is wintertime the brothers wear their cowls on their heads. The signal for ending this reading is the sound of the spoons at the last serving, when all together toss them on their dishes. Similarly, at a signal the wine is poured and food is served.

[29.] It should be known that from Eastertide until All Saints¹⁸ we eat two cooked dishes—garden vegetables and legumes with olive oil. We also eat fish, cheese, and eggs; we drink three [measures of wine] at midday and three in the evening. When the wooden semantron sounds, the brothers come down and eat their bread as well as any food that may have been left over from the morning. For there is not food prepared especially for the evening; [they also drink] two servings of wine.

During the Fast of the Holy Apostles we do not eat fish, cheese, or eggs except on the days we

[p. 120] at the sixth; if, however, we are going to eat [at the sixth, the liturgy takes place] at the third hour. If we are not performing the hours and are working, the signal for the divine liturgy is at the third hour. When the liturgy is finished, the wooden semantron sounds three times, and all the brothers assemble in the same place, and after singing the required verses and receiving the blessed bread, they leave for the refectory.

Concerning what is to be eaten and drunk and how much and also concerning the proper order at table

28. When the brothers come over for the mid-day meal, they should carry their verse [of the psalm] on their lips. They are to sit nine to a dining table. The monitors ensure that the tables are filled up in an orderly fashion without commotion. A reading then takes place while the brothers wear their cowls on their heads. The signal for ending this reading is the sound of the spoons at the last serving, when all together toss them on their dishes. Similarly, at a signal the wine is poured and food is served.

29. It should be known that from Eastertide until All Saints¹⁸ we eat two cooked dishes—garden vegetables and legumes with olive oil. We also eat fish, cheese, and eggs. We drink three [measures of wine] at midday. When the wooden semantron sounds, the brothers come out to eat their bread as well as any food that may have been left over from the morning. For the community has no food prepared especially for the evening. [They also drink] two servings of wine.

During the Fast of the Holy Apostles we do not eat fish, cheese, or eggs except on the days we

do not sing [the hours]. Instead, we eat two cooked dishes—one vegetable dish with olive oil and one of legumes without oil—and [have] two servings of wine at the ninth hour and two in the evening. On feast days, however, on which we are permitted cheese and other [such] foods, we eat at the sixth hour and drink three [measures of wine] at the sixth hour and two in the evening. This regimen is also maintained during the Fast of the Holy Apostle Philip.¹⁹

From the feast of the Holy Apostles to the commemoration of St. Philip, on Wednesdays and Fridays we perform the ninth hour. On these days too we observe the same regimen regarding food and drink as we do during these two fasts. If the commemoration of a saint falls on one of these days, we rest from the hours and from prostrations. We eat fish, if offered to us, together with three servings of wine at midday and two in the evening.

Concerning the Holy Lent

[30.] During the Holy and Great Lent, we have only one meal a day except on Saturday and Sunday. During the first week and during the Great Week [p. 235] our meals are unvaried—that is, boiled beans and chickpeas, *almaia*²⁰ without olive oil, five dried figs per person, and if possible, chestnuts, cooked pears, and prunes. During the second, third, fifth, and sixth weeks excluding Wednesdays and Fridays, we eat as follows: boiled beans and olives in a bowl, a cooked dish of legumes with a vegetable [seasoned] with ground nutmeg. During these weeks, on the other hand, we do not eat fruits or dried figs. On Wednesdays and Fridays, however, we eat as we do during the first week.

do not sing the hours. Instead, we eat two cooked dishes at the ninth hour [p. 121]—one vegetable dish with olive oil and one of legumes without oil—and [have] two servings of wine at the ninth hour and two in the evening. On feast days, however, on which we are permitted cheese and other [such] foods, we eat at the sixth hour and drink three [measures of wine] at the sixth hour and two in the evening. This is also the regimen during the Fast of the Holy Apostle Philip.¹⁹ On account of the short days during the fast of Saint Philip, however, we eat one meal, but drink three [measures of wine].

From the feast of the Apostles to that of St. Philip, on Wednesdays and Fridays we perform the ninth hour. If the commemoration of a saint falls on one of these days, we rest from the hours and from prostrations, and we eat cheese, eggs, and fish, if God should provide it for us, together with three servings of wine at midday and two in the evening.

Concerning the Holy [and] Great Lent

30. During the Holy and Great Lent, we have only one meal a day except on Saturday and Sunday. During the first week and during the middle week our meals are unvaried—that is, boiled beans and *almaia*²⁰ without olive oil, five dried figs per person, and if possible, chestnuts, cooked pears, and prunes.

During the second, third, fifth, and sixth weeks we eat as follows: boiled beans and *almaia* in a bowl and a cooked dish of legumes [seasoned] with ground nutmeg. During these weeks, on the other hand, we do not eat fruits or dried figs.

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With the exception of the sick or the aged, we drink *eukraton* throughout the entire Holy Lent. This *eukraton* consists of pepper, cumin, anise, and hot water.

It should be known that on the first Saturday, starting on Friday evening, we do not perform prostrations. On the same Friday we eat boiled beans with white and black olives, *almaia*, and *kollyba*. We all drink up to one measure of wine as well. On Saturday at the midday meal we eat two cooked dishes with olive oil and drink two measures of wine per person; we drink two measures of wine in the evening as well. Moreover, the order is the same for the first Sunday when the commemoration of the holy prophets and of orthodoxy is celebrated as well as for the Sunday of the Great Week when we sing the Canon of the venerable cross.²¹ So also is the order for the Saturday of Lazarus²² and for the commemoration of the Forty Saints²³ save that at that time we sing the hours and perform only three prostrations at each service.

In honor of finding the venerable head of our lord [St. John] the Forerunner,²⁴ we eat two cooked dishes—vegetables and legumes—each with olive oil and also green bean-like (?) olives.²⁵ We drink three [measures of wine] each. We observe the same regimen on Palm Sunday and when the Great Canon is sung.²⁶

On Holy Thursday, however, we eat one cooked dish of legumes with ground nutmeg and boiled beans. Moreover, we drink up to one [measure of wine]. On Holy Saturday, the office of lamplighting begins at the eleventh hour and when the dismissal has come, we eat bread and fruit and drink each two cups of wine.
[p. 236]

With the exception of the sick or the aged, we drink *eukraton* throughout the entire Holy Lent. This *eukraton* consists of pepper, cumin, anise, and hot water.

On Holy Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday the food [p. 122] is similar to that of the first week.

On Holy Thursday, however, we eat one cooked dish of legumes with ground nutmeg and boiled beans, and we drink up to one [measure of wine]. On Holy Saturday at the eleventh hour the office of lamplighting begins. When the dismissal has come, we eat cheese, fish, and eggs, and we drink three cups of wine.

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Concerning the Annunciation

[31.] It should be known that at the sixth hour the wooden semantron sounds and we all assemble in the house of the All-spotless Mother of God and before the office of lamplighting we raise up a litany as we march around the monastery. We return, sing the office of lamplighting, and then the entrance and complete liturgy take place. Afterwards, we eat fish and olive oil and drink each three [measures].

[32.] It should be known that each day during the Great Week of the Holy Lent after the ninth hour has been sung, the life-giving wood is presented before us and we all do reverence.

Concerning the organization of tasks

[33.] It should be known that during the Holy and Great Lent after we have sung the first hour and the sun has already risen, each goes to his own task. While performing these, the entire psalter is recited, except in the case of the copyists. The brothers work until the ninth hour and thereafter each occupies himself as he wishes, either studying or sleeping until the signal sounds three times. After the signal we assemble in church and hold the office of lamplighting. We go down to table and after eating, we do not labor, but study. On the other days of the year, when we do [not] sing the hours, the signal sounds three times in the morning, and each one goes off to his own task and works until the midday meal. After eating, each one occupies himself in the fashion we have mentioned until the seventh hour. At the seventh hour the signal sounds three times and again each one goes off to his own task until the office of lamplighting. When we do sing the hours, however, the brothers celebrate the

Concerning the Annunciation

31. It should be known that at the sixth hour the wooden semantron sounds and we all assemble in the house of the All-spotless Mother of God. When the office of lamplighting begins, a few brothers stand there to perform it, while the others raise up a litany and march around the monastery. When they return, the entrance [takes place] and a complete liturgy. Afterwards, we eat fish and olive oil and drink each three [measures].

32. It should be known that each day during the middle week of the Holy Lent after the ninth hour has been sung, the life-giving wood is presented before us, and we all do reverence.

Concerning the organization of tasks

33. It should be known that during the Holy and Great Lent after we have sung the first hour and the sun has already risen, each goes to his own task. While performing these, the entire psalter is recited, except in the case of the copyists. The brothers work until the ninth hour. After we sing the office of lamplighting and eat, each occupies himself as he wishes.

On the other days of the year, [p. 123] when we do not sing the hours, the signal sounds three times in the morning, and each one goes off to his own task and works until the midday meal. After eating, each one occupies himself as he wishes, either studying or sleeping until the eighth hour. At the eighth hour the signal sounds three times and again each one goes off to his own task until the office of lamplighting. When we do sing the hours, however, the brothers celebrate the first hour in the morning and go

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first hour in the morning and go off to their individual tasks and labor through to the sixth hour, whether or not there is a ninth hour. After the sixth hour each one rests as was stated until the ninth hour; thereafter the same order follows. [p. 237]

[34.] It should be known that during the vigil of Palm Sunday at the “O Lord I have cried [to thee],” (Ps. 140 [141]:1) the choir changes place, those on the right crossing over to the left side and those on the left to the right side.

[35.] It should be known that whenever a brother breaks a vessel either of earthenware or of metal at the midday meal, while the brothers are eating, he stands near to the superior’s table with his cowl covering his head and holds the vessel he has smashed in his hands as a sign of his own fault.

[36.] It should be known that when we sing the canon for matins, the one in charge of the canon sounds the signal three times at dawn. The brothers rise up and each one performs the first hour in a plain fashion and goes off to his proper task. The signal sounds again three times when the canon is about to be sung and at the third doxology of the *kathisma* so that those who are still learning the psalter can be assembled, for they go out after the Six Psalms and study until this time. The signal sounds again three times at lauds when the *Catechesis* of the great father and superior Theodore is about to be read.

Cf. [A38]

off to their individual tasks and labor through to the sixth hour, whether or not there is a ninth hour. After the sixth hour each one rests as was stated until the eighth hour.

34. It should be known that during the vigil of Palm Sunday at the “O Lord, I have cried [to thee],” the choir changes place, those on the right crossing over to the left side and those on the left to the right side.

35. It should be known that whenever a brother breaks a vessel either of earthenware or of metal at the midday meal, while the brothers are eating, he stands near to the superior’s table with his cowl covering his head and holds the vessel he has smashed in his hands as a sign of his own fault.

36. It should be known that after we have recited the psalter,

the one in charge of the canon signals three times at the third doxology of the *kathisma* so that those who are still learning the psalter can be assembled so that we can sing the canon together. For these [brothers] go out after the Six Psalms and study up until this time. The signal sounds again three times at lauds when the *Catechesis* of the great father and superior Theodore is about to be read.

37. It should be known that on the vigil of the Feast of Epiphany after the dismissal [p. 124] of the divine liturgy, we receive blessed bread. Afterwards, those who have received communion take a sip of a drink,²⁷ but we do not eat the blessed bread. Having collected the vessels,

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the priest goes to the holy doors and, having offered a prayer, he exits to the fountain [in the atrium of the church] singing the “While thou wert being baptized in the Jordan, O Lord.” When this is said, the *synapte* is recited by the deacon. When this is finished, the priest begins the prayer of blessing [of the water]. After the waters have been sanctified and the brothers sprinkled, the *troparion* “The voice of the Lord sounded over the water saying” is sung in the fourth plagal mode. The first verse is “The sea saw and fled” (Ps. 113 [114]:3); the second verse, “What ailed thee, O sea, that thou fleddest?” (Ps. 113 [114]:5). After this *troparion* has been sung three times we go back into the church, and in the fourth mode we sing the *troparion* “He who divinely clothes himself with light.” When this is repeated three times, the priest offers a prayer, and the holy doxology is finished. Thereupon, the brothers file out in order to the refectory. In the same fashion the washing of the feet takes place on Holy Thursday after the [monks have received] communion and taken a sip of a drink. When all have had their feet washed, they file out to the refectory.

Concerning the amount of clothes and footwear and the arrangement of bedding

[37.] It should be known that each of the brothers ought to have two undergarments, two woolen tunics, one outer garment not made of wool, two cowls, a small scapular for work, and another more copious one for church which according to custom is used on Saturday evening at the office of lamplighting and on Sunday at matins and again in the evening at the office of lamplighting until the “Lord, vouchsafe,” and before that at the divine liturgy. This is also the custom on feasts of the Lord. Each brother

Concerning the amount of clothes and footwear and the arrangement of bedding and concerning other such matters [p. 125]

38. It should be known that each of the brothers ought to have two undergarments, two outer garments, one woolen garment, two cowls, a small scapular for work, and another more copious one for church which according to custom is used on Saturday evening at the office of lamplighting, and on Sunday at matins, and again in the evening at the office of lamplighting, and before that at the divine liturgy. This is also the custom on feasts of the Lord. Each brother should also have another

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should also have another large woolen scapular; for footwear, he should have short-legged boots, additional long-legged boots, and leggings. For his bed he should have a straw mat, a mat of Cilician goat hair, and two fleece woolen blankets. [p. 238]

large woolen scapular. For footwear, he should have short-legged boots, additional long-legged boots, and shoes. For his bed he should have a straw mat, a mat of Cilician goat hair, and two fleece woolen blankets.

[38.] It should be known that on the vigil of the Feast of Epiphany after the dismissal of the divine liturgy, we receive blessed bread. Afterwards, those who have received communion take a sip of a drink²⁷, but we do not eat the blessed bread. Having collected the vessels, the priest goes to the holy doors and, having offered a prayer, he exits to the fountain [in the atrium of the church] together with the brothers who sing the *troparion* “The voice of the Lord on the waters” in the fourth mode. When this has been chanted three times and the customary readings have been finished, the deacon recites the *synapte*. When this is finished, the priest begins the prayer of blessing [of the waters]. After the waters have been blessed, and the brothers have been sprinkled, the *troparion* “While thou wert being baptized in the Jordan, O Lord” is sung in the first mode.

Cf. [B37]

After this *troparion* has been sung three times, we go into the church singing the *troparion* “Today the Trinity in the unity of Divinity.” When this is sung three times, the priest offers a prayer and the holy doxology is finished. Thereupon, the brothers file out in order to the refectory. In the same fashion the washing of the feet takes place on Holy Thursday after [the monks have received] communion and taken a sip of a drink. When all have had their feet washed, they file out [to the refectory].

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Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of our translator, Timothy Miller [TM], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. Theodore is not known to have composed a written monastic rule (aside from his *Testament*, (3) *Theodore Studites*), but the reference may be to the oral tradition received from him, for which see Leroy, “Réforme,” p. 209: “An unwritten rule is no less a rule.”
2. For the mechanical water clock, see Leroy, “Cursus,” p. 8, n. 10; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [6].
3. The wider, central doorway among the five doors leading from the narthex into the nave of the church; see T. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople* (University Park, Pa., 1971), p. 22.
4. On the eight sets of melodic formulas in Byzantine music known as modes (*echoi*), see O. Strunk, *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York, 1977), pp. 3–36.
5. The Six Psalms (*Hexapsalmos*) of matins are Ps. 3, 37 [38], 62 [63], 87 [88], 102 [103], and 142 [143].
6. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio I*, PG 35, col. 396A.
7. *Iamprophoros Kyriake*, i.e., Easter Sunday.
8. Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Homilia in Sanctam Pascham*, PG 59, col. 721.
9. See Is. 8.9 and *Mega Horologion*, ed. M. Saliveros (Athens, n.d.), pp. 203–4.
10. The grave mode is mode seven, or the third plagal mode; [B3], however, prescribes for the fourth plagal mode. [TM]
11. Fast of the Holy Apostles, from Monday after the feast of All Saints (Sunday after Pentecost) through the vigil of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 28.
12. Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, September 14.
13. Feast of the Transfiguration, August 6; feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God, August 15.
14. Feast of the Birth of the Mother of God, September 8.
15. Feast of the Epiphany, January 6.
16. Feast of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, February 2.
17. On this form of salutation and its symbolic meaning, see Niketas Stethatos, “De salutatione manibus facta,” PG 120, 1009A–1012A.
18. Feast of All Saints, the Sunday after Pentecost.
19. Fast of St. Philip, from November 15 until Christmas.
20. Cabbage preserved in brine and vinegar. See Koukoules, *BBP*, v. 5, p. 93.
21. The third Sunday of Lent.
22. The Saturday before Palm Sunday.
23. Feast of the Forty Martyrs, March 9.
24. Feast of the Discovery of the Head of St. John the Baptist, February 24.
25. *prophaia kokkoelaia*: neither word is attested in the standard dictionaries. The reference is most probably to small olives harvested for pickling before they ripen and turn dark.
26. A very long penitential hymn by Andrew of Crete (d. 740), sung in its entirety during the fifth week of the Great Lent. See PG 97, cols. 1305–44.
27. *diaklyometha*: The terms *diaklyein* and *diaklysmos* (lit. “rinsing of the mouth”) refer to a drink of water or wine—as is the case here—or to a collation of wine and a piece of blessed bread given to the monks after communion (cf. C. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis* [Lyon, 1688; repr. Gratz, 1958] s.v. *diaklyein* / *diaklyzein*, (20) *Black Mountain* [73] and (31) *Areia* [T] 2). P. Gautier’s view that *diaklysmos* consisted of “a piece of bread dipped in oil, water and wine” is not supported by the evidence in the *typika* (cf. Gautier, “Le typicon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator, *REB* 32 (1974), 88, n. 15). (19) *Attaleiates* [36] and (28) *Pantokrator* [44]—the only documents, in addition to (20) *Black Mountain* [73], which contain information regarding the food served as collation—provide only for wheat and wine to be used for the collation and make no mention of oil. Finally it must be noted that (22) *Evergetis* [9], [10], (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [21], (30) *Phoberos*

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[21], [28], (32) *Mamas* [17], [18], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], [18] do not specify that diaklysmos following the liturgy was limited to recipients of communion, while (28) *Pantokrator* [44] associates it with a memorial service for the founders and (23) *Pakourianos* [8] uses *diaklysis* to denote a refreshment offered to visitors of the monastery.

Document Notes

- [2] Regulations for Easter Service. See G. Bertonière, *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church* (= *OCA* 193 [Rome, 1972]). Version [A] is considerably longer than Version [B]. The ceremony prescribed in the former is more complex, the official participants more numerous, and the liturgical prescriptions more precise than in the latter, all of which suggests that the monastery for which [A] was drawn up was larger than that of [B]. [A] also takes place within the geographical context of *Stoudios* itself, mentioning local Constantinopolitan landmarks such as the Sea of Marmora and a chapel of the Mother of God (for which see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 439). This chapter is copied later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [1], [2], and [3], using both [A2] and [B2].
- [3] Liturgical prescriptions for the Sunday of Renovation. This is the Sunday after Easter, variously titled “New Sunday” (*Nea Kyriake*) [A], the Sunday of the Radiant Week [B], or “Low Sunday” in the Latin rite. [A] and [B] both begin with the Six Psalms, but the services diverge thereafter. Both mention the vespers service, but only [A] offers details, including the specification of the proper plagal modes (paralleled below in [B4]). [B3] continues, paralleling [A4]. This chapter copied later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [3].
- [4] Performance of the hours during Easter Season. [A4], paralleled by part of [B3], prescribes at length for the matins service. This portion is copied later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [3]. [B3], treating matins more briefly, then discusses exemptions from performance of compline and, again briefly, vespers. The discussion of compline is utilized later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [3] as well. [B4], treating vespers services for dominical feasts, has the same prescriptions as [A3] does for the Sunday of Renovation vespers service.
- [5] Specifications for the canon during Easter Season. In the Studite usage, the canon [A] is a combination of the midnight office (*mesonyktikon*) [B] and matins (*orthros*); see Leroy, “Cursus,” p. 15. The concluding portion of [A5] is paralleled by [B6]. Copied later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [4].
- [A6] Omission of hours and genuflections during Easter Season. Copied later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [6].
- [B6] Liturgical observances during Easter Season. Parallels the conclusion of [A5].
- [7] Canons for the departed not to be omitted. Piety towards the souls of the departed outweighs the Eastertide exemption from chanting the hours. Version [B7] copied later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [6].
- [8], [9] Liturgical observances for Pentecost Sunday. The treatment in [A] is much briefer than that in [B8] and [B9]; a numeration for [A8] has been reserved to preserve subsequent parallelism between [A] and [B].
- [B8] Graveside memorial for departed monks on Saturdays of Pentecost and Meatfare. These are the traditional days of remembrance for the departed. Entirely omitted in [A].
- [A9] Liturgical prescriptions for Pentecost. The import is that the weekly proper (the *oktoechos*) is not to be used for this feast. Omitted in [B].
- [B9] Vesper service on Pentecost Sunday. Omitted in [A]. Copied later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [7].
- [10] Liturgical procedures for the fast of the Holy Apostles. Governs the ecclesiastical calendar from the second week after Pentecost to June 29; cf. dietary provisions below in [29]. [A] contains additional instructions for the performance of the first hour omitted by [B]. According to Jacques Froger, *Les origines de Prime* (Rome, 1946), p. 73, this document is where the office of prime makes its first appearance in the Byzantine Empire (see also [B14], [33] and [A36] below); but Leroy, “Cursus,” p. 15 argues that its existence is implied in Theodore’s earlier use of the term “canon.” This chapter is copied later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [7], [9].
- [11] Recitation of the *kyrie* at matins. Copied later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [12].
- [13] Liturgical procedures for feasts. These are the feasts of the Dormition (August 15), the Transfiguration

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- (August 6), the Exaltation (September 14), the Nativity of the Virgin (September 8), the Epiphany (January 6), and the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (February 2). [B] omits the feast of the Transfiguration. Copied later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [13].
- [B14] through [B17] Liturgical prescriptions for the Lenten Fast. These four chapters are missing in [A], but the numeration is reserved to preserve subsequent parallelism between [A] and [B].
- [B14] Performance of the hours during Lent. Copied later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [15].
- [B15] Performance of the hours during Holy Week. Copied later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [15].
- [B16] *Catechesis* of St. Theodore after matins. Cf. [36], (3) *Theodore Studites* [11] and Leroy, “Petites Catéchèses,” p. 355. The provision below in [21] for another catechism lesson at compline led Leroy, p. 356, to speculate that the morning lesson was taken from the *Small Catecheses* and the evening from the *Great Catecheses*.
- [18] Officers of the monastery. For references to these officers in Theodore’s own writings, see Leroy, “Réforme,” p. 201, n. 162 (disciplinarians), n. 163 (choir organizers), n. 164 (overseers); p. 190, n. 67 (waker, possibly an office borrowed from Dorotheos of Gaza). Copied later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [17].
- [20] Omission of compline on eve of major feasts. As a substitute, [A] provides for solitary recitation of the *trisagion*, while [B] has the *trisagion* sung in the refectory. Copied later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [4].
- [21] Lenten catechism lesson at compline. Cf. [B16], [36], and (3) *Theodore Studites* [11]; discussion by Leroy, “Petites Catéchèses,” p. 355.
- [22] Confession at matins. See discussion by Leroy, “Vie,” p. 33; according to Leroy, “Réforme,” p. 188, n. 54, Theodore argues for the importance of confession as an obligation imposed by patristic authorities in his *Great Catecheses* 1.31 (unedited).
- [23] Lenten reminder of death at the third hour. See discussion by Leroy, “Vie,” p. 45. Copied later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [16].
- [24] Testing of novices. Compare to the novitiate of six months prescribed by (22) *Evergetis* [37] for “common and the unknown” applicants. Copied later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [18].
- [25] Confinement; prohibition of corporal punishment. The use of imprisonment is confirmed by Theodore the Studite, *Great Catecheses* 1.27, 81 (unedited), according to Leroy, “Réforme,” p. 211, n. 238. Copied later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [19]. For the use of monasteries as jails, see André Guillou, “Le monde carcéral en Italie du sud et en Sicile au VI^e–VII^e siècle,” *JÖB* 33 (1983), pp. 79–86.
- [26] Procedures for reading on days of rest. According to Theodore the Studite, *Great Catecheses* 2.89, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Megale Katechesis*, p. 634, Sunday was the day consecrated to reading; see Leroy, “Vie,” p. 48, with n. 1.
- [27] Timing of the liturgy and meals. According to Leroy, “Vie,” p. 46, the celebration of the liturgy took place at the sixth hour, but was advanced during Easter season to the third hour because there were two daily meals at that time, the first of which was taken at midday (i.e., when the liturgy would otherwise have taken place). Copied later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [8].
- [28], [29] Dietary regulations and refectory procedures. Beck, *KTL*, p. 494, regards this as a separate work that has been encapsulated within the *typikon*. Possibly part of the lost *Testamentary Rule* of Theodosios the Koinobiarch, for which see Leroy, “Réforme,” p. 209, n. 220.
- [28] Refectory procedures. [A] allows monks to wear cowls on their head “in wintertime;” [B] does not so restrict. Copied later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [21].
- [29] Diet from Easter to All Saints (first Sunday after Pentecost). Includes also regulations for the fasts of the Holy Apostles (from Monday after the feast of All Saints to the vigil of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 28) and of St. Philip (the Christmas fast, from November 15, the day after the feast of St. Philip). The diet for the last fast is stricter in [B], with the evening meal being eliminated “on account of the short (winter) days.” Copied later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [22], [23], [24].
- [30] Diet for the Lenten fast. Both [A] and [B] require that the strict fast of the first week of Lent be observed again during the middle (fourth) week of Lent. [B] omits olives from the list of foods

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permitted on the non-fast regular days of the week. [A] provides for prostrations of repentance starting on Friday of the first week that are omitted in [B]. [A] also is alone in extending the more lenient weekday diet to Orthodoxy Sunday (first Sunday in Lent), the Sunday of the Veneration of the Cross (third Sunday in Lent), and the feasts of St. Lazarus (the day before Palm Sunday) and the Holy Martyrs (of Sebaste, March 9), while it allows an even more lenient diet for the feast of St. John the Forerunner (February 24), Palm Sunday and the days when the Great Canon is sung. [B] is more lenient than [A] only in the diet for Holy Saturday. This chapter is utilized later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [25], [26] in its own Lenten dietary prescriptions.

- [31] Feast of the Annunciation. The breaking of the Lenten fast for the celebration of this feast (March 25) was a common yet also controversial feature of the dietary regulation of Byzantine monasteries, accepted without qualification by (7) *Latros* [5], (20) *Black Mountain* [60], and (22) *Evergetis* [10] among others, but limited by (30) *Phoberos* [28], (29) *Kecharitomene* [47], and (34) *Machairas* [71], particularly when the feast occurred during Holy Week.
- [32] Veneration of the Holy Cross. Great Week [A] and middle week [B] are equivalent. Utilized later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [28].
- [33] Regulation of hours for work. On days when hours were not recited (i.e., non-fast days), [A] has a work day that is an hour longer than [B]. For the length of the Studite work day, see Leroy, “Vie,” p. 45.
- [35] Punishment for breaking dishware. This stray chapter seems out of place both in [A] and [B]. For this offense and punishment, see also Theodore the Studite, *GC* 2.59, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Megale Katechesis*, p. 424, with Leroy, “Réforme,” p. 211.
- [36] Regulation of the canon of matins. For a historical discussion of the office, see M. Arranz, “Les prières presbytérales des matines byzantines,” *OCP* 37 (1971), 406–36, and 38 (1972), 64–115.
- [A37] (= [B38]) Regulation of clothing and bedding. [A] and [B] differ in their prescriptions for clothes, with [B] favoring apparently heavier items. Both are utilized later by (11) *Ath. Rule* [35]. For Theodore’s views on clothing, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [19] and Leroy, “Réforme,” pp. 192 and 193, n. 85. In his day clothes were redistributed weekly on Sunday. Monks slept in cubicles (*koitaria*), apparently individual cells (Leroy, “Vie,” p. 30).
- [A38] (= [B37]) Feast of the Epiphany. [B] has chosen a more logical place for this chapter within the document. The text of [B37] is a little longer than [A38], thanks to careful identification of the prescribed *troparia*. See also later treatments of this feast in (20) *Black Mountain* [92] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [72].

5. *Euthymios: Testament of Euthymios for the Monasteries of Psamathia and Ta Agathou*

Date: 917¹

Translator: Patricia Karlin-Hayter

Editions employed: P. Karlin-Hayter, *Vita Euthymii Patriarchae CP* (Brussels, 1970), with text at pp. 3–147 (*Testament* = chap. 23, pp. 143–47), and commentary, pp. 148–233; replaces “*Vita S. Euthymii*,” *Byzantion* 25 (1955–57), 1–172.

Manuscript: Former Berlin, State Library, graecus fol. 55 (12th c.)²

Other translations: P. Karlin-Hayter, *Vita*, pp. 142–46, employed here with minor adjustments to harmonize with the editorial conventions of this collection; Russian, by Alexander Kazhdan, *Dve vizantiiskie chroniki x veka* (Moscow, 1959), pp. 80–81.

Institutional History

The *Testament* is encapsulated in the anonymous *Life of St. Euthymios*, itself an important source of information on patronage in this era of traditional private religious foundations. Euthymios was the spiritual father of Emperor Leo VI the Wise (886–912), who had offered him (*Vita*, chap. 4, p. 24) the directorship of the imperial monastery of Sts. Sergios and Bakchos in Constantinople. This offer Euthymios turned down, declaring “God forbid that I should water another’s plantation.” Euthymios particularly objected to the necessity to cancel the rules drawn up by the previous founder in order to set up his own regulations and canons “as I would not be pleased to have happen to me at another’s hand.” In this way Euthymios showed the pietistic respect of one generation of founders towards the legislative arrangements of its predecessors, but he demonstrated even more strongly the typical Byzantine founder’s preference for a new institution all his own, “raised up for me from the very foundations,” as he put it. Yet he agreed (*Vita*, chap. 5, p. 29) to accept a property near the Stoudios monastery in the Psamathia quarter of Constantinople where there was an existing church of Sts. Kosmas and Damian suitable for enlargement.³ This had belonged to the disgraced courtier Leo Katakoilas, a relative of the deposed Patriarch Photios (878–886) and former admiral of the fleet, who had purchased the property privately, only to see the emperor confiscate it (presumably in 886) along with the rest of Katakoilas’ properties. When the disgraced courtier’s relatives protested the award to Euthymios, he scrupulously insisted that Leo VI recall Katakoilas from exile, pay him a just price for the confiscated properties, and receive from him the deeds of title in return. The account illustrates the contemporary acceptance of the sale and purchase of religious institutions as well as how private founders respected one another’s property rights in them.

Euthymios persuaded Leo VI to enlarge the monastery by adding subsidiary chapels dedicated to St. John the Forerunner and the Archangel Michael. Patriarch Stephen (886–893) officiated (*Vita*, chap. 5, p. 35) at the dedication, probably before 890, to which the emperor had also

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summoned “the chosen band” of the Studite monks. There is an interesting account (*Vita*, chap. 9, pp. 51–55) of Leo VI’s visit to Euthymios’ monastery in 899, on which occasion Euthymios hailed him as the founder (*ktetor*). The emperor arrived at supper time and commented on the “detestable” quality of the wine, the quantity (if not the quality) of which he was told was prescribed “according to the rule we have received,” an allusion to a now lost *typikon* for the foundation like (4) *Stoudios*. Indeed, given the close friendship of Euthymios with Arkadios, the superior of the Stoudios monastery (*Vita*, chap. 9, pp. 55, 57), and before him, an earlier Studite superior Anatolios (*Vita*, chap. 2), it is not impossible that this *typikon* was a variant of (4) *Stoudios*. To remedy the deficiency in the quality of the monks’ wine, Leo VI awarded the monastery a property formerly possessed by Empress Theophano capable of supplying a wine of suitable quality.

Euthymios’ biographer is anxious (*Vita*, chap. 8, p. 47) to establish his hero’s opposition to Leo VI’s controversial relationship with Zoe Carbonopsina, for which he claims Euthymios was exiled for two years at the monastery of St. Diomedous, a foundation rebuilt by Leo VI’s father Basil I (867–886).⁴ But eventually Euthymios proved more flexible on the issue than the patriarch, Nicholas I Mystikos (901–907), for Euthymios was chosen to replace the latter in that office in 907. In 910, the emperor’s powerful courtier Samonas, one of several high officials opposed by Euthymios, was temporarily confined at the monastery.⁵

Euthymios’ foundation also had a dependency (*metochion*) in the Asiatic suburbs of the city (*Vita*, chap. 16, p. 109) known as the monastery of *Ta Agathou*, that is, “on the estates of Agathos.”⁶ The identity of the individual who gave his name to the site and the precise location of this monastery are unknown, but the monastery itself was founded by Patriarch Nikephoros I (806–815), perhaps in a private capacity before his elevation to the patriarchate (Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 23). After his deposition by Emperor Leo V (813–820), the patriarch was exiled here briefly before being transferred to another of the monasteries he had founded nearby.⁷ The estates on which the monastery was located were among those confiscated by Leo VI from Leo Katakoilas. Later, Leo VI awarded these properties, along with Katakoilas’ estates in Psamathia, to Euthymios (*Vita*, chap. 5, p. 29). The monastery once again became home to a deposed patriarch when Euthymios himself was exiled here (*Vita*, chap. 19; cf. 20) after his own deposition by Emperor Alexander I (912–913) on May 15, 912. Euthymios’ predecessor Nicholas I Mystikos (912–925) then returned to office for a second term as patriarch. After the death of that emperor in 913, Euthymios turned down (*Vita*, chap. 21) an appeal from Leo VI’s widow Zoe, then embroiled in a bitter struggle with Nicholas Mystikos, to accept reinstatement as patriarch. Euthymios was reconciled (*Vita*, chap. 32, pp. 141–43) with Nicholas Mystikos there in late July 917, shortly before Euthymios died at the dependency in early August 4 of that same year. Nothing is known of either the Psamathia foundation or its dependency after Euthymios’ time.

Analysis

Euthymios’ *Testament* is preserved at the end of the *Life* (= *Vita*, chap. 23). In it he provides [1] for a collective leadership of three of his subordinates for the 24 monks at Psamathia.⁸ He prescribes a similar arrangement of three monks providing the collective superiorship for the 12 monks at *Ta Agathou*. Subsequently, the community at Psamathia would elect a new superior in an open vote;

a steward would be appointed from among the monks at Psamathia to administer *Ta Agathou*. The new superior of Psamathia would be responsible for the overall administration of both facilities. There is another reference [2] to the lost rule governing the foundation mentioned earlier (*Vita*, chap. 9). A discussion of Euthymios' burial wishes follows, at which point the text breaks off.

As with the Stoudios monastery at that time, both a *typikon* and a testament governed this foundation, but here the order of composition of the documents was reversed. This would become the more typical pattern for Byzantine monasticism (e.g., (11) *Ath. Rule*, followed by (14) *Ath. Testament*). Like Euthymios, founders frequently were willing to allow their communities to exercise a form of self-governance in the next generation (see (10) *Eleousa* [16]), which suggests that there was a built-in tendency towards institutional autonomy even in private foundations.

The nature of the legal relationship between lay (and imperial) patrons and monastic directors, which is quite a common one in the Byzantine era, calls for further study. After Leo VI's death in 912, that is during the period of his own exile at *Ta Agathou*, Euthymios seems to have come to view at least this dependency and perhaps also the monastery at Psamathia as his private property (see *Vita*, chaps. 19, 20). Apparently Euthymios was unwilling to accord Leo VI's successors either the late emperor's status as founder or his rights of patronage. The present document represents Euthymios' bold attempt to extend his de facto control over *Ta Agathou* to the Psamathia monastery as well, though the apparent unwillingness [4] of the ecclesiastical hierarchy (in the conjectural textual restoration of de Boor) to allow his burial there (with all that that would imply for his proprietorship) suggests that this venture met with determined opposition.

Notes on the Introduction

1. The dating assumes the genuineness of Euthymios' *Testament* as encapsulated in the *Vita*, and that it was dictated from his deathbed shortly before his death on August 4, 917; the *Vita* itself dates from after 932, so Sophianos, "Bios," p. 296, and Kazhdan, "Euthymios," p. 756; Karlin-Hayter, *Vita Euthymii*, p. 10, however, dates the *Vita* to 920–925, on the presumption that the second deposition of Patriarch Nicholas I Mystikos in 925, had it already occurred, would have been alluded to in the *Vita*.
2. The manuscript, discovered by G. Hirschfeld in 1874 in the remains of a monastery library on an island in Lake Egerdir, disappeared from Berlin during the Second World War; see Karlin-Hayter, *Vita Euthymii*, pp. 5–6.
3. For details on the history of the foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 116–17.
4. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 95–97.
5. Symeon Magister, ed. I. Bekker, in Leo Grammatikos, *Chronographia*, CSHB (Bonn, 1842), p. 713; John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn (Berlin-New York, 1973), p. 191.
6. For the history of the dependency, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 23.
7. Ignatios the Deacon, *Vita S. Nicephori*, ed. Karl de Boor, *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica* (Leipzig, 1880), p. 201.
8. Compare to similar ambiguous administrative arrangements in (48) *Prodromos* [6], (50) *Gerasimos* [3] and (52) *Choumnos* [A3], all written for later private religious foundations, which may reflect a division of institutional property rights.

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- For the author’s other works, see Jugie, “Vie,” pp. 486–92, and Kazhdan, “Euthymios,” p. 756.

Translation

[1.] On the second day of August, whereon the memory of St. Stephen, the first martyr, is celebrated, our father, who is now with the saints, sent to the monastery of Psamathia, to summon all the monks to the monastery of *Ta Agathou*; and calling round him likewise those there, he spoke of the constitution of the two monasteries, how, on the one hand, there were at Psamathia twenty-four of the brothers consecrated to God and attending to the church. “Now those whom I have ordained, I order to rule over them, to the number of three of those who have served me; but when they are gone from you, a vote of the whole brotherhood [p. 145] shall elect whom God pleases and they desire to be their shepherd. Likewise, in this monastery of *Ta Agathou* also, I prescribe that twelve of the brothers be consecrated to God, attending to the church, and up to three, already designated by my humble self, to perform the office of superior. Afterwards, they being gone from you, you will appoint a steward from among your brothers who are at Psamathia, and both flocks will be led by one shepherd in the same rule and ordinance, by him whom the providence of God has entrusted with the superiorship of the monastery of Psamathia, as this deed of union in my own hand sets forth in detail.

[2.] “Children, the tradition you have received from me, guard in unity and brotherly love, and with all your strength do not weary of fervently praying the Divinity. Now indeed pray for this least of men, that I may obtain the wish of my great desire. For once that is achieved, I will not rest from entreating and imploring for you, taking to myself and embracing each one of you. Yet know this, after my going from you, you will meet with such straitening and want and distress, that you will lay hands on the sacred vessels themselves. But the Lord God will send you help from on high, may he defend you, and help you, and supply that which was lacking in me (I Cor. 16:17).

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Only do not set at nought my commands, though I be the least of men, nor, I charge you, be backward in observing the rule I have given you, which I fashioned in sweat with many strivings.” While the father was thus prophesying, and all of them in tears, he fell into a swoon; and as he remained silent, they went out.

[3.] Next day, which was the fourth of the month of August [917], our father Euthymios began to labor and pant, and his strength began, as it were, to leave him, when he himself, recognizing the end, in the hearing of all addressed these last words to himself: “Behold, holy Euthymios, the (II Tim. 4:6) time of thy departure is at hand, and the axe (cf. Matt. 3:10) is near that shall cut thee down, thou unfruitful tree. Why then dost thou kick? What fearest thou, summoned to incorruptibility, passing from slavery to freedom? There is no envy, nor strife, nor malice, nor the swarming presence of those who grieve and ill-use. To a merciful master thou goest. Do not be faint-hearted nor discouraged. [p. 147] For he is compassionate, long-suffering and of great mercy. If thou hast shown thyself unworthy (Eph. 4:1) of the vocation wherewith thou wert called, having achieved nothing, yet seventy-five years hast thou fulfilled in the monastic ranks. But now thou goest to thy Master, to thy God and Lord, whom thou hast loved from an infant, whom thou hast followed from an early age. Then do not resist, do not be ill-pleased. Go forth confident, not (cf. Tit. 3:5) in thine own works, but in his love toward man, and grace, ineffable compassion and most boundless goodness.”

[4.] But having called Basil, his nephew, he said, “Prepare for my burial; for tomorrow I leave the things here to go to another world. So it has been revealed to me.” So the other asks him; “Where do you wish your body to lie, that we may prepare a grave?” He [Euthymios, replied]: “At Psamathia, by the sacred shrine of the *Anargyroi*, in the right-hand chapel, that is dedicated to [St. John] the Forerunner, beneath my lord and master, Peter the Confessor and bishop of Gordorynia.”¹ Whereupon, the other answered him: “According to the patriarch, the me[tropolitans] are not willing [for your body to enter the city . . .]²

Notes on the Translation

1. For Peter of Gordorynia, whose remains Euthymios had translated (*Vita*, chap. 9, p. 59) to the Psamathia monastery from their original resting place at a chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas outside of Constantinople, see also Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1838), p. 378; Symeon Magister, ed. Bekker, in Leo Grammatikos, *Chronographia*, *CSHB*, p. 716.
2. Conjecture of de Boor, *Vita Euthymii*, 22, line 14.

6. *Rila: Testament of John of Rila*

Date: 941

Translator: Ilija Iliev

Edition employed: Iordan Ivanov, *Sv. Ivan Rilski i negoviyat monastir* (Sofia, 1917), pp. 136–42.

Manuscript: 19th-c. copies at Rila of a 14th-c. transcription¹

Other translations: Bulgarian, by Ivan Dujčev, *Rilskiyat svetets i negovata obitel* (Sofia, 1947), pp. 138–61.

Institutional History

A. Foundation of the Monastery

The monk John laid the foundations for what was to become the greatest monastery of medieval Bulgaria circa 930–31 in the mountains to the east of the Struma river valley in western Bulgaria.² Born around 876–880, not much more than a dozen years after Boris-Michael (852–889), ruler of the Bulgars, had accepted Christianity in 865, John began his monastic career at the monastery of St. Dimiter near his birthplace, then lived for many years as a hermit. His final settlement was a site north of the Rila river, to the east of the present Rila monastery. Remains of the foundations of the first buildings are to be seen in the meadows south of the hermitage dedicated to St. Luke.³ Jealous of his independence, John refused to welcome the Bulgarian ruler Peter (927–969), who came to pay him homage. John's *Testament*, translated below, was issued March 25, 941 to regulate the cenobitic community and is his only literary work. John then retired to his accustomed solitary life, and died on August 18, 946. He was a popular subject among hagiographers; seven lives in Bulgarian and two in Greek were composed between the twelfth and the nineteenth centuries.⁴

B. Subsequent History of the Monastery in Medieval Times

Little is known about the Rila monastery during the Byzantine dominion over Bulgaria (1018–1185). The earliest Slavonic life of John of Rila, the so-called “Popular Life,” was composed in Bulgarian towards the end of this period, as was the first life in Greek, authored by George Skylitzes, an official on the staff of the Byzantine governor at Srédetz (modern Sofia) during the reign of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180), that now survives only in a Slavonic translation.⁵ The monastery's fortunes revived considerably later during the Second Bulgarian Empire (1186–1396). Rila and several other monasteries, richly endowed by the Bulgarian rulers with new lands and villages, seem to have enjoyed considerable prosperity in the fourteenth century.⁶ There is also a charter of 1378 preserved in the monastery of the last Bulgarian king, Ivan Shishman (1371–1393), that confirms the tax exemptions of the monastery's existing properties and awards new lands as well; it refers to similar charters now lost that earlier Bulgarian monarchs had awarded to the monastery dating back to the middle of the thirteenth century.

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Earlier in the fourteenth century, Rila had benefited also from a local patron, the *protosebast* Hreljo, a local lord and sometime vassal of the Serbian tsar Stephen Dušan (1331–1355), who erected a new monastery on the site of the existing Rila monastery, to the west of John's original foundation, which continued in operation as the "Old Hermitage." Hreljo built a 75-foot protective tower, still preserved, in 1335. It included living quarters for Hreljo and his family as well as a chapel on the top floor dedicated to the Transfiguration.⁷ A brick inscription records Hreljo's erection of this structure. In 1343 he also built a stone church, which survived until 1834. There were similar towers built at this time for the monasteries on Mount Athos (see (51) *Koutloumousi* [A4]), and there is one still existing at the Hilandar monastery. Forced to become a monk at the order of Dušan, who distrusted his loyalty, Hreljo was strangled to death by hired assassins in his tower in 1343, probably also at Dušan's instigation. Hreljo's gravestone, broken into many pieces, is preserved in the monastery's museum and speaks of his entry into the monastery and unnatural death.⁸

In 1385, Dometian, the monastery's superior, had John's *Testament* recopied while hiding away the original along with the foundation's other valuables for fear of the Turks, who had taken Srédetz in 1382. At about this time too Evtimij, the last Bulgarian patriarch of Turnovo, wrote his widely popular version of the *Life* of John of Rila.

C. Rila under Ottoman Rule

The Turkish sultans Beyazid I (1389–1402) and Mehmet I (1413–1421) issued firmans confirming the privileges Rila had received earlier from Bulgarian monarchs, but this did not save the monastery from later depredations, with the result that it was abandoned by the middle of the fifteenth century.⁹ There was a revival, however, in the second half of the century. Around 1460, the three brothers David, Joasaf and Teofan, sons of a certain Jakov, bishop of Krupnik, worked to strengthen and repair the damaged buildings. Shortly thereafter, a pact was reached in 1466 with the Russian monastery of St. Panteleemon on Mount Athos obliging Rila and the former institution to assist one another as needed in the future. Permission was obtained from the Turkish authorities in 1469 to transport the relics of John of Rila from Turnovo, the old capital of the Second Bulgarian Empire, where they had been since 1195. The translation considerably increased the Rila monastery's prestige. A dependency (*metoh*) dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul was built to the southwest of the main monastery in 1478.

Firmans issued by sultans Beyazid II (1481–1512) in 1498, Selim I (1512–1520) in 1519, and Murad III (1574–1595) confirmed the monastery in the possession of its properties, but like the earlier series of firmans, these did not succeed in protecting the foundation from the depredations of various brigands.¹⁰ Beginning in 1558–59, the monks succeeded in establishing direct relations with Russia, whose rulers they hoped would be sympathetic to their complaints of oppression at the hands of their Ottoman masters.

Despite extremely difficult conditions, which continued well into the second half of the eighteenth century, including attacks by robbers in 1766 and 1779, the monastery not only managed to survive but served as a kind of center of Bulgarian culture. Additional churches were built as dependencies towards the end of the eighteenth century and in the early years of the nineteenth century, then a complete reconstruction of the main monastery was begun in 1816.¹¹ A fire in

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1833, however, destroyed all the buildings there except for Hreljo's tower and his fourteenth-century stone church. The monastery was rebuilt once again in 1834 while the church was torn down to make room for a larger structure; both the monastery and the nineteenth-century church still stand today, along with Hreljo's tower, the only medieval structure preserved on the site.

Analysis

Experts have endorsed the essential authenticity of the document.¹² It is an example of the testamentary genre of monastic foundation documents, whose author seems to have made some use of (3) *Theodore Studites* and even (4) *Stoudios*.¹³ There are indeed some resemblances to the former document, such as the statement of purpose [3], the prohibition of changes [4], and the admonition to preserve the faith [5]. The use of the wilderness *topos* in the brief foundation history [1] also has a close parallel in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [1], a twelfth-century document. On the whole, however, this is a distinct document with its own concerns for the ordering of monastic life at Rila.

A. Lives of the Monks

Like his Stoudite predecessors, John of Rila endorses [10] the cenobitic lifestyle, but also urges his monks to establish [15] relations with and support neighboring solitaries. This coexistence of cenobitic and eremitic lifestyles, prefigured in John's own career, would be one of the notable characteristics of Byzantine monasticism. The author demonstrates an acquaintance with the ascetic tradition of late antiquity, quoting [13] Ephraem Syrus and recommending [16] the study of patristic literature, in particular the *Lives* of St. Antony, founder of anchoritic monasticism, Theodosios the Koinobiarch, "and others" as well as respecting canon law. John also invokes [17] patristic authority for the practice of manual labor.

B. Constitutional Matters

While there is genuine disciplinary content in this document, its chief purpose, as in most testaments, was to designate [20] a successor, here the monk Gregory. John then announces his intent to retire into seclusion as part of an arrangement for assuring an orderly succession to the superiorship that is similar to that proposed in the eleventh century in (22) *Evergetis* [13].

C. Financial Matters

Aside from the commitment to self-sufficiency that seems implicit in his endorsement of manual labor, there are no indications of how John expected the foundation to support itself financially. He proudly asserts [7] that he refused a royal donation, perhaps an annuity like the *solemnia* attested in Byzantium in the tenth century, and he advises [8] his community not to seek favors from "earthly kings and princes" [8]. This deliberate shunning of material support is unusual. Many later founders did not fear for the independence of their foundations when accepting imperial largess or tax exemptions (e.g., (13) *Ath. Typikon* [36] or (19) *Attaleiates* [22]), nor did Rila itself long after John's death. As Dujčev ("Réforme," p. 263) surmised, John probably was concerned about Bulgarian monasticism being too submissive to secular authority, understandably given the prior history of Bulgarian monasticism under royal patronage.

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Notes on the Introduction

1. According to a note to the text of (6) *Rila* itself, the original was lost after a copy was made in 1385 by the superior Dometian. Later, the later's disciple Savatij made a copy of this copy. Both of the medieval transcriptions are now lost, and we are now dependent on modern copies of Savatij's version of the document (Dujčev, "Réforme," p. 263).
2. Browning, "John of Rila," p. 1066.
3. Hristov et al., "Rila Monastery," p. 12.
4. For details, see Péchayre, "Vies," pp. 386–90; with Margaritov, *Rila-Kloster*, p. 13.
5. Péchayre, "Vies," pp. 386–88.
6. Chavrukov, *Bulgarian Monasteries*, p. 15.
7. For Hreljo's tower, see Hristov et al., *Rila Monastery*, pp. 35–37; Prashkov, *Khrel' ovata kula*, pp. 146–48, describes the frescoes in the chapel of the Transfiguration.
8. Margaritov, *Rila-Kloster*, p. 15.
9. Hristov et al., *Rila Monastery*, p. 13.
10. Hristov et al., *Rila Monastery*, p. 14.
11. Hristov et al., *Rila Monastery*, pp. 24–25.
12. Goshev, "Zavetât," pp. 431–37; Dujčev, "Réforme," p. 263; Margaritov, *Rila-Kloster*, p. 163, n. 9.
13. Goshev, "Zavetât," pp. 473–77.

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Translation

[Note preceding the text of the *Testament*]

This testament of our holy father John, citizen of the Rila wilderness, which he delivered to his disciples before he died, was rewritten from a parchment with great preciseness by the most honorable and reverend among priests, lord Dometian, a man of erudition and intelligence, who was a disciple of the reverend hermit Varlaam, who lived nine years on the Cherna mountain, which is called now Tsrna¹ and at the Old Hermitage [founded by John of Rila himself] for twenty-eight years. After his “Old Man”² died, he [Dometian] became superior and tutor of the Great communal *lavra* of Rila. [The testament] was rewritten for easier reading and for commemoration [of Dometian] by all the monks in that monastery, because the parchment on which the testament was written originally was hidden carefully together with the other [precious] objects of the monastery because of the great fear which was reigning in that time from the impious sons of Agar [the Turks].³ In the year of the creation of the world 6893 and from the Nativity of Christ 1385, on the twelfth day of the month of February, on the memorial day of St. Meletios of Antioch.

From that copy, I made another copy, I Savatij, the humble holy monk and ecclesiarch, and everlasting disciple of the most honorable superior and tutor Dometian.⁴

[*Testament*]

[1.] I, John, the humble and sinful, who has never done anything good on earth, when I came into this wilderness of Rila, I found no man over here, but only wild animals and impenetrable thickets. I settled alone in it among the wild animals, without food nor shelter, but the sky was my shelter and the earth my bed and the herbs my food. But the good Lord, for the love of whom I disregarded everything and endured hunger and thirst, frost, the heat of the sun, and corporal nakedness, did not abandon me, but like a merciful and child-loving father he lavishly satisfied all my needs. What shall I contribute to the Lord for all he has given me? Many are his benefactions to me, for he looked from his holy height at my humbleness (cf. Luke 1:48) and lent his support to me to go through everything—not I, but the might of Christ, which is in me—because every good gift and every perfect gift is from him (James 1:17).

[2.] Seeing you today gathered together in the Lord here, where, as I told you, no man has dwelled until now, but only wild animals, and foreseeing that the end of my life here is soon coming on, because of this I made up my mind, before my departure (II Tim. 4:6) from life here, to leave you the present fatherly testament of mine, just as carnal fathers leave their children an earthly inheritance of silver and gold and other property, so that when you commemorate your father in the Holy Spirit, you do not forget his testament.

[3.] I know, my beloved children in God, I know you very well, that you, being beginners, are not confirmed yet in the monk’s life, but fear not, for the Lord’s “power is made perfect in weakness” (II Cor. 12:9). Just because of this I made up my mind to write for you this rough and ignorant

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testament of mine, so that you will keep it always in your minds to become stronger in body and soul, in the Lord, and go forward through the virtues in fear of God. Because I believe in my God, whom I have served since my youth and to whom I submitted zealously, after my departure, this wilderness, which until now was terrible and uninhabited, will be inhabited by a multitude of desert-citizens. What was written about it will be fulfilled: “The desolate hath many more children than she which hath a husband” (Is. 54:1; Gal. 4:27).

[4.] Because of this I beg you, my children, whom I have gathered in the Lord, I beg of you, my flesh and blood, do not neglect your father’s admonition and together with the apostle I say: “I am in travail again until Christ be formed in you” (Gal. 4:19). I beg you and make you swear on the dread name of God not to violate or abandon anything after my death, but everything I have written let be carried out, as it is written and as you have promised before God. Whosoever oversteps or violates something of it, let him be damned and separated from the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, to have no share with the saints, who were pleasing to God ages ago, but let his share be with those who had crucified the Lord of Glory (Acts 7:2) and with his betrayer Judas, to be erased from “the book of life” (Phil. 4:3) and not to be inscribed [in it] with the righteous.

[5.] First of all, I bequeath to you the obligation to preserve the holy faith immaculate and unaffected by any false teaching, just as we received it from the holy fathers, without “being led away with diverse and strange teachings” (Heb. 13:9). Hold fast and keep the traditions you have heard and seen from me. Do not deviate either to the right, or to the left, but walk along the royal road. Keep yourselves carefully away from worldly fascinations and always remember why you have come out of the world, and why you have despised it and worldly things.

[6.] Now again, keep yourselves away from the avaricious snake, “for the love of money is the root of all evil” (I Tim. 6:10), according to the apostle, who calls it a second idolatry. Because for the hermit wealth consists not in silver and gold,⁵ but in perfect poverty, in the denial of his personal will, and in lofty humbleness. I am not telling you this as my commandments, but [I am] recalling for you the commandments of Christ. For he told his holy disciples and through them everybody who had renounced the world: “Take no gold, nor silver, nor a bag, nor copper in your belts” (Matt. 10:9) and so on. For gold and silver are great enemies of the monk and bite those who have them like a snake.

[7.] If we, however, have undoubted hope in God, he will not leave us deprived of anything, for he himself says: “A woman may forget her children, yet will I not forget thee” (Is. 49:15). Also in another place: “But seek first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be yours as well” (Matt. 6:33). For in the beginning, when I came to this wilderness, the sly enemy attempted to allure me, for the pious king sent to me a lot of gold.⁶ For the sake of God I refused to see him, for I understood that it was a perfidy of the devil. I did not accept it, but returned it to those who sent it, for I thought to myself: “If I wished to have gold and silver, and suchlike things, why came I into this terrible and impenetrable wilderness, where I found no man, but wild animals?” So I saved myself from the intrigues of the sly tempter, who endeavors to trip us up in

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those things, which we renounced willfully. That is why you are not to look for any of these things, “for your heavenly Father knows that you need them all” (Matt. 6:32) before your prayer [is offered].

[8.] Nor look to be recognized and beloved by earthly kings and princes, nor put your hope in them, leaving the heavenly King, with whom you enlisted to be soldiers and “wrestle not against flesh and blood,” but “against the ruler of the darkness of this world” (Eph. 6:12). For the prophet Jeremiah also threatens us speaking so: “Cursed be the man that hopeth in man” and the rest. Enumerating the evils, he adds that “blessed is the man that hopeth in the Lord” (Jer. 17:5-8). Do not say: “What shall we eat, or drink, or in what shall we be dressed?” for the gentiles seek after these things. “Look at the birds of the air: for they neither sow nor reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly father feeds them. Are you not of more value than they?” (Matt. 6:26). As soon as you have come out of the world, do not go back, neither with your body, nor with your mind, for, as it is said, “No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the Kingdom of Heaven” (Luke 9:62).

[9.] The Apostle [Paul] too, however, teaches us to “forget what lies behind and strain forward to what lies ahead” (Phil. 3:13). What does “forgetting those things which are behind” mean, my children? Nothing else except to deliver to oblivion all those things which, coming out of the world for God’s sake, we have left and despised, and to strive towards the feat which lies before us, to which we were called by our taskmaster, our most gracious God and Lord Jesus Christ, who has enabled us to endure his gentle yoke, “For his yoke is easy, and his burden is light” (Matt. 11:30).

[10.] As the grace of the Holy Spirit brought you together, so must you endeavor to live with one heart and one mind and one spirit, directing your eyes only towards the eternal reward, which God has prepared for those who have loved him. The communal life is in every way more useful for monks than the solitary one, for solitude is not suitable for the many, but only for a few who are perfect in all monastic virtues. The common life, on the other hand, is useful in general for everybody, about which the patristic books tell us and teach us sufficiently. The spirit-speaking prophet David glorified it saying: “See now what is so good and so pleasant as for brethren to dwell together in unity!” (Ps. 133:1). In addition to this, one spirit-moved ecclesiastical hymn writes in this way: “Because in this the Lord promised eternal life.” But also our good Master Lord God Jesus Christ, does he not say to us himself, by his immaculate lips: “Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them”? (Matt. 18:20). Our God-bearing fathers say for the solitary life: “Woe to him that is alone when he falls; and there is not a second to lift him up” (Eccl. 4:10).

[11.] That is why, children, as the Holy Spirit through the mouth of the prophet glorifies the communal life, do you not neglect it either, but on the contrary, confirm it and be like “one body in the Lord” (Rom. 12:5), which has different members. Some of them form, however, the head which governs, others the feet which toil and bear, so that there is formed from all a single spiri-

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tual body in the Lord, created with a single mind and logical spirit, and directed by spiritual reasoning, in no wise having divisions. When such a dwelling and life in God is arranged, then he himself will be in the midst of you, governing you invisibly.

[12.] Do not seek the first place and authority, but remember those who have said: “If one would be first, he must be last of all, and servant of all” (Mark 9:35). Elect for yourselves preceptors and appoint superiors, whom God will show you, that is, men “of good report” (Acts 10:22) among everybody in spiritual matters and surpassing everybody in intelligence and spiritual discernment, and able to pasture well and comfortably the flock entrusted to them down the meadows of piety and of the life-giving commands of Christ. For these men it is proper to seek confirmation more from God than from our opinion.

[13.] If, as our great father and monastic preceptor, the reverend Ephraem Syrus says,⁷ all of you begin to desire authority and presidencies, and all of you to be abbots, and all of you preceptors, and interpreters, and teachers, and among you spring up rivalries, quarrels, disputes, zealotry, calumnies, haughtinesses, envy and other passions indecorous for monks, then certainly be aware that Christ is not among you, for Christ is not the teacher of discord and dissent, but of peace and unity. For he prays to God the father for his holy disciples to be united, that is, of one mind—they themselves and everybody who believes in him through them, and says as follows: “Holy Father, keep them in thy name that they may be one, as we are” (John 17:11). In another place: “I do not pray for them only but also for those who believe in me through their word that all may be one” (John 17:20–21). If you will be one, be at peace one with another. For he said to his disciples, “Peace I leave with you, my peace I give you.” (John 14: 27) For such is this peace of Christ, children, that again he speaks, saying, “Not as the world gives, do I give to you” (John 14:27). But this peace of Christ surpasses every mind. This is the peace, about which the prophet talks: “And his peace has no bounds.” But also the apostle teaches us saying: “Strive for peace with all men and for the holiness, without which no man shall see God” (Heb. 12:14). May you have such a peace, now, among you, and let you arrange everything for God with great unity of mind and heart, so as not to enrage your own God and master.

[14.] If somebody is found among you who sows weeds, discords and other temptations, you have to eliminate at once such a man from your assembly, so that this will not be transfigured into a devouring canker, according to the apostle, and not to spread the evil among the good ones, and “lest any root of bitterness spring up and cause trouble by it, and the many be defiled” (Heb. 12:5); and the wicked wolf not trouble the peaceful flock of Christ, because this sort [of men] will appear. For of them Christ prophesies saying: “For it is necessary that temptations come; but woe to the world for temptations to sin!” (Matt. 16:7). For this and you, children, keep away from these things and do not allow them to live among you, but divert them away from yourselves as the shepherd chases away the scabby sheep from the pure flock.

[15.] Living together for the Lord’s sake and bearing the burdens of one another, do not neglect those who live in solitude and “wandering over deserts and in mountains, and in dens, and in caves

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of the earth, of whom the world was not worthy” (Heb. 11:38), but supply them as much as you can, in order to hold them as your petitioners before God, for the prayer of the pious may achieve much.

[16.] Instruct yourselves in the Lord’s law day and night (Ps. 1:2). Read often the patristic books and try to be imitators of our holy fathers Antony, Theodosios and the others, who shone like lamps in the world with their good deeds.⁸ Hold firmly to the church rule, leaving or neglecting nothing of this, which is established by the holy fathers.

[17.] Manual labor must not be neglected by you, however, but work must be in your hands, and the prayer “Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me, a sinner” must be permanently on your lips, as well as the memory of death in your mind. This was the practice of the ancient desert fathers. They did not eat their bread in vain, and they not only lived themselves by labor of their own hands, but they gave to the needy too, and so they were not disappointed in their hope. “For,” says the apostle [Paul], “it is well that the heart be strengthened by grace; not with foods which have not benefited their adherents” (Heb. 13:9). He says too: “Let brotherly love continue. Do not neglect to show hospitality to strangers; for thereby some have entertained angels unawares” (Heb. 13:1–2).

[18.] Establish the newly enlightened from your own race in the faith and instruct them to abandon the indecent pagan rites and the evil customs which they keep even after the acceptance of the holy faith. But they do this because of ignorance, and thus they need to be brought to their senses.

[19.] I had much more to say to you, my beloved children in the Lord, but it is impossible to write everything. I deliver you to him who is the source of all wisdom and reason, and the true Comforter—to the Holy and life-giving Spirit, in order that he himself gives you wisdom, to bring you to your senses, to enlighten you, to teach and instruct you in every good deed.

[20.] Now I leave you our beloved brother Gregory for instructor and superior in place of me, about whom all of you testify that he is able to govern you well and according to God, and you elect him by consensus as superior, even though he does not want it, but because of obedience and humility he acquiesces to your request. After him, [choose] whomever God will show you.

As for myself, I wish henceforth to live in quiet and silence, to repent my sins and to beg mercy of God. Have mercy on me, your sinful father, always in your prayers that I may receive mercy on judgment day, for I have done nothing good on earth and fear that judgment and torment prepared for sinners like me. So may the blessing of God be with you all, guarding and protecting you from all evils. Amen.

I have written this in the year from the creation of the world 6449 (= A.D. 941) on the twenty-fifth day of the month of March.

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I, the humble and most sinful John, first inhabitant of the wilderness of Rila, sign with my own hand and confirm the above-written [testament].

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of our translator, Ivan Iliev [II], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. Both Cherna and Tsrna, dialectical variants, mean "Black." [II]
2. A play on words: Varlaam also means "Old Man," a title of dignity. [II]
3. An allusion to the fall of Srédetz (Sofia) to the Ottoman Turks in 1382. [II]
4. Neither the original text nor the copies mentioned above survive today. The text depends on nineteenth-century copies. [II]
5. Compare to (3) *Theodore Studites* [21] prohibiting the storing up of cash assets in the monastery.
6. An allusion to John's rejection of the friendly overtures with implied offer of financial support made by the Bulgarian ruler Peter (927–969) as described in the various *vitae*; see Dujčev, "Réforme," p. 263, and Hristov et al., *Rila Monastery*, p. 12.
7. According to Goshev, "Zavetât," pp. 449–61, this author's *Parainesis* had been available in a Slavonic translation since the reign of Symeon (893–927).
8. For the translation of some of the late antique classics of ascetic literature into Slavonic, see Dujčev, "Réforme," p. 262.

7. *Latros*: Testament of Paul the Younger for the Monastery of the Mother of God *tou Stylou* on Mount Latros

Date: 955

Translator: Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Edition employed: Hippolyte Delehay, *Monumenta Latrensia hagiographica*, in Theodor Wiegand, *Milet, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen*, vol. 3, pt. 1: *Der Latmos* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 105–53. The *Testament* is encapsulated in the *Laudatio S. Pauli junioris*, pp. 136–57, at 152–53.¹

Manuscript: Codex Vaticanus graecus 704 (14th c.)

Other translations: None, but there is a Latin translation of the *Vita* by Hippolyte Delehay, “*Vita S. Pauli Iunioris in monte Latro*,” *AB* 11 (1892), 5–74, 136–182.

Institutional History

A. Foundation of the Monastery

The founder Paul was born at Elaia near Pergamon, probably towards the end of the ninth century (*Vita*, chap. 2, p. 21). Orphaned at an early age, he was brought by his brother Basil to Peter, founder and superior of the monastery of Karya on Mount Latros northwest of Miletos, who provided him with his introduction to the ascetic life (*Testamentum*, p. 200). After Peter’s death, his successor gave Paul permission to adopt a solitary life. Athanasios, superior of the neighboring patriarchal monastery of Christ the Savior (*Christos Soter*, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 240), suggested a rock formation as the site where Paul could live as a kind of stylite (*Vita*, chap. 13, p. 44). As Papachryssanthou (“*Vie monastique*,” p. 173) notes, this is one of the rare occasions on which we can follow the development of a major monastery from its origins. After attracting a number of disciples, Paul had an oratory dedicated to the archangel Michael built on the site (*Vita*, chap. 17, p. 51). Eventually a church dedicated to the Mother of God *tou Stylou* was erected as well, the patronal attribute being either an allusion to Paul’s rock formation (so Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 233) or to St. Paul as the “pillar” of the church (Talbot and Wharton, “*Latros*,” p. 1189). Most of his disciples adopted a cenobitic lifestyle, sharing meals in a refectory and sleeping together in a dormitory, but others lived as solitaries (*Vita*, chap. 17, pp. 51–53). The beginning of the monastery is dated to 920–930 (Bokotopoulos, “*Latros*,” p. 77). Except for a brief absence on Samos, Paul spent the rest of his life there. A few days before his death on December 15, 955 (*Vita*, chap. 45, p. 164), he dictated a series of rules to his successor Symeon (*Vita*, chap. 43, pp. 159–61). Paul was originally buried in the narthex of the *Stylos* church, but his remains were disinterred by Symeon and reburied in a chapel specially built for this purpose (*Vita*, chap. 46, p. 167).

B. Sources for the Subsequent History of the Foundation

A list of Paul's successors as superiors of this foundation, starting with Symeon, has survived in a copy of a manuscript drawn up in 1049.² This manuscript, possibly prepared for the purpose of carrying out liturgical commemorations of departed superiors (so Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 236), was evidently one of those that Christodoulos brought from Latros to his new Patmos monastery (see (24) *Christodoulos* [C6]) in the late eleventh century, though it was later returned to its place of origin by one of his successors. Additional names were added to the list after 1049, down to 1222.

Another important source of information on the later history of the foundation is the partially preserved cartulary of which some 16 documents survive that, supplemented by other sources, allow the reconstruction of a dossier of 40 pieces of official correspondence down to the middle of the fourteenth century.³ Included in the dossier are a small donation of Emperor Romanos I Lekapenos (919–944) to the monastery in 941, and requests for the prayers of the monks for military expeditions being undertaken by emperors Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos (913–959) in 945/55 and by Nikephoros Phokas (963–969).⁴ The superior Gabriel who, according to the above-mentioned list of superiors, was Paul's fourth successor and bore the title of "founder" (*ktetor*), appears in four of the documents in the cartulary dated to 985–987, defending the foundation's property rights in disputes with a neighboring monastery.⁵

C. Reorganization as an Independent Monastery

Eventually the foundation acquired a formal written *typikon* (now lost) which asserted the independence of the monastery.⁶ Janin (*Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 237), speculates that Gabriel, in his capacity as (new) "founder," was responsible for drawing up this document towards the end of the tenth century. This is technically possible, but it is more likely that the monastery claimed an independent charter for itself in the late eleventh century when many other foundations, inspired by the monastic reform movement, did the same (see below, Chapter Four).

D. Superiorship of Christodoulos

In 1076, Patriarch Kosmas I Hierosolymites (1075–81) appointed Christodoulos as superior of this monastery as well as *protos* of the confederation of neighboring monasteries at Latros.⁷ According to (24) *Christodoulos* [A4], the *Stylos* monastery was still functioning somewhat as in Paul's day, with some monks practicing the cenobitic life and others a hybrid form of monasticism in which they lived apart during most of the week but came together on Sundays for liturgical services and fellowship. Especially in view of the circumstances of his own appointment, Christodoulos had to struggle to establish his foundation's right to independence from patriarchal control.⁸ Also, contrary to his fond recollections of this time years later, Christodoulos' tenure of office was troubled by repeated disputes of obscure origin and appeals over his head to the patriarchs of Constantinople, culminating in his resignation in 1087 (Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 219).

E. Fate of the Foundation

Despite the Turkish threat to the security of the monastic communities on Latros that Christodoulos

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later preferred to cite as the reason for his departure, it seems that at least the principal monasteries, including this one, survived for another two hundred years. In the Nicaean Empire during the thirteenth century, the foundation was able to have its standing as the ranking monastery of Latros recognized by Patriarch Manuel I Sarantenos (1215–22) in 1222 and its exemption from visitations by patriarchal functionaries confirmed by Patriarchs Germanos II (1222–40) in 1225 and Manuel II (1244–55) in 1246.⁹ The last official mention of the monastery occurs in a patriarchal act of 1360, but the neighboring metropolitan see of Miletos was abandoned in 1369, which suggests that monastic life there did not survive much longer.¹⁰

F. Archaeological Excavation of the Site

A German archaeological expedition explored the sites of the monastic settlements at Latros in 1905, including that of this foundation.¹¹ An enclosure wall surrounds Paul's natural column, the *stylos*, and grotto as well as the foundations of the monastery church, an auxiliary chapel, some other buildings, and a cistern.¹² Frescoes on the walls of Paul's grotto, probably of the eleventh or twelfth centuries, depict the founder as well as his successor Gabriel.¹³

Analysis

The *Testament* translated here is encapsulated in the anonymous *Eulogy* (*Laudatio*, chaps. 46–49, ed. Delehay, pp. 152–53) of the founder. The *Eulogy's Testament* is an expansion of parallel remarks by Paul to his disciple Symeon found in the earlier *Life* (*Vita*, chap. 43, pp. 159–61), and so a certain amount of subsequent editing of Paul's precepts as found in the *Eulogy* cannot be ruled out. To complicate matters, there is also another text bearing the title of *Testament* that was copied at the end of the *Vita* in a 16th-century manuscript (ed. Lampros, "Diatheke," pp. 199–202), but on linguistic evidence this appears to be a later composition.¹⁴

A. Typology and Sources

Although professedly a testament, this document actually assumes the form of a miniature *typikon*. Also, unlike the authors of other testaments, Paul does not use his *Testament* to transmit his foundation to his successor. The document begins with a confession of faith [1], [2] which cites Basil of Caesarea and Maximos the Confessor, and an affirmation of the seven ecumenical councils [3]. These introductory materials parallel the format of (3) *Theodore Studites*. Paul is fairly unusual in his straightforward denial of originality in his *Testament*. Paul claims to be relying upon "the precepts of the fathers" and those of his own ascetic master Peter, i.e., the superior of the monastery of Karya, under whom he began his career. Yet the document also draws on other traditions as well, most notably the "Rule of Jerusalem," presumably some early version of the liturgical *typikon* of the monastery of St. Sabas, which was to regulate [8] fasting. Paul was also acquainted with the Basilian tradition, citing [10] a scriptural quotation which appears in the *Sermo de renunciacione saeculi*. The standards for personal decorum [11] also appear to have Basilian roots.

B. Lives of the Monks

In terms of practices prescribed, the document fits fairly well into the context of Byzantine monasticism in the mid-tenth century. The regular weekday practice of manual labor is implied by [4]

its prohibition on Sundays. Like (3) *Theodore Studites* [16], [18], Paul bans [9] women and beardless youths from the monastery. The warning against hoarding material goods [12] likewise follows (3) *Theodore Studites* [21], as does his disapproval [12] of unnecessary travel (cf. (3) *Theodore Studites* [10]). Paul goes further by requiring the monks to stay enclosed [6] during Lent until the Easter feast. There is a hint [7] of the firm superior's discipline characteristic of some other documents of the eighth through ninth centuries,¹⁵ but no particulars. Fasting, while generally following [8] the above-mentioned "Rule of Jerusalem," appears [5] to have been stricter for Lent, basically allowing only bread and water. This is considerably more austere than the equivalent provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [30], [31].

Notes on the Introduction

1. See discussion in "Analysis."
2. See Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 234–36, for a full discussion.
3. Ed. MM 4.290–329, with detailed analysis by Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 441–54.
4. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 442, "Les actes du Latros," nos. 3, 4, 7.
5. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 443–44, "Actes," nos. 8, ed. MM 4.307–08, 9, ed. MM 4.310, 10, ed. MM 4.308–13, and 11, ed. MM 4.312–15.
6. The monks were able to demonstrate their claim to institutional independence successfully in 1196 by reference to a provision to this effect in their *typikon*, for which see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 448–49, "Actes," no. 28, ed. MM 4.305–7; "Actes," no. 15, ed. MM 6.17–19, suggests that such a provision was already to be found among the monastery's rules circa 1078–79.
7. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 445, "Actes," no. 14.
8. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 218, n. 7, and p. 445, "Actes," no. 15, ed. MM 6.17–19.
9. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 450–52, "Actes," no. 31, ed. MM 4.295–98, no. 32, ed. MM 4.298–300, and no. 37, ed. MM 4.300–301.
10. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 453–54, "Actes," no. 40, ed. MM 1.391–97.
11. Discoveries summarized in Guyer, "Klöster," pp. 134–37.
12. See Wiegand, *Milet*, vol. 3, pt. 1: *Der Latmos*, pp. 68–72, with plan of the site; Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 220, 238.
13. Schiemenz, "Paulos-Höhle," pp. 46–53; Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 238–39.
14. See Mercati, "Minuzie," pp. 335–36, and Halkin, *BHG* 1474h.
15. See especially (2) *Pantelleria*, (4) *Stoudios* [25], and (11) *Ath. Rule* [19].

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Translation

*Eulogy of Saint Paul the Younger*¹

Chapter 46

Yet, being a man, he [Paul], too, was fated to pay the debt of destiny or better to be released and discharged from his long sufferings, and be with Christ according to the saying of the Apostle (Phil. 1:23). As he had, of course, foreseen this, he composed for his disciples the following rule of monastic life:

Know, my dearly beloved brethren, that monastic life is the more lofty and angelic as it is without any sin and full of every virtue. Whence our forerunners in this way of life, in order to strengthen their instruction, left us their spiritual struggles like a rule and standard in keeping with [their] behavior. Now, although we have their precepts along with their deeds, we do give but little thought to putting this into practice, and I am by far the worst offender. May no one, however, by looking at me, spend his lifetime at ease, or come to me and say: “Physician, heal yourself” (Luke 4:23). For, if I spent my life thoughtlessly, I want you instead to take care of your own salvation. Accordingly, so that those who will come after you may have no excuse to say: “Had we ever lighted upon standards and rules, we would have observed them,” for this very reason, in legislating, I introduce the present [rule] not by devising it myself, but by applying the precepts of the Fathers as well as those which I received from our God-bearing Father Peter.²

[1.] First, it is necessary to **believe in one God, the Father almighty, creator of heaven and earth, without beginning, ungenerated, formless, incorporeal; in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father timelessly before all ages, of one substance with the Father; and in the Holy Spirit who proceeds from the Father, who together with the Father and the Son is worshiped and glorified.**³ The Holy Trinity is uncreated, undivided, unconfused, and distinguished in persons by individual properties. According to Basil the Great, its operation,

TENTH CENTURY

being the common operation of the three Persons, is also uncreated and undivided.⁴ Those whose essence is uncreated, their operation is also uncreated, [as stated by] Maximos [the Confessor], who was full of divine wisdom.⁵

[2.] Next, [it is necessary] to acknowledge that one [Person] of the Trinity, the Son and Word of God, **was incarnated from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary and became man for the sake of our salvation**; that he was at the same time perfect God and perfect man in one person and in two natures and operations, in the manner appropriate to each of the natures and operations; that **he was crucified for us** in actual fact, not by means of illusion, as it has been insanely said by some who were raving;⁶ and **that he rose again on the third day, ascended to Heaven, and will come again with glory to judge the living and dead**, and pay each one according to his actions.

[3.] Then, [it is necessary] to accept the Seven Ecumenical Councils, and refuse all the heretical blasphemies which have rightly been banished from the Church; and to receive the Holy Sacraments as truly partaking of the body and blood of Our Savior Jesus Christ; and also to prostrate oneself before and kiss the venerable and holy images of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Mother of God, and all the saints, since, according to theology, “the cult of the images passes on to the prototype.”⁷

Chapter 47

[4.] Moreover, [it is necessary] to keep the feasts of the Lord as well as every single Sunday, and to rest from every labor except in praise of God unceasingly according to the rule and order of the Church of Christ.

[5.] [It is necessary] also to observe the fast of the Holy and Great Lent, and to feed as much as possible on bread and water alone, and most moderately even on those, except for refreshing oneself during the feast of the Annunciation by eating olive oil and fish with moderation, and partaking of enough wine mixed with water on Saturday and Sunday because of lack of strength.

[6.] [It is necessary] also to avoid going out until the bright feast of Easter. Instead [you must] stay quiet inside the monastery and conduct the services without fail.

[7.] Whoever shall violate the [aforesaid] regulations, whether from ignorance or pressure of necessity, let him undergo the proper punishments by the superior at the time.⁸ Should he act contemptuously and remain incorrigible, let him be expelled absolutely from the monastic community, so that he does not infect the others with his sickness.

[8.] As regards the other fasting transmitted in the canons, [it is necessary] to practice them as the tradition harking back to the Rule [p. 153] of Jerusalem established from the beginning.⁹ [p. 153] Also, let fasting be observed in proportion to the strength of each one and as approved by the superior: Wednesday and Friday on bread and water alone, except in the case of physical infirmity or a feast of the Lord. However, [it is necessary] to keep without fail the remaining [fast days],

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knowing that no one is losing the reward of his labors, but “each shall receive his [wages] according to his labor” (I Cor. 3:8).

Chapter 48

[9.] This also is what I order: that never any smooth-looking beardless fellow under twenty years of age be admitted into the community of Lavra, nor that women enter [it], according to the traditions of the Holy Fathers. Whoever shall act otherwise, let him be under curse and anathema, as overstepping the limits established by the Fathers.

[10.] Know then that “the road leading to life is narrow and hard” (Matt. 7:14), and “the Kingdom of Heaven has suffered violence, and men of violence take it by force” (Matt. 11:12).¹⁰ Therefore, it is necessary that you have death before your eyes, since you are destined to account for your deeds; that you resist intemperate impulses; that you keep most carefully free from evil thoughts; that you be humble-minded and not overbold about the works of virtue. Virtue must always be zealously pursued by works, but through Christ’s love of man for “all our justice with its pride and arrogance is an abomination in the eyes of God” (Luke 16:16).

Chapter 49

[11.] Have love for, and be at peace with one another, as in peace Christ summoned us, and “we are members one of another” (Eph. 4:25), according to the Apostle. [It is necessary] also to refrain from speaking evil of one another and envying one another’s virtue. Neither should you laugh or chatter idly, especially while attending to the hymns of God, so that we may not arouse the Divinity’s irritation while we intend to propitiate him.¹¹ Should some of you ever quarrel among themselves, let them put an end to their enmity in brotherly love within the evening (cf. Eph. 4: 26); if not, let them remain without food. Should they persist in their wickedness, let them be expelled from among you. For to such ones the Kingdom of Heaven is walled off. Every bearer of malice breaks the law and, since he breaks the law, he is also unclean.

[12.] Above all, you must not step easily out of the monastery without need, since it is both unsuitable to the [monastic] profession and dangerous. Rather, [you must] give up most corporeal things and the hoarding of material goods. From them comes the ruin of the soul, as the mind is removed from God because of the unsuitable diversion. Only one concern and diversion is commendable: meditation on the eternal blessings, “and all the rest will come to us as well” (Matt. 6:33), as the divine voice says. The writings of the saints alone and the traditions of the Gospels and Apostles shall lead us to the justice of God. “If you know these things, blessed are you if you do them” (John 13:17).

Notes on the Translation

1. Delehaye divided the sections of the *Eulogy* that preserve the *Testament* into chapters 46–49; we have assigned a new continuous numeration to the *Testament*, however, to facilitate cross-referencing from other documents.

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2. For Peter, Paul's spiritual father and superior of the monastery of Karya, see the *Vita*, chap. 6, p. 26.
3. Cf. *Symbolum Nicaenoconstantinopolitanum*; borrowed words in boldface.
4. Basil of Caesarea, *Adversus Eunomium* 4, *PG* 29, col. 676A.
5. Maximos the Confessor, *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*, *PG* 91, col. 340A.
6. Interesting allusion to the phantasiast or docetist heresy, following the doctrine formulated by Julian of Halicarnassus. See Barry Baldwin, "Julian of Halikarnassos," *ODB*, p. 1080.
7. Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *De spiritu sancto* 45, *PG* 32, col. 149C.
8. See Kazhdan, "Paul of Latros," *ODB*, p. 1608, for Paul's willingness to resort to physical punishment to discipline his disciples.
9. This is a reference not to the final generation of Sabaitic liturgical *typika* popular in Byzantine monasteries from the thirteenth century onwards (for which see Robert Taft, "Sabaitic Typika," *ODB*, p. 1823), but rather some exemplar of a much earlier generation of these documents, which regulated both liturgical matters and diet, and which, along with Constantinopolitan liturgical usages, contributed to the development of Stoudite *typika* like (4) *Stoudios*. See Taft, "Athos, Mount," *ODB*, p. 182, and "Stoudite Typika," *ODB*, p. 1961.
10. Cf. the Basilian *Sermo de renunciatione saeculi*, *PG* 31, col. 645D.
11. Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 17 [LR 17], *PG* 31, col. 957B.

8. *John Xenos: Testament of John Xenos for the Monastery of the Mother of God Antiphonetria of Myriokephala on Crete*

Date: September 20, 1031

Translator: Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Edition employed: N. B. Tomadakes, “Ho hagios Ioannes ho Xenos kai Eremites en Krete (10os–11os aion),” *EEBS* 46 (1983–86), 1–117, with edition at pp. 11–12.

Manuscript: Codex Cisamensis (1703 A.D.)

Other translations: None

Institutional History

The history of John Xenos’s foundation is known chiefly from two versions of his *Autobiography* (*Bios kai politeia*), one derived from a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (*Bios C*), and the other derived from a local Cretan manuscript dated to 1703, Codex Cisamensis (*Bios K*). Only the latter contains the full text of John’s *Testament*, while the former is content with a brief summary.

John was born to wealthy parents, in the year 970 according to the Codex Cisamensis, at Siba, which Petit (“Jean Xenos,” p. 7) identified with Sivas, an inland village on the south side of Crete east of the Bay of Mesara.¹ This was less than a decade after Nikephoros Phokas reconquered the island from the Arabs in 961, ending over 130 years of Muslim rule. After pursuing a wandering solitary life for a time, John arrived in the vicinity of Rethymno on the island’s north shore, where, in obedience to a vision from Sts. Eutychios and Eutychianos, he built his first in a series of churches in their honor.² Another celestial vision led to his construction of a monastery in honor of the Mother of God *Antiphonetria* “on the mountain of Myriokephala.”³ A small monastery is still in existence on the site in the village of Myriokephala at the end of a mountain road a considerable distance southwest of Rethymno.

Additional foundations followed, including a church dedicated to St. George *Doubrikas*, probably located where the village of Rhoustika is now to be found on another mountain road southwest of Rethymno, and another dedication to St. George *Opsaropiastes*, perhaps at Choromonasteri southeast of Rethymno.⁴ As was his practice with his previous foundations, John left each of these in the care of a disciple, usually an ordained monk. He then returned to Myriokephala, where he found the monks he had left behind in dire straits. He bought arable land from the local peasants to provide his monks there with more dependable support, and established a dependency in honor of St. Patapios for the supervision of various agricultural pursuits.⁵ These provisions were sufficient to support the needs of a dozen monks.

At this point John decided to take a trip to Constantinople to obtain additional philanthropic support and the privileges he thought important for securing the future of his foundations.⁶ According to the Codex Cisamensis, John obtained from the emperor Romanos III Argyros (1028–

1034) a chrysobull awarding his foundation a yearly cash subvention as well as a dozen sets of monastic clothing. From Patriarch Alexios Studites (1025–1043) John obtained a patriarchal *stauropegion*, a foundation charter, which exempted his foundation from interference by lay or ecclesiastical officials, prohibited the latter from exacting any ecclesiastical taxes, and, most significantly, recognized his monasteries as being independent (*autodespota*); only liturgical commemoration (*anaphora*) was reserved as a patriarchal right. The version of the *Autobiography* represented by the manuscript in the Bodleian Library does not refer to any patriarch, and attributes all the concessions to “our orthodox emperors,” left unnamed. Supporters in the capital sent John back to Crete with sacred vessels, books, and icons for distribution to his monasteries.

John continued his itinerant lifestyle, founding another church dedicated to the Mother of God at Kouphou, which he supported with the acquisition of landed property and the establishment of a vineyard.⁷ A village of this name still exists to the southeast of Chania, a considerable distance up the north coast from John’s original center of activity around Rethymno. An oratory in honor of St. Paul near Aigialos and a sanctuary dedicated to St. George (John’s third to this dedicatee) at Nazogeraia followed.⁸ These seem to have been located a little inland from the south shore in the western end of Crete near the present village of Azogyres. Fleeing his many admirers, John next settled on the west coast of the island in the vicinity of Kisamos near Akte.⁹

Although neither version of his *Autobiography* provides any information on John’s further travels, local tradition holds that he also resided for a time at the village of Spelia, where there is an oratory dedicated to him, and at his traditional place of burial, the monastery of Gouverneto on the large peninsula of Akrotiri on the north coast, due east of Chania.¹⁰

In his *Testament*, John chose to subordinate [1] all the rest of his churches and monasteries to Myriokephala. At present, little is known of the subsequent history of either the main monastery or its many dependencies. Gouverneto remained an active monastery, with its superior Ananias helping to instigate a revolt against the island’s Venetian rulers in 1570.¹¹ Taking confidence in its name, Gouverneto’s monks came to believe that they had authority over all the other monasteries on the island. Reportedly damaged if not destroyed by the Turks in 1770, Myriokephala preserves some wall paintings dating from the early eleventh century.¹² It is possible that there are other religious foundations on Crete that can plausibly trace their origins to John Xenos.

Analysis

Like (5) *Euthymios* and (7) *Latros* then, John’s *Testament* is encapsulated in a kind of hagiographic document, to which fact it undoubtedly owes its preservation.¹³ It is the briefest document in our collection, and has only one purpose, assuring the integrity of all the foundation’s properties. Probably on the basis of his patriarchal *stauropegion* from Alexios Studites, John Xenos considered this foundation to be private property, and hence not subject to either imperial or ecclesiastical control. In earlier eras, founders took their private ownership rights for granted; if they perceived any threat, it was likely from other private individuals, chiefly members of their own families (cf. (1) *Apa Abraham* [5]), who could conceivably press inheritance claims to a religious foundation and its assets if this was not foreclosed. John Xenos and his monasteries, however, lived under the threat of the *charistike*, that mostly infamous program co-sponsored by Emperor

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Basil II (976–1025) and the ecclesiastical hierarchy which resulted in many private religious foundations being granted out to new private concessionaires, usually with disastrous results.¹⁴

The document is dated to A. M. 6536 (= Sept. 1027–Aug. 1028) which accords with the note in both versions of John's *Autobiography* that he drew up his *Testament* after his trip to Constantinople that itself must have taken place, according to Codex Cisamensis, early in the reign of Romanus III (1028–34). That Codex is alone in identifying John's Constantinopolitan benefactors and in providing us with John's year of birth. In (7) *Latros* we have already seen the phenomenon of a more precise text developed alongside (if not actually out of) another that is a more strictly narrative account of the same circumstance. It remains for future study to determine whether the greater precision of both the Codex Cisamensis version of the *Testament* and also of (7) *Latros* is an indication of their accuracy and genuineness (as opposed to the more general accounts to be found in their conventional hagiographic counterparts) or is simply a device employed by later generations in the confection of documentary evidence designed to meet the needs of another era.

Notes on the Introduction

1. *Bios C* 1, ed. Tomadakes, "Hagios Ioannes," (1983–86), p. 4; *Bios K*, p. 8.
2. *Bios C* 1, p. 5; *Bios K*, p. 8; see Petit, "Jean Xenos," p. 7, for identification of the site, southeast of Rethymno.
3. *Bios C* 2, p. 5; *Bios K*, p. 9; Petit, "Jean Xenos," p. 8.
4. *Bios C* 2, p. 5; *Bios K*, p. 9; Petit, "Jean Xenos," pp. 8–11.
5. *Bios C* 3, p. 6; *Bios K*, p. 10; Petit, "Jean Xenos," p. 11–12. For the use of a monastic dependency to supervise properties located at some distance from a monastery, see (9) *Galesios* [144], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [9], and (35) *Skoteine* [10].
6. *Bios C* 3, pp. 6–7; *Bios K*, p. 10; Delehaye, *Deux typika*, p. 189; Petit, "Jean Xenos," p. 12.
7. *Bios C* 4, p. 7; *Bios K*, p. 11; Petit, "Jean Xenos," p. 12.
8. *Bios C* 4, p. 7; *Bios K*, p. 11; Petit, "Jean Xenos," p. 14.
9. *Bios C* 4, p. 7; *Bios K*, p. 11; Petit, "Jean Xenos," pp. 14–15.
10. Petit, "Jean Xenos," pp. 15–16.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 8; Gregory and Kazhdan, "Crete," p. 546; Antourakes, *Myriokephalon*.
13. The *Testament*, found in its complete version only in Codex Cisamensis (*Bios K*), should be compared carefully with the abbreviated account found in the version (*Bios C*) based on the Bodleian manuscript (= Halkin, *BHG* 2196), ed. Tomadakes, "Hagios Joannes," *EEBS* 46, pp. 7–8, lines 122–35.
14. For the *charistike*, see General Bibliography, XXIV: Monasticism and the *Charistike*, along with the discussion below in Chapter Three, Historical Context.

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———, "Ho hagios Ioannes ho Xenos kai Eremites en Krete (10os – 11os aion)," *EEBS* 46 (1983–86), 1–117.
———, "Hymnographika kai hagiologika Ioannou tou Xenou," *EEBS* 20 (1950), 314–30.
———, "Ioannes ho Xenos," *TEE* 6 (1965), cols. 1243–45.

Translation

[1.] In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, this is what I order and enjoin, dispose and recommend to everyone that all the monasteries and churches which I by the grace of God have raised and founded, as well as those movable and immovable properties I have donated to them, I wish all of them to be with no exception under the authority of the lady Mother of God of Myriokephala until the end of the present world.¹

[2.] If any of the men on the face of the earth, either emperor or patriarch or metropolitan, either ruling or ruled, great or small, shall dare to deny the real and personal estate donated by me precisely to those monasteries which I have founded (let instead the aforesaid monastic community of Myriokephala own all of it as we have ordained!), may such a one be first accursed by God the Almighty and Our Lord Jesus Christ, and have neither share in the immaculate mysteries nor resolution into dust after death.² May then his portion and lot be with Judas the Betrayer, and may he have the anathema of the [p. 12] three hundred and eighteen God-inspired fathers of the first Nicaean synod; may he inherit the eternal punishment.³

[3.] On the contrary, whoever shall keep undisturbed this testament of mine, let him also preserve unchanged what I have recommended, and may the holy and heavenly God, along with the lady Mother of God, mediatrix of the whole universe, forgive all his sins. At the time of the fearful judgment, may he forgive his faults in both the present and the world to come, and place him on his right-hand side. May such a one be heir of his reign. So be it.⁴

[On the] twentieth [day], in the month of September, year of the world 6536 [= A.D. 1027/28], year of the Lord 1027.⁵

The hand of Moschos, deacon and notary of the fort of Chandax, has signed.⁶

I, Philaretos Bracheon, *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Crete, being present to this testament of the monk John, have signed upon summons.

I, Eumathios, *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Crete, being present to this testament of the monk and hermit John, have signed.

I, the priest Leo Daphereras, notary by the imperial authority, have transcribed the present testament of our holy father John of Crete, surnamed "*Xenos* (the) monk."

8. JOHN XENOS

Notes on the Translation

1. *Bios C 4*, p. 7, mentions only churches among the protected institutions, to which *Bios K* adds here monasteries. *Bios C 4*, however, mentions “animate” property, i.e., livestock, which *Bios K*’s *Testament* omits. The attribution of ownership to the Mother of God is found only in *Bios K*.
2. *Bios K* here has a longer list of potential violators of the foundation’s autonomy, though curiously it omits bishops, who are mentioned in *Bios C 4*’s account. The protection of donated personal property and real estate is found only in *Bios K*; so also the declaration of subordination of all the monasteries to Myriokephala.
3. This is a slightly different and longer version of the curse found in *Bios C 4*; for some other examples from the eleventh century, see (9) *Galesios* [246], (10) *Eleousa* [19], (18) *Nea Gephyra* [4], (19) *Attaleiates* [8], [23], (22) *Evergetis* [12], and (24) *Christodoulos* [B14].
4. *Bios K* here adds the Mother of God to the Divinity himself as a protector of John’s *Testament*.
5. *Bios C* is undated.
6. *Bios C 4*, a narrative account, lacks signatories.

9. *Galesios: Testament* of Lazarus of Mount Galesios

Date: October 31, 1053¹

Translator: Patricia Karlin-Hayter

Edition employed: Reconstructed from the *Vita S. Lazari auctore Gregorio monacho*, ed. Hippolyte Delehaye, *Acta sanctorum novembris*, vol. 3 (Brussels, 1910), pp. 508–606.

Manuscript: Codex Lavrioticus I.127, fols. 81–293 (14th c.)

Other translations: None

Institutional History

A. Early Career of the Founder Lazarus

Lazarus' life and the history of his monastic foundations are known almost exclusively from the *Life* composed by his disciple Gregory, which Delehaye justly praised as one of the most substantial and interesting works of the Byzantine hagiographic genre.² The *Life* also preserves the surviving fragments of Lazarus' *Testament* as translated below. The *Life* records his birth as Leo in the village of Theotokos near Magnesia on the Meander, not far from Ephesos; calculating backwards from his reported death at the age of 86 in 1053, he would appear to have been born in 967/68.³ There is, however, an unpublished manuscript in the Historical Museum, Moscow, which indicates that he died at the age of 72; if true, this would mean that he was born about 981.⁴ After being educated locally for a career as a notary, Leo became a monk at a monastery in the vicinity of Attaleia in Pamphylia, taking the monastic name of Lazarus. He lived here as a solitary for seven years. Then he realized a long-frustrated ambition to visit the Holy Land, where he served in both the monastery of St. Euthymios and the St. Sabas monastery near Jerusalem.⁵ The superior of the latter institution bestowed on him the great habit and ordained him as a priest. Increasing Arab pressure on the local Christian community seems to have been a factor in his decision to return to his homeland after an absence of twenty years.

Lazarus found himself back home near Ephesos, either in 1005 (so Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 242, n. 6) or in 1013 (so Delehaye, *Stylites*, p. cxv). He decided to settle down as a stylite close by an existing oratory of St. Marina. After gathering disciples, Lazarus obtained funding from a pious lay woman to pay for the construction of a monastery as well as a new church to replace the little oratory; the local metropolitan of Ephesos contributed landed property for the support of the foundation.⁶ Lazarus remained here for seven years, then he sought refuge from the press of his many admirers as well as the increasingly meddlesome metropolitan of Ephesos by heading off for Mount Galesios (modern Alamandağ) north of Ephesos beyond the Kaystros River.

9. GALESIOS

B. Establishment of Lazarus' Monasteries on Mount Galesios

Summoned back to St. Marina by his metropolitan, Lazarus escaped again with a few companions, including his younger brother Ignatios, and established a new monastic settlement on Mount Galesios dedicated to the Savior (*Soter*).⁷ Galesios would be Lazarus' home for the rest of his life, though he felt constrained to move higher up the mountain as time went on to escape the curiosity of visitors. Lazarus lived near the Savior monastery on a new column for twelve years, then he himself moved further up the mountain while the monastery continued to function under his direction. Lazarus next had a new column and a church dedicated to the Mother of God (*Theotokos*) constructed at a higher elevation on the mountain.⁸ He is reported to have lived there for twelve years as well. Lazarus' final residence on the mountain was on a column adjacent to a new monastery dedicated to the Resurrection (*Anastasis*), which became the most important of the three monasteries under his direct administration.⁹

In addition to these three directly administered monasteries, there were others near the mountain that were associated more loosely with Lazarus' foundation. At some point during his residence on Galesios, Lazarus' steward Gabriel sought to take advantage of the good relations between the Galesian monastic community and Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055) to endow a new imperial monastery that would be immune from the claims of the metropolitan of Ephesos. The foundation, the imperial monastery of the Mother of God at Bessai, was supported by a gift of landed property offered by the emperor in the memory of Maria Skleraina, who died circa 1046.¹⁰ Although this proved to be a prosperous foundation with some 300 monks, several times more than all the rest of Lazarus' directly administered monasteries combined, he never really welcomed the new foundation as a member of the Galesian community. Bessai was self-governing (*autodioiketos*), and was the only monastery associated with Lazarus that had its own superior and a separate landed endowment, the estate (*proasteion*) of Eoptine. The monastery church was likely that dedicated to the Mother of God, the Consolation (*Pausolype*), as a memorial for Maria Skleraina by her brother Romanos Skleros, who had paid a visit to Lazarus on an earlier occasion.¹¹ Lazarus' mother also established a nunnery in the vicinity of Galesios which bore her monastic name, Eupraxia; it does not seem to have been an administrative dependency of Lazarus' foundation.¹²

Lazarus' three directly administered monasteries, the Savior, the Mother of God, and the Resurrection, were supported by estates donated by various benefactors, which were in turn administered by various stewards appointed for this purpose.¹³ The metropolitan of Ephesos had evidently reclaimed the administration of St. Marina after Lazarus' departure from that monastery. Lazarus' *Testament*, drawn up eight days before his death, prescribes for the support of forty monks at the monastery of the Resurrection and twelve each at the monasteries of the Savior and the Mother of God; Bessai, having its own endowment, was to share in the common revenues of the other three monasteries only if there was a surplus.¹⁴

C. Preservation of Institutional Independence

After Lazarus' death in 1053, the concerns of his monks for preserving their institutional independence made even the place of interment for his remains a matter of controversy.¹⁵ Some thought the original burial place in the right side of the narthex of the church of the Resurrection would

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serve as a pretext for the metropolitan of Ephesos to seize control over the adjacent monastery, while a proposed alternative, burial at the imperial monastery at Bessai, risked a loss of autonomy to another master. Eventually there was a translation of the founder's relics, commemorated in a *synaxarion* on July 17, but the site of the new depository is not known.

D. The Galesios Monastery in the Thirteenth Century

After the translation of the founder, little is known of the Galesios monasteries thereafter until the thirteenth century, when, treated at that time as a single administrative entity, the Galesios foundation seems to have partaken in the general revival of monasteries during the Nicæan Empire (1204–61).¹⁶ Later, one of its superiors was elected patriarch of Constantinople as Joseph I (1266–75 and 1282–83). On at least one occasion this patriarch benefited his old monastery by abolishing the independent constitution of the monastery of Christ-Who-Is, regulated by the author of (36) *Blemmydes* (for which see below, Chapter Seven), and annexing that monastery to Galesios as a dependency (*metochion*).¹⁷ After Joseph's deposition in 1275 for refusing to support the church reunification policies of Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–82), Galesiote monks were prominent among the emperor's opponents.¹⁸ Upon Joseph I's return to office in 1282 after Michael VIII's death, the Galesiote monk Galaktion took the lead in purifying the Constantinopolitan cathedral church of Hagia Sophia. Joseph I's successor Gregory II Kyprios (1283–89) was interested enough in Galesios to compose a hagiographic *Life* of Lazarus, which, however, is not an independent historical witness, but rather a reworking of Gregory the Galesiote's eleventh-century *Life*.¹⁹ A letter of this patriarch mentions the monastery and shows its monks in a dispute with the local metropolitan of Ephesos, John Cheilas, just like their respective predecessors in the eleventh century.²⁰ The future patriarch Athanasios I (1289–93 and 1303–9), author of (55) *Athanasios I* (for which see below, Chapter Nine), spent some ten years at the Galesios monastery, where he was ordained a priest and made good use of what he considered to be an excellent library.²¹ Some manuscripts from this library are still preserved.²²

E. Administrative Union with the Anastasis Monastery

As the Turks consolidated their control around Ephesos towards the end of the thirteenth century, the Byzantine authorities sought to save what they could of the important monastic foundations in that area. In a preserved chrysobull dating from the early years of his reign, Emperor Andronikos II (1282–1328) Palaiologos chose to unify Galesios with the church of the Resurrection (*Anastasis*) then being restored by George Akropolites.²³ Later George's son Constantine would write (46) *Akropolites* for that foundation (see below, Chapter Eight). It was likely also at this time that the head of St. Lazarus of Galesios was brought to Constantinople, as commemorated on October 25.²⁴ The imperial chrysobull does not explicitly refer to the destruction of the old monastery of Galesios but it is likely, based on the evidence from notes in some contemporary manuscripts, that this did occur and that the surviving monks were then relocated to the capital.²⁵

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Analysis

This composite “document” is surely the most unconventional one in our collection. Like (5) *Euthymios* and (7) *Latros*, what we know of Lazarus’ *Testament* (*diatyposis*) is encapsulated [246] as part of a much longer hagiographic *Life*. The author Gregory was a cellarer (*kellarites*) in Lazarus’ foundation who wrote during the superiorship of Ignatios, Lazarus’ brother and successor, while a good many of the founder’s associates were still living.

In addition to supplying [246] a summary of the contents of the lost *Testament*, Gregory’s *Life* also provides unique details on the process of the creation of a testamentary *typikon*, illustrating the role of both oral tradition and the spiritual director’s jurisprudential teaching in determining the rules for the life of this foundation. The exceptional interest of the *Life* in this case seemed to us to justify a translation not only of Gregory’s brief summary of the *Testament* but also of the excerpts which shed light on the circumstances of its composition and on various customs of the foundation that once may have been included in it. Janin (*Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 245, n. 5) believed that other provisions of the lost *Testament* were to be found disseminated throughout the narrative of the *Life* in the form of Lazarus’ responses to various inquiries by his monks.

Unlike most *typika*, which present idealized, normative views of their communities, this highly conjectural and only partially reconstructed document affords an unusually frank, unvarnished perspective on the disciplinary problems of a traditional private religious foundation on the eve of the monastic reform of the late eleventh century.

A. Contents of the Lost Testament

According to Gregory’s summary [246] of the “essential points” of the lost rule, the *Testament* included standard features such as a founder’s biography, an inventory of landed properties, administrative prescriptions, limits on the number of brothers, instructions for the election of the superior and appointment of a financial steward, regulations for diet and clothing, and provisions for church services as well as “boilerplate” provisions such as a curse on transgressors (cf. (8) *John Xenos* [2]). The provision [246] that the monastery’s dependents not be “reduced to hardship” is an ambiguous confirmation that Lazarus’ monks had abandoned Studite aspirations to economic self-sufficiency and now relied on the labor of others to support their lives of prayer.

It also is worth mentioning here that towards the end of the last century, Manuel Gedeon believed that he had located the liturgical *typikon* of the Galesios foundation in a thirteenth-century manuscript originally copied at the Resurrection monastery on Mount Galesios that is now in the library of the Lavra monastery on Mount Athos.²⁶ Though Papadopoulos-Kerameus rejected this attribution, considering Gedeon’s document to be only a copy of a common Palestinian liturgical *typikon* that just happened to be copied at Galesios, a review of the evidence may show that Gedeon was correct.

B. Lives of the Monks

Gregory’s *Life* enables us to fill in this bare outline of his summary with some details on the lives of the monks at Lazarus’ foundation. It amply demonstrates lax disciplinary standards common to monks at this time, particularly with respect to their possession of private property. Although he exhorted postulants to give away their personal possessions upon entrance [192], some kept a

portion of their private fortunes, while others surrendered their assets but “compelled the father to rule that certain comforts be supplied them by the monastery . . . [and] in this way introduced more than a few scandals into the monastery and drew others to their ways.” Lazarus was forced to bargain with prospective monks in exchange for their financial contributions to the monastery. Monks were also permitted [191] to retain private wealth gained after admission and to own [138] their own icons (with votive lamps) for personal veneration in their cells.

There is other evidence of the unpopularity of cenobiticism such as the monks who refused to take common meals [147] and other monks who insisted on leaving the community to pursue the solitary life [189], cf. [141]. Moreover, in what would become a common feature of later Byzantine monasteries, even in the era of the monastic reform, the community was divided [182] into literate members of the choir and the illiterate brothers who could not sing (and who presumably worked at manual labors).

Some of his monks were troubled by the obvious inequality of resources and the prevailing hierarchy of rank among the members of their community, yet Lazarus himself considered [130] the contemporary hierarchy of monastic habits—martyrs, apostles, and angels—a regrettable but ineradicable innovation. Although his instincts were reformist, his policies were almost invariably accommodationist. Faced with cohabiting monks who had fathered children [129], Lazarus preferred occasional lapses from celibacy to concubinage. He recommended spiritual exercises for conquering homoerotic longings [196] for young people in the vicinity of the monastery. Unable to reform his own foundation, Lazarus espoused a bolder philosophy [187] for patrons who asked for rules for their own monasteries, specifically, “not to differ in food, clothing, or any other necessities for the body in order to preserve, through equality in these matters, the rule of submission unshaken and unhurt.”

C. Constitutional Matters

According to his biographer Gregory, Lazarus had been able to enforce [191] the traditional ban on the ownership of private property at his two earlier monasteries, those dedicated to the Savior and the Mother of God, but not at the Monastery of the Resurrection, since “some of those who have been tonsured in the monastery have brought money with them from the world, and would absolutely not give it up, because they could not be satisfied with what the monastery provides,” perhaps a reference to the personal endowments known as *prosenexeis* brought to monasteries by monks of aristocratic origin.²⁷ This suggests that the monasteries of the Savior and the Mother of God were organized cenobitically, perhaps on the model of older Studite monasteries, while the Resurrection must have been a mixed community in which some monks lived separately on their private resources or incomes, coming together with the cenobitic members of the community only for certain special purposes.

Clearly, Theodore the Studite’s charismatic, authoritarian model of monastic governance was neither practical nor dispositionally suited for Lazarus, who ruled his monasteries from atop various columns for many decades.²⁸ Taking advantage of Lazarus’ accommodationist disposition, many of his monks showed their traditional partiality for solitary forms of monasticism in preference to the cenobitic form promoted earlier by Stoudios, while still other monks of a different temperament began to show their disgust with the disciplinary lapses and financial compro-

mises that were endemic in non-cenobitic monasticism. The contemporary Athonite *typikon*, (15) *Constantine IX*, demonstrates the latter phenomenon even more clearly in its record of hostility to the numerous secular interpenetrations of monasticism by manifestations of aristocratic privilege.

Lazarus was anxious to protect his foundation from harm at the hands of representatives of the metropolitan of Ephesos [141], cf. [247]. The threat of dissolution or, perhaps more realistically, of the foundation's forcible participation in the *charistike*, gave urgency to the composition of his testamentary *typikon*, which Lazarus signed (if indeed he did at all) only on his deathbed [250]. The imperial monastery of Bessai that was associated with Lazarus' personally administered monasteries was already "independent," and thus thought to be immune from any attempt to usurp control over it by the local hierarchy.²⁹ Just before Lazarus' death, a deputation was sent [223] to Constantinople to obtain confirmation of the foundation's independence from Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos and Patriarch Michael Keroullarios (1043–58). The long-term effectiveness of these precautions against the *charistike* cannot be determined in default of evidence about the foundation's history during the crucial period of the last half of the eleventh century when the threat posed to private and independent religious institutions from that notorious management program was at its peak.

Notes on the Introduction

1. For dating, see [246], with Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 245, and Malamut, "Bessai," p. 244.
2. Halkin, *BHG* 979; for the *Vita S. Lazari*, see Delehaye, *Acta*, pp. 502–8, and *Stylites*, pp. cvi–cxvi; Kazhdan, "Lazaros," p. 1198.
3. For the traditional dating, see *Vita*, chap. 254, ed. Delehaye, *Acta*, p. 588; Delehaye, *Stylites*, p. cxv; Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 242, cf. 246, n. 6; Stiernon, "Lazare," col. 110.
4. Ms. Moscow, Hist. Mus. 369/353, fol. 220, for which see Kazhdan, "Ideals," p. 476, n. 16, and "Lazaros," p. 1198.
5. For Lazarus' career in the Holy Land, see *Vita*, chaps. 14–30, ed. Delehaye, *Acta*, pp. 513–19; Delehaye, *Stylites*, p. cix; Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 242, with n. 6; Stiernon, "Lazare," col. 110. The precise chronology is uncertain.
6. For Lazarus' tenure at St. Marina, see *Vita*, chaps. 31–53, ed. Delehaye, *Acta*, pp. 519–26; Delehaye, *Stylites*, pp. cx, cxv; Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 242–43; Malamut, "Bessai," p. 246; Stiernon, "Lazare," col. 110. Once again, the chronology is uncertain.
7. For the *Soter* monastery, see *Vita*, chaps. 53–57, ed. Delehaye, *Acta*, pp. 526–27; Delehaye, *Stylites*, pp. cx–cxi; Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 243.
8. For the *Theotokos* monastery, see *Vita*, chap. 43, ed. Delehaye, *Acta*; Delehaye, *Stylites*, p. cxi; Janin, *Géographie* vol. 2, pp. 243–44.
9. For the *Anastasis* monastery, see *Vita*, chaps. 110–11, 162, 246, ed. Delehaye, *Acta*, pp. 541–42, 557, 585; Delehaye, *Stylites*, pp. cxi–cxii; Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 242.
10. For the Bessai monastery, see *Vita*, chaps. 202, 216, 218, 238–39, 245–47, ed. Delehaye, *Acta*, pp. 570–71, 574–75, 582, 584–86; Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 244–45; and especially Malamut, "Bessai," pp. 246–48.
11. So Malamut, "Bessai," p. 247; for this church, see *Vita*, chaps. 245 and 247, ed. Delehaye, *Acta*, pp. 584–86, and Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 244–45; for Romanos Skleros' visit, see *Vita*, chap. 87, p. 536.
12. For the nunnery of Eupraxia, see *Vita*, chaps. 164 and 201, ed. Delehaye, *Acta*, pp. 558, 570, with Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 245.
13. See Lazarus' brother Ignatios, steward of the *proasteion* of Philippikos, *Vita*, chap. 221, ed. Delehaye,

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- Acta*, p. 575, Cyril, steward of the *proasteion* of Pentakrene, *Vita*, chap. 244, p. 584; *Vita*, chap. 221 also mentions another dependency, Kampsai; see discussion in Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 246, n. 1.
14. *Vita*, chap. 246, ed. Delehay, *Acta*, p. 585.
 15. *Vita* chaps. 252–54, ed. Delehay, *Acta*, pp. 587–88; Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 246–47.
 16. For the later history of Galesios, see especially Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 247–50.
 17. For Joseph's election, see Pachymeres, 4.2, ed. A. Failler, *Georges Pachymérés, Relations Historiques*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1984), pp. 333–35; cf. Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, 4.8, ed. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, *CSHB*, vol. 1, p. 107; for the annexation of Nikephoros Blemmydes' monastery, see Pachymeres, *De Michaele Palaeologo*, 5.2, *CSHB*, vol. 1, p. 342.
 18. See Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 248, with sources in nn. 3, 4, 5.
 19. Halkin, *BHG* 980; for this *Vita*, see Delehay, *Stylites*, p. cviii; Stiernon, "Lazare," col. 110.
 20. Laurent, *Regestes*, vol. 1, pt. 4, no. 1500 (ca. 1286–87).
 21. Theoktistos the Studite, *Vita s. Athanasii*, chap. 6, ed. Hippolyte Delehay, "La vie d' Athanase patriarche de Constantinople," *MAH* 17 (1897), 39–75, at p. 51.
 22. For details, see Volk, "Klosterbibliotheken," pp. 150–58, with assessment by Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 249.
 23. Franz Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, vol. 1 (Munich-Berlin, 1924–32), no. 2085, ed. MM 5.264–67; see discussion by Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 249.
 24. For this *translatio*, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 247.
 25. See Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 249, 250.
 26. Ms. Lavra lambda 99; see discussion in Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 246.
 27. For *prosenexeis*, see (22) *Evergetis* [37] and related documents in the Evergetian tradition, with Emil Herman, "Die Regelung der Armut in den byzantinischen Klöstern," *OCF* 7 (1941), 406–60, esp. 439–42.
 28. For a different view, see Kazhdan, "Ideals," p. 476: "Lazaros . . . administered with an iron hand the monasteries built around his column."
 29. See *Vita*, chap. 245, ed. Delehay, *Acta*, p. 584.

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Translation

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128. . . . The brothers would often discuss with each other points arising, whether from the Holy Scriptures or from the things that happened to themselves, sorrows, insults and all the other things that men consider and call ills, or again, concerning the differences between the sin and the sinner, and when they questioned the father about these things, he would give them the shrewdest and most admirable interpretations and solutions, such as the one about to be related, and others no less remarkable.

129. A brother asked the father about monks who fall into the sin of fornication. "[There are] those who fall again and again [indiscriminately], regularly trying to repent [and reform], but because of the grip of habit, falling back into their old ways. Then there are those who fall once for all, sticking to one same person in their error. Which was the best?" he asked. The father replied: "Neither is right, neither is blameless, and if they fail to repent and right their ways, they are certainly [both] guilty and liable to punishment. However, as I see it, he who falls indiscriminately is more likely to turn and repent than a man who has settled [his affection] on one person, and wants the situation to continue. A man who has attached himself in this way to one [p. 547] person, particularly if, furthermore, he has children by her, will hardly repent, unless an exceptional mercy of God—he who makes a way where no way is—through some special dispensation, set his affairs right. But the indiscriminate sinner, pricked by his own conscience, jeered at each time and insulted by men, may yet repent and change his ways." Such the question, such the answer given by the father.

130. Some of the brothers once questioned him about the monastic habit.¹ "Seeing there was only one," they asked, "how had the custom arisen making three out of it?" To this question also he replied: "The habit" he said "is indeed one, even if some people have attributed two classes to it.² As for our contemporary trick of dividing it into three classes, this was first established because of the slackness and impotence of the present generation, yet not altogether vainly and irrationally. This too is a type that mirrors something greater and higher. For this division seems, in a way, to represent the array of the three following orders, martyrs, that is, apostles and angels. He who applies himself to observing the rule of the first order is enrolled with the choir of the martyrs, he who [observes the rule] of the second with those of the apostles, the third with those of the angels. This is clear from the names themselves, since we regularly talk of the angelic, of the apostolic habit, and of the garment of submission, which goes to show. So much for the habit."

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135. This too deserves mention. The brothers disagreed once over the service, some saying the *theotokion* should be sung along with the *troparia* of [every] feast day, while the others would not agree to this. They went to the father, asking what they should do. He [replied]: “Yes, indeed, it is appropriate to sing the *theotokion* on every occasion. Just as in all seasoning salt plays the most important part, so in all Christian singing of praise, praise of God’s mother is most appropriate and most necessary. If you like, I will give [the brothers] a suitable talk to accompany what I am saying.”

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138. But let the narrative proceed. Laurentios—who is now a stylite—was standing with me, once, in front of the father’s column, and put some questions to him, about lamps in church and in the cells. The father answered: “The church represents the type of heaven, and the lights in it represent the stars. But as for those in the cells, at any rate so it seems to me, he who has in his heart the light that is apprehended by the mind does not need the light apprehended by the senses. If one [of you] wishes to sing something he does not know by heart, or if he has something to read, he may light his lamp, finish his office or whatever he has to read, and then put it out. For if a monk has a lamp burning in his cell while he sleeps he shall be reckoned as dead to God. If anyone owns an icon, let him take it to the church; for himself, let him erect a wooden cross facing him, and so say his prayers. When he goes to church, let him embrace the holy images.” All this the father said, not legislating, so to speak, or laying down a rule that no one should have an icon in his cell, but urging [us to embrace] poverty, and securing thereby those he won over against distraction.

139. The brothers of the monastery once denounced John Smyrnaios to the father, [saying] he leaned on a staff when standing in church. When the father questioned him, he answered: “As you know, father, I am weak and not able to stand like the rest of the brothers. It is so as not to leave the church, go to my cell and lie down in slackness and sleep that I have taken to this.” Then the father to him: “Since this is your condition, from now on prop yourself on two staffs if you like; only do not leave the church on that account.”³

140. On one occasion, on some major saint’s day, the brothers, standing, according to custom, before the column, said to the father: “Give us a treat,⁴ father, [in honor of] the saint whose memory we are celebrating, and send and buy us some fish.” Then the father said to them: “It was not through luxury and ease that he became a saint, but through fasting and much striving. We too, if we wish to celebrate the holy days of the saints as God approves and in a manner pleasing to the saints themselves, must imitate their life to the best of our ability.” One of the brothers, by name Pachomios, rejoined: “As Christ said to the apostles, the wedding guests cannot fast so long as the bridegroom is with them, but the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then they will fast” (Matt. 9:15). The brother’s aim in saying this did not escape the father. Turning his face away and not looking at the brother who had spoken, but averting his eyes, he said: “The case of Christ and his disciples is as you say. But as for me, I trust in Christ my God that after my death you will receive [all that you need] and lack nothing.”

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141. This the father said, not on this occasion only, but frequently. But on this point the brothers heard him without enthusiasm. They did not expect the monastery to survive after his death, for emissaries from the metropolis⁵ were daily badgering us to withdraw from the mountain. As a result, most of the brothers, some privately and individually, others openly and in front of all, begged him to consent to their leaving after his death. To some he gave his consent, but others, on the contrary, he bound by his impending departure itself to stay. When some said to him whoever took his place as superior of the monastery would not be capable of the same spiritual discernment towards those under him, nor of taking upon himself adequately the weaknesses of all, and of seeing to their spiritual and material needs in a suitable manner, he answered and said to them: "I know that it is impossible that the monastery should not have, after my death, a superior who, with help from above, will take your material needs satisfactorily in hand, and to him you will be obedient in everything, as is proper, having the same faith in him as you now confess for myself. As for spiritual questions⁶ the superior, it is true, will not always be here, but, by the grace of God, you have elders. The experience of many years has given them a sure knowledge of the spiritual way. Take them as guides. Lay bare to them the workings of your soul. Whatever you do, do it after inquiring of them and with their approval, and I know that you will not stray from the straight way. If, as you hint, they should drive any one of you from the monastery, let the expelled man remain outside, before the gates, for seven days. If during those seven days they neither bring him food or drink from the monastery nor are willing to admit him, then let him remove himself and to where he wishes, for this man's [right] will be allowed both by God and by me."

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144. Someone came up by night once, stole from the monastery stable one of the monastery horses with the very pack on its back and made off. On being informed next morning the father sent out some of the brothers to investigate. They set forth, inquired everywhere, and returned without having discovered anything. On which account, they banded together with the other brothers. All went together to the father and pestered him to have a wall built around the monastery and control going out and coming in with lock and key.⁷ "For" said they "the same thing has happened to us on numerous other occasions." But the father would hear none of it, saying to them: "St. Sabas tried to do the same thing in his lavra, and had already got some way with the building, but he was stopped by God's mother, who appeared to him saying: 'If you wish to have me as guardian of your lavra, leave it as it was before. If [you prefer] the wall, have your way and build it.'⁸ He dropped the building on the spot, entrusting to God's mother and no one else the guard of his lavra; and to this day it stands. Therefore, neither shall we, if our hope and trust are firm in Christ Jesus and in her who bore him, his all-holy mother, depend on walls and enclosures for safety." While he said this to those who were pestering him about the wall before dismissing them, at the same time, seeing St. George's day was at hand and some of the brothers were preparing to go, as was their custom, to the monastery's dependency at Mathaia and to the church there of the said great martyr, the father said to them: "Say to St. George: Unless the horse is found tomorrow, in the monastery, from now on I shall no more celebrate your feast." With these words, and having blessed the brothers, he dismissed them. The next day, the monastery's lost horse, with its pack, was found grazing on the foothills of the mountains and moving towards the monastery. The monk

who had found it caught it and led it in. Seeing this the father said, “Well, St. George has lost no time in giving us back our horse.”

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147. On a solemn holiday, once, some of the brothers did not, as is the custom, join the others at the common table, but ate in their own cells. Learning about this after the brothers had left the table, the father summoned them and, from the top of the column, addressed them cheering their souls with his sweet, mellifluous words—for this was always the father’s way, unless it was impossible—and besides his other exhortations, this too was wafted down for all to hear: “If anyone fail, on feast days, to join the other brothers at table, he is under a curse.”

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150. Some of the brothers pressed the father to give a ruling concerning the strangers who daily turned up at the monastery, to the effect that they stay for three days only and then leave—for his wish was that, however long anyone might wish to stay in the monastery, stay he should and be pushed out by none—they pestered him likewise about [visiting] monks, vagrants in particular, [asking] that they should not eat at the [monks’] table, but in the hospice.⁹ They had asked this a number of times, and insisted, without being able to persuade him, when, all at once, seizing, as they thought, on a good pretext, they approached him and said: “There is trouble over the strangers. The guestmaster does not look after them, either in their service or elsewhere. He takes the legumes from the cellarer for cleaning, and gives them to them. They take them, pick out all that is sound and eat them, leaving whatever is rotten for us. Since you will neither listen to us nor follow the rule of other monasteries, at least listen to Christ himself when he says it is not fair to take the children’s bread and throw it to the dogs (Matt. 15:26) and [p. 553] make it a rule that they should stay three days and then leave.” When they had said this, the father, pretending to be angry with the guestmaster, sent for him. When he had him fetched: “Is this” says he “how you look after the stranger brothers? You furnish them properly neither with water nor with proper service. Are you unaware that the good care or contempt you mete out to strangers reverts to Christ? Be assured that if, from now on, I learn that a stranger has been grieved by you, you are going to grieve, in no uncertain manner. However, as my fathers insist, let them spend three days [here] and then leave. But it is my wish the monks should share their table. Even if they are poor and vagrants, yet because of the habit they are our brothers, and it is not fitting they should eat with laymen in the hospice.”¹⁰ When the father had spoken the guestmaster bowed deeply and asked forgiveness, and having received it, went away to his work.

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180. I have related all these incidents concerning our fathers and brothers, as I said at the beginning of my narrative, so that “the tree be known by its fruit” (Matt. 12:33) and the master by his disciples. For indeed, looking to his mode of life as to a pattern and picture, or rather, guided and governed by him, they progressed in every virtue.¹¹ A holy emulation was to be seen among them, as, through their ascetic labors, they sped with eager foot along the “narrow and hard way” (Matt. 7:14), striving along it to reach the broad space of eternal felicity. For they were obedient, as has been said, to his godly counsels and instructions, and followed them without swerving, and therefore bore easily the hardships of the ascetic ring. To all those who came to him and chose to make

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their abode with him, he taught one thing above all else, making it the preliminary foundation and a favorable starting point for progress and amelioration: that they do not hide their thoughts from him, neither having nor doing anything without his approval, following their own wishes; that they do nothing beyond what is enjoined on them, neither undertaking efforts above their strength, nor binding themselves, in accordance with their own whims, to fasts or vigils or anything else outside the rule of the monastery.¹² “Carry out with all zeal the rule of the monastery, in the church, at table and in everything else; accept thankfully what is given; leave, each of us, the church or the table in silence, our mind full of praise, and go straight to our cell, not clustering together [p. 563] to spend time in idle talk, not sitting drinking and eating together, not leaving our cells out of *akedia*, and going to the cells of others—unless it should be necessary—but rather remaining steadfastly in our own cell. Lest” he would say “leaving our own cells and going off to those of others, we should see or hear or say things we would rather not. For this is what leads to words, in this way we come to judge our brothers and abuse them, till the blinded soul loses her way and strays from the right goal. We give up looking at ourselves to gossip about the faults of others, unable to stop ourselves or recognize our own weakness, we begin bandying insults and quarreling and daily provoking scandals with the brothers.” Such were his daily lessons, spoken privately to particular individuals or addressed to all, and he would add this last word: “Anyone who observes all this with all the might that is in him, and receives gratefully what the monastery supplies at table and for his other needs, and is satisfied with that, I am confident in my Christ that he will have a place beside Antony and the other inspired fathers.”

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182. To those who questioned him about places in church, he replied by saying: “Those who know the Scriptures and stand in the choir to sing are like the reapers in the field, while the ignorant, who cannot read and do not know how to sing, and for that reason stand behind the singers, listening to the chant, are like those who follow behind the reapers and pick up the ears that fall or are overlooked. The reapers,” says he, “frequently collect tares in their fistfuls of wheat, while those who follow pick up nothing but wheat. For it is through those who stand and sing in the choir that the service of the church is celebrated, yet, because sometimes they attend to what they are singing, but at others raise their voice at the wrong moment because they are not paying attention to what they are singing—for this I compared to tares—they do not perform [the service] quite without introducing impurities and stains. While the illiterate, if they stand soberly and attend to what those in the choir are singing—for the accidents referred to do not trouble them, unless they fall asleep because of indifference—even if they do not recognize everything [they hear], yet all they do manage to grasp they hold safe in their mind.” In this way he humbled the pride of the former while strengthening the resolution of the latter to stand patiently and soberly in church.¹³

He further ordered that to those who did not arrive for the service at the beginning of the matins, the cellarer should not supply the portion of wine allotted to them, or even, sometimes, food. Conversely, those he saw eager and persevering in church, standing and singing, he would often praise in the presence of the brothers and favor them, besides which he would on occasion do the opposite for the slackers and the sluggish. He did not do this purposelessly, as you might think, but in order to increase the zeal of the former—for he knew that praise often increases the

zeal of those who are striving for virtue, and also the contrary—and to rouse the others from their laziness and slackness.

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184. To those who questioned him about slackness over hours, he said: “If any monk, except from compelling necessity or some other [overriding] circumstance, takes food before singing his hours, God will reckon it as if he has skinned seven dead donkeys and eaten with unwashed hands.”¹⁴ When some of them asked whether penalties would be exacted for this by God, “Yes,” said he, “unless they confess, for whoever makes a full confession, and receives absolution from him who has received his confession, may be confident that he receives it from God too, so long as he does not fall again into the same faults.” All this the father said to all in general.

185. But for those whose days were absorbed by their offices he framed his exhortations differently, admonishing and instructing them, before all else, to carry out the office entrusted to them honestly and with a will.¹⁵ Next to that he exhorted them “not to disregard hours and other liturgies, but whenever they had a respite to go to the church, in particular for matins, for the holy Eucharist, as well as for the office of lamplighting also of course. But if they have not a break, they should ever have the *trisagion* on their tongue and in their mouth, and if the beginning of any psalm comes into their mind, let them hum it softly with their lips. If they cannot manage even this, at least let them not dispense with mental prayer; and if, during the night a favorable moment should occur, let them rise straight and pay the daytime’s debt, attentive not only to psalm-singing, but to confession with hot tears. For this,” he was in the habit of saying, “is of more use to those in office than chanting.” This was what he frequently practiced himself, for whenever he was distracted by numerous cares throughout the day, so that he could not offer up thoroughly the service he had fixed himself by rule, he used the night to make good the day’s obligations, in particular that of tears, so that during the vigils, while the brothers sang the *polyeleos*, he wept and lamented without interruption.

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187. To outsiders who came to him for his blessing and asking to be given rules and canons for the founding of a monastery where they might collect a brotherhood and lead the spiritual life, this was his exhortation, in everything to display the rule in their own persons to their flock, and not to differ [from them] in food, clothing, or any other necessities for the body in order to preserve, through equality in these matters, the rule of submission unshaken and unhurt. “For through inequality,” says he, “the rule of submission habitually suffers.”¹⁶ He would also warn them not to prefer the more able [brothers] because they were energetic in their offices, and despise the weaker as useless, nor, on the contrary, as sometimes happens, stoop [to the level of] the weaker brothers, and not demand of them all the rigor the monastery requires. So, with these exhortations and suggestions and many more, he dismissed them with his customary blessing; and they, acting on these instructions given them by our holy father, as they put them into practice discovered their value, and by the grace of God stand fast to this day, leading a virtuous life.

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189. When brothers wished to follow the solitary life in preference to that of submission, he would

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refuse permission to some while with others he took the opposite course, for, through discernment and much experience, or rather, to speak nearer the truth, in everything he did initiated by the Holy Spirit, he knew exactly in what sphere each one would succeed. That is why numbers who rejected his words and persisted in following their own will realized too late that even their good works performed out of obstinacy had turned, for them, to the opposite.

190. Then there were also the brothers assigned to services away from the monastery. If one of them happened to fall into some fault, and word came to his ears, he did not allow the brother to spend any more time there, but immediately recalled him and sent another. This he did for fear habituation should [make the culprit's fault] [p. 566] totally incurable,¹⁷ as usually happens with long custom.

191. He used to advise and urge all those who practiced a handicraft to pay the profits of their work into the common fund of the brotherhood, and if anyone, from poor health or any other reason, wished to spend part of it on his private needs, if it was one of those who served in church, he first offered to supply the [brother's] needs himself. If he saw that the brother was not content with this, he allowed that he should satisfy his own need from his own work, but in consultation with himself. If he saw him opposed to this too, he left him to follow his own will and do as he liked.

If, however, it was one of those who could not read, he would in no circumstances give permission, unless it was the holder of some office and he had done the work in his moments of leisure. For he said that the church [brothers] have a job to do, service in the church, and something should be allowed them, especially as they received nothing more than was supplied at table. "Whereas you," says he, "who cannot read, there is not the same reason for allowing you anything, since you play no active part in the church, and for the services entrusted to you, you get a little compensation." For his instructions to the cellarer were to supply a little more food and drink to those who had services than to the others. These, however, were the father's rules before moving up to the Holy Resurrection, since at the Savior's and at the Mother of God's [monasteries] it was not like this, but everything belonged to all in common, and no one had any private property in his cell. This would be the rule to this day, but that some of those who have been tonsured in the monastery brought money with them from the world, and would absolutely not give it up, because they could not be satisfied with what the monastery provides.

192. For indeed our holy father exhorted alike all those who came to him, advising them, above all, according to the word of the Lord, to distribute all [they had] and divest themselves of it, and so enter the life of the Cross (cf. Luke 9:23).¹⁸ Some obeyed, and approached the monastic life in this spirit, either distributing [their goods] to the poor or making an offering of them to the father and the monastery. For indeed, if anyone who was giving up the world brought an offering, he accepted it, but certainly did not himself press any to do so, nor ask any gift for the monastery; but anything anyone offered spontaneously, of his own initiative, that he did not reject.¹⁹ Some, however, acting with more "wisdom," supposedly, decided to keep for themselves a part of their money. But they spent it to no good end, and neither their keeping nor their spending of it were well-advised. Others, again, decided to surrender all, but, because they compelled the father to rule that certain comforts be supplied them by the monastery, they too, without realizing it, missed the true

goal. For in this way they introduced no few scandals into the monastery, and drew the others to their ways, for vice excites more envy than virtue, and men find it easier to share the former than the latter.

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196. If [a brother], seeing [the father's] mode of life, was in a hurry to emulate it and imitate it to the best of his ability, or troubled by the affections of the flesh, wished to cope by a rather harsher regimen than that of the monastery, and went to the father to beg permission, he would put him on his guard, and say: "Take a good look, brother, at what you are undertaking; perhaps you will be unable to carry it through. For many have started off and, unable to complete that which they had begun, gone backwards [instead of forwards], losing [the benefit of] their self-willed and premature achievement twice over, because they were not content with what the monastery offered them.²⁰ But those who proceed by the rule of the monastery, treading untroubled the 'royal road' the fathers prescribed,²¹ advancing with discretion and not singularity, do not stumble, for they have not stirred up against themselves the ingenious and multiform malice of the demons, because they proceed in simplicity. For a monk," says he, "must care more for the soul's simplicity and innocence than for physical asceticism. He must shun the company and conversation of the many, in particular the young, being young himself. The enemy has delivered many to perdition this way. That which began as a so-called spiritual friendship, by his contriving has ended in fleshly perdition, so that in them are fulfilled the words of the Apostle: 'Having begun with the spirit, are you now ending with the flesh?' (Gal. 3:3) For this reason, [a brother] not only ought not to frequent these [young persons], he must even, if he can, make his eyes understand they should not gaze fearlessly on such faces, for fear the sower of evil take occasion to implant some wicked thought in his heart. Let him rather keep his eyes lowered and his thoughts to himself, and if ever any such thought spring or stir in his heart, straightaway let him fix his mind on God, and, by straining towards him, refuse from the outset to entertain the pleasant idea of mutual feeling, and at the same time let his tongue sing thus and invoke [God]: 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, help me;' 'They have now cast me out and compassed me round about' (Ps. 16 [17]: 11), '[Thou art] my joy; deliver me from them that have compassed me!' (Ps. 31 [32]: 7), 'Draw nigh, O God, to my help' (Ps. 69 [70]: 1), 'Judge them, O Lord, them that injure me' (Ps. 34 [35]: 1). If, when he has prayed in this way, the sinful thought is laid, thanks be to God; but if the obsession and the compulsion are still there, here is an ingenious counter-scheme for scheming against [the Devil's] manifold ingenuity for evil, and escaping the damage that would be incurred by giving in to this thought. Just as it is preferable, they say, when faced with two evils to choose the lesser, so here, diverting one's thoughts to a different [sin] may serve—love of gold or love of praise, or some other such preoccupation. By favoring it and giving it rein, play your mind a little trick and shake off the violent onslaught and assault of the other.

"Yet [the real solution is], rising at dawn, to strive to offer to God the first-fruits and first movements of the mind [in order to] sow the wheat before the enemy can mix his tares with the seed, spending the whole day in physical labor, with a humble mind, to be able to say with the inspired David: 'Look upon my affliction and my trouble, and forgive me all my sins' (Ps. 24 [25]: 18). In the evening, making exact confession of the faults into which he has fallen throughout the day, and, when he lies down on his bed, not letting his mind be lured away through wicked ideas

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into unseemly and improper imaginings, but through attentive study of the divine pronouncements checking and collecting himself, and binding himself with the recollection of death, and so sleep.

“Let him have a guard on his thoughts secretly at work, and continuously converse with it, to avoid his wandering thoughts being carried away by emotions. Let him not look for the faults of others, judge, envy, backbite, or listen with pleasure to others backbiting. Let him not return evil for evil, if anyone should wrong him unintentionally, but bear everything magnanimously, willingly forgiving and forgetting any wrong done to him, that he, in return, may be able boldly to say to God: ‘Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us’ (Matt. 6:12).

“He must take care, too, and guard against wounding the conscience of a brother by his assumed spiritual attitudes and practices. He must not be led astray for the sake of filling his stomach, but every day eat as having, once and for all, adopted the rule of the monastery: not [to eat] to satiety; on the contrary, to stop [eating] before the stomach is satisfied. For this was the judgment of the fathers.²² They ruled that, rather than fasting two or three days and then eating one’s fill, it was better to eat every day, but only a little. As for clothes, always the more modest.

“Quite simply, he who truly wishes to be saved should always pursue those things that conduce to humility, simplicity, and innocence, and shun everything that exalts and has a vain name. He who does this and acts in this way, putting all his hope in God and trusting in him as helper and as supplier of all good things, and not in his own efforts and asceticism, easily gets the better of his passions.”

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223. A little while before the father’s death, I went up to him, and he said to me: “I wish, if it is possible, you would not let the brothers come up to me, but stop them. I cannot, in the grip of this sickness, answer each one of them.” When I said: “But the brothers are afraid, father, that you will die suddenly and leave the monastery high and dry, without having either made a will or given any other instructions for the two monasteries,”²³ the father answered: “They have no cause for fear on that score; there will be a rule, and the emperor and the patriarch are going to see it.”²⁴ He said the same to the monk Laurentios, the stylite: “After my demise, you will see the rule, [sealed] with an imperial bull.” And behold, just as our holy father foretold to myself and to the monk Laurentios, so we have it now, sealed with an imperial bull, and the emperor and patriarch saw it and took it in their hands. If there was some trickery and the second took the place of the first born, nonetheless, on that occasion he who was blessed was blessed as first born (cf. Gen. 25:29–34), and in this matter too our holy father’s words were not given the lie.

The brothers went up to the city [of Constantinople], saw the emperor, [and] settled everything satisfactorily.²⁵ For they found the emperor ready to accede to everything, even if earlier he had been irritated against them, because of what the father had written him and sent by the monk Kosmas,²⁶ blaming his unjust and unreasonable acts. . . .²⁷

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246. When the brothers sent by the father, both to the city and elsewhere, returned to the monastery, as the father had instructed them, as already mentioned, he fell straightaway into the sickness that removed him from this life. Eight days before his death he sent for Nicholas, the aforemen-

tioned scribe, and told him to write out a rule for him. So the brother questioned him and was told all the points he was to note in the rule, went off, wrote it out and brought it back to him. When he had read it out to him, the father was content and said it was good.

But at this point I too must note briefly the essential points of what the father had him write. So it included how the father had left his own country and gone to the Holy Land, and, returning again thanks to God's providence, reached this mountain, ascended it and built the three monasteries on it, gathered monks in them and, up to that date, continued to govern them to the best of his powers. Not only that, but concerning the estates that God sent, [gifts] from such as love Christ, that they should be given to Bessai—for there he directed that there should be a superior—but administered at Galesios. Forty brothers to be at the Holy Resurrection, twelve at the Savior, and twelve at the Mother of God. From among these the superior is to be elected, in consultation with the brothers and with their approval, a man capable of administering the monastery's affairs well. He is to appoint a steward, and entrust to him the whole care for the brothers on the mountain. He is not to be hindered by the Bessai people, nor meet with obstruction in anything he does. However, once a year, at the end of the month of August, the superior is to carry out a check, and if he finds any surplus from the produce of the estates, it shall be collected and carried to Bessai, but if he finds no surplus he shall not harry [the steward] nor demand anything of him so that this should not be the cause of his reducing those settled here to hardship.

It included too [instructions] for the brothers' daily diet, and not only that, but also for the special fare for feast days. Likewise concerning their clothes, footwear, and other needs, and [the duty] of the steward of the day to supply these unflinching to the brothers. "As I have done," says he, "so far."

Later, questioned by the brothers, he said: "The service of the church is to stay as it is, undisturbed. But for my miserable body, drag it away by one foot, and throw it into the ravine to be food for the beasts of the earth and the birds of the sky."

At the end, as usual when making rules, the brother who wrote it out put in the curse of the three hundred and eighteen inspired fathers, and also the bit about whoever should dare to destabilize or transgress even one syllable of this testament meeting our holy and inspired father Lazarus himself, on the fearful Day of Judgment, ready to arraign him at the tribunal of Christ.²⁸

I have written this concerning the rule of our holy father, not pointlessly, so to speak, but in order that we may be able to discover the truth as if we were inquiring of our holy father himself.

But as the illness that had him in its grip prevented him from coming to the window or by any other means taking hold of the rule and signing it, it remained without signature until the day he died. For neither the man who had written it out and kept it in his possession, nor any other of the brothers could or dared force him to sign it, because all still hoped he would live. For which of us expected to see his death? Even after he died it seemed unbelievable to many, although they saw him lying before their eyes.

247. As some of the brothers were talking about the [p. 586] estates, that they should be administered at Bessai, the father answered: "No, everything that lies inside the ridge dividing the two monasteries is to be administered here.²⁹ As I said before, the superior is empowered to take and remove from here only what he shall find in excess in his yearly check on the steward, and nothing more. As for the Pausolype monastery, it is self-governing and owns the estate of the Eoptine, as

you all well know. God who approved the founding of that monastery, being good, foresaw and provided the means for it to be self-sufficient and self-governing.”

When the brother Kyrillos said: “You have been very generous with our food and comforts in writing the rule. I do not know, I am at a loss to imagine, where we are going to find it all so easily.” The brother said this because of the shortage, even of necessities, and scarcity [of everything] prevailing at that time in the monastery, and because no one expected that after his death it would survive. So, when he said this, the father answered: “I trust in my Christ that if you do as I have instructed you, everything will be yours in abundance.” Questioned about a superior, he answered: “Whoever God wills, do you appoint.”³⁰ So much for these matters.

[p. 587]

250. That was the state the brothers were in, when the father slowly half-opened his eyes and looked at them. On seeing this, the brothers began one after another to call out in a loud voice: “Absolve us, father.” On hearing this cry from them, the father, raising his right hand a little, and with a matching movement of his lips, gave each one absolution. When they also brought the rule for him to sign, as he was incapable of taking it in his hands and signing, brother Kyrillos—for he too was inside the column—putting the pen in the father’s hand and guiding the slight movement the father imparted to it, signed.³¹

He remained thus till the second hour, as if half asleep, then, after partaking of the sacred mysteries—for one of the priests among the brothers had celebrated the sacred mystagogy in the right hand side of the narthex—as in an untroubled and peaceful sleep, he surrendered his saintly soul to the Lord by the hand of holy angels, falling asleep and sleeping the same sleep that all the saints know, of eternal rest in Christ.

Notes on the Translation

Editors’ note: The assistance of our translator, Patricia Karlin-Hayter [PKH], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. *schema*: both the monastic habit and the monastic life. The habit is the symbol of the life, and interference between the two meanings often makes adequate translation impossible. Cf. Theodore the Studite, *Ep.* 1.10, *PG* 99, col. 941C. [PKH]
2. For the two classes of monastic habit, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [12], which condemns the distinction, but cf. (4) *Stoudios* [A2] which accepts the distinction without comment, as does (27) *Kecharitomene* [30].
3. The opposite, rigorist position returns to favor much later with (36) *Blemmydes* [13]; cf. (55) *Athanasios I* [4].
4. *diakrisis*, meaning something special to eat, and specifically, a good meal, see P. Karlin-Hayter, “Lexicographical Notes,” pp. 589–90; cf. (10) *Eleousa* [13]. Typically, outside benefactors were expected to provide such “treats”; see (22) *Evergetis* [10] and related Evergetian documents.
5. Agents of the metropolitan of Ephesos.
6. *logismoi*: thoughts, mental processes, etc., in particular “good thoughts” and “bad thoughts.” Here Lazarus is somewhat elliptically referring to the confession of the latter, normally made to the superior. [PKH]
7. For some examples of walls erected around monasteries, see (24) *Christodoulos* [A12], (27) *Kecharitomene* [73], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [101], and (33) *Heliou Bomon*, Prologue; the foundation for which (7) *Latros* was written was also enclosed by a circuit wall.

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8. This vision is in fact not found in Cyril of Skythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, ed. Ed. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* (Leipzig, 1939).
9. The three-day limit on hospitality is found also in (21) *Roidion* [B2] and (34) *Machairas* [118]; perhaps Lazarus was influenced by the more generous seven days' hospitality at the Monastery of St. Sabas, testified to later in (42) *Sabas* [8].
10. Note the special obligation to feed supplicant monks more generously than ordinary beggars that is assumed in (32) *Mamas* [13] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [13].
11. Cf. the Basilian *Sermo asceticus II*, PG 31, col. 884B; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [30], cf. (30) *Phoberos* [3] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [9].
12. For two differing views on this problem from other eleventh-century documents, see (23) *Pakourianos* [15], which like Lazarus is critical of self-imposed ascetic practices, and (20) *Black Mountain* [72], which encourages them.
13. Cf. the treatment of this issue under the monastic reform in (22) *Evergetis* [33].
14. For later exhortations not to neglect the performance of the office, see (32) *Mamas* [21], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [21], (34) *Machairas* [49], and (55) *Athanasios I* [4].
15. See also (31) *Areia* [T7].
16. Cf. the Basilian *Sermo asceticus I*, PG 31, col. 885A; (56) *Kellibara II* [3]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [83].
17. The text presents a lacuna; it should be filled in the following sense: *hina me chronisas ho eis to pathos empeptokos, to ptoma poioie pante aniaton . . .* [PKH]
18. That is, the monastic life, also called "the angelic life," etc., cf. [130]. [PKH]
19. Lazarus' distinction between compulsory and voluntary entrance gifts anticipates that made later by the reform movement, above all in (22) *Evergetis* [37].
20. The object of the self-imposed ascetic observances here is not, as in [180], a rejection of the official diet, but rather of the monastery's prescribed spiritual exercises. [PKH]
21. Ps.-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones asceticae*, 4.2, PG 31, col. 1349B.
22. Cf. the treatment of diet and clothing in Basil, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 19 ([LR 19]), 22 ([LR 22]), PG 31, cols. 968–69, 977–81; *Regulae brevius tractatae* 210 ([SR 210]), PG 31, cols. 1221–24.
23. The two foundations, the imperial monastery of Bessai and the three Galesiote monasteries, are meant here and below in [247].
24. The reference is to Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055) and Patriarch Michael Keroullarios (1043–58).
25. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 922, with discussion by Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 246, n. 3.
26. See *Vita*, chap. 230, ed. Delehaye, *Acta*, p. 579; the emperor's reply is Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 855; see discussion in Delehaye, *Stylites*, p. cxv.
27. Part of [245] has been omitted here in our translation.
28. For curses of this sort in other eleventh-century documents, see (8) *John Xenos* [2], (10) *Eleousa* [19], (18) *Nea Gephyra* [4], (19) *Attaleiates* [18], (22) *Evergetis* [12], and (24) *Christodoulos* [B14].
29. See the discussion in Malamut, "Bessai," pp. 245–47.
30. Lazarus' indifference to the choice of his successor is unusual, but in fact his younger brother Ignatios was chosen for the office after the founder's death.
31. Kazhdan, "Ideals," p. 476, with n. 16, and "Lazarus," p. 1198, reports that the unpublished Ms. Moscow, Hist. Mus. 369/353, fol. 220, explicitly states that Lazarus had died before signing the *Testament*.

10. *Eleousa: Rule of Manuel, Bishop of Stroumitza,
for the Monastery of the Mother of God Eleousa*

Date: 1085–1106¹

Translator: Anastasius Bandy

Edition employed: Louis Petit, “Le Monastère de Notre-Dame de Pitié en Macédoine,” *IRAIK* 6 (1900), 1–153, with text at 69–93 and commentary at 94–114. Photoreproduction of the text in Petar Miljković-Pepek, *Veljusa: Manastir Sv. Bogorodica Milostiva vo seloto Veljusa kraj Strumica* (Skopje, 1981), pp. 258–72.

Manuscript: Parisinus, supplément grec 1222 (19th c.)²

Other translations: Macedonian, by Miljković-Pepek, *Veljusa*, pp. 258–72.

Institutional History

A. Foundation of the Monastery by Manuel, Bishop of Stroumitza

As we learn [1] from the *Rule* itself, the author Manuel was once a monk at the famous monastery of St. Auxentios near Chalcedon. After he became bishop of Stroumitza (ancient Tiberiupolis) on the empire’s Balkan frontier, he resolved to found a monastery dedicated to the Mother of God *Eleousa* (of Mercy)³ on property that he purchased [3] with his own money (an important detail) in his diocese at Palaiokastron. The monastery’s church still stands in the village of Veljusa (a corruption of *Eleousa*) near Strumica in the southeastern corner of what is now the newly independent Republic of Macedonia. There is a donor’s inscription over the principal door to the church that records Manuel’s construction of the building “from the foundations” and is datable to 1080.⁴

B. Patronage by Alexios I Komnenos

Although he was at best a reluctant follower of the monastic reform movement (for which see below, Chapter Four) that was just then beginning to introduce profound changes in the attitudes of contemporary patrons towards their religious foundations, Manuel took the precaution of obtaining from Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) a chrysobull that granted his foundation exemption from all public charges and independence from both civil and religious authorities.⁵ This document, dated to July 1085, is still extant as part of *Eleousa*’s cartulary. It also grants *Eleousa* the coveted status of a self-governing (*autodespotos*), independent (*autexousia*), and free (*eleuthera*) foundation. The composition of the *Rule*, which bears no date, may have followed shortly thereafter, but surely before Alexios’ second chrysobull of August 1106.⁶ A visit by the emperor to *Eleousa* while on a campaign against the Serbians made him aware of the extreme indigence of its monks and prompted the issuance of this second chrysobull that grants the monastery twelve peasants (*paroikoi*), freed of all fiscal obligations, to help them cultivate their land.

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The monk Clement, one of Manuel's successors as bishop of Stroumitza, subscribed to the rescript⁷ that orders the registration and delivery of this chrysobull. This same bishop attests to the accuracy of the copy of Manuel's *Rule* which has assured that document's preservation.

C. Patronage by John II Komnenos and Manuel I Komnenos

Alexios' son and successor John II Komnenos (1118–1143) also issued a decree (*prostagma*) for *Eleousa*,⁸ but according to a scribal note in the cartulary it was lost during the era of Latin rule (i.e., after 1204). Several documents issued by John's son Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180) in favor of *Eleousa* are preserved however, including a rescript (*epilysis*) of January 1152 inserted in a *praktikon* of Michael Tzankitzakes, an imperial official responsible for investigating complaints by *Eleousa*'s superior Dionysios that the monastery's peasants had been unjustly registered on the tax rolls.⁹ Manuel's rescript also forbids Clement, the bishop of Stroumitza, from entering the monastery, citing not only his predecessors' chrysobulls but also *Eleousa*'s *typikon*. Whether this individual was the same bishop who had previously authenticated Manuel's *Rule* or not, it appears that he was unreconciled to *Eleousa*'s institutional independence. Four years later, in an effort to assure that *Eleousa* did not again lose the services of its assigned peasants, Manuel issued an ordinance in May 1156 declaring their status to be hereditary.¹⁰ In 1159, the emperor confirmed the monastery in all of its privileges.¹¹ Finally, by a decree (*prostaxis*) of May 1160, Manuel awarded *Eleousa* an annual income of thirty *nomismata* from the local tax revenues.¹²

Eleousa then stood in an enviable position in the second half of the twelfth century. With imperial assistance, the monastery had fended off an attempt by the local bishop to compromise its autonomy, recovered its peasant cultivators with a re-establishment of their tax-exempt status, and secured a modest imperial subsidy as well.

D. Eleousa in the Thirteenth Century

The foundation appears to have fared less well during the disruptions that accompanied the fall of the Byzantine Empire to the Latin crusaders after 1204, though documentation for this crucial period is relatively scarce. The monastery's inventory, (61) *Eleousa Inv.*, drawn up much later in the fifteenth century, refers [4] to several lost documents, including a judicial decision of John Komnenos, archbishop of Bulgaria (Ochrid), recognizing the foundation's independence, and a chrysobull of the Nicaean Emperor John III Doukas Vatatzes (1222–1254). As another Balkan foundation, the Rila monastery, was to do in the fifteenth century, *Eleousa* sought out a protective relationship with an Athonite monastery, in this case the Iveron monastery.¹³

The date at which *Eleousa* formally became a dependency (*metochion*) of Iveron is not known, but it must have occurred before 1250, when the Nicaean Patriarch Manuel II (1244–1255) sat with his synod to decide a dispute between Iveron, represented by its superior Nicholas, and the diocese of Stroumitza, represented by the bishop Michael, over their respective rights in *Eleousa*.¹⁴ In support of his position, Nicholas brought forth chrysobulls of Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–1081), Alexios Komnenos, and the Bulgarian king John Asen II (1218–1241); of these, only the chrysobull of Alexios (possibly that of July 1085 mentioned above) is otherwise attested. The synod's decision, said to be in conformity with these documents, grants ownership (*somatike despoiteia*) to Iveron but reserves correction of spiritual faults, commemoration (*mnemosynon*),

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and an ecclesiastical tax on monasteries (the *kanonikon*) to the bishopric of Stroumitza. Thus the monastery of Iveron was apparently unsuccessful in maintaining *Eleousa*'s independence of the local bishop, for the rights accorded Stroumitza considerably exceed those conceded [16] by the founder Manuel in the *Rule* translated below.

E. Subsequent History of Eleousa Down to Modern Times

At present, little is known about the history of the foundation from the fourteenth century down to modern times. After sixty years of Serbian rule (1334–94), the area around Stroumitza became part of the Ottoman Empire in 1394. The monastery's inventory, (61) *Eleousa Inv.*, was produced in 1449 and authenticated by Clement, the contemporary bishop of Stroumitza. *Eleousa*'s formal association as a dependency of the Iveron monastery continued until 1913, when, after the Balkan Wars of 1912–13, the area around Stroumitza came under Serbian administration. Restoration of the church was carried out in 1968–69, and the structure still stands on a hill over the village of Veljusa in Macedonia.¹⁵

F. Architectural Evidence from the Site

Architectural investigation of the church shows that the structure dates mostly from the original foundation in 1080.¹⁶ The frescoes of the choir, the naos, the narthex, and the small south chapel (laid out just like the main church on a small scale) are thought to date from the late eleventh century. A masonry tomb, probably that of the founder Manuel, was found in the south arcosolium of the narthex; there are other tombs dating from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries in the church's southern portico. There were renovations and additions in the second half of the twelfth century, when the frescoes of the south portico and other parts of the exonarthex were executed. Some reconstructed parts of the exonarthex were decorated with other frescoes in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The naos of the church was repainted in the nineteenth century and a donor's portrait of the founder Manuel, possibly based on a now lost original composition found over his tomb in the south arcosolium of the narthex, was painted on the west facade of the exonarthex.¹⁷

Analysis

This document employs several traditional elements seen in earlier documents, such as the author's reflection on death [1] shared with (5) *Euthymios* [3], (6) *Rila* [2], and (7) *Latros*, the profession of faith shared with (3) *Theodore Studites* and (7) *Latros* [1], [2], [3], the foundation history [3] shared with (6) *Rila* [1] and (9) *Galesios* [246], and the concluding injunction [22] to preserve his commands unaltered shared with (3) *Theodore Studites* [24], (5) *Euthymios* [2], (6) *Rila* [5], (8) *John Xenos* [3], and (9) *Galesios* [246]. By expanding its scope beyond these traditional elements to include disciplinary regulations and certain constitutional provisions, this *Rule* continues the trend observable in some of these earlier documents¹⁸ of the steady evolution of the genre into a form recognizable as the medieval Byzantine *typikon*.

Reflecting the growing cult of the Mother of God—paralleled at this time in the medieval West—Manuel named his foundation in her honor. In Byzantium this was a phenomenon of the eleventh century—witness the dedications of the foundations for which (8) *John Xenos*, (21) *Roidion*, (22) *Evergetis*, and (23) *Pakourianos* were written, as well as one of the monasteries

included in (9) *Galesios* [246]—and continued with varying degrees of enthusiasm down to the end of the empire. Her feast day was the occasion [13] for a festal meal and what was becoming (in contrast to the late antique monastic traditions) increasingly token, ritualistic charity.

In its administrative conventions, this is a conservative document, generally reflecting the usages of traditional private religious foundations. In ideological terms, however, (10) *Eleousa* is more in tune with the progressive sentiments of its contemporaries, championing the cenobitic life, endorsing the notion of monastic equality, and eliminating the monks' ownership of private property.

A. *Lives of the Monks*

As in (4) *Stoudios*, the regulation of liturgical services and diet [13] (but with exceptions for old and sick monks) are major concerns of our author. This foundation was like many reform monasteries in emphasizing the priority of various liturgical duties, especially performance of the office, over all other pursuits. Perhaps this predisposition to emphasize the spiritual life may have been related to an unwillingness to tolerate the pursuit of private crafts to which many of the monks at Lazarus the Galesiote's Resurrection monastery were devoted in (9) *Galesios* [191], [192].

Manuel's decision to restrict [5] the personal property of his monks to "their beddings and clothes and holy icons for worship" shows the founder aligning himself with the contemporary monastic reform tradition on an important point of controversy (cf. (9) *Galesios* [192] and (22) *Evergetis* [22]). This reflects the author's partiality to the cenobitic life, an outlook he shared with the reformers. Manuel has even absorbed and endorsed the added refinement of allowing [4] no differences in the food and drink served to his monks (so also (22) *Evergetis* [26]).

Unlike the monastic traditions of late antiquity, which welcomed youths into monastic communities both as postulants and in some cases (as in the Basilian tradition) as students, as early as (3) *Theodore Studites* [18], founders of monasteries in medieval Byzantium had been hostile to them. Manuel professes to share this hostility [17], yet, like the author of a contemporary document, (23) *Pakourianos* [31], he provides for the maintenance of youths in a monastic dependency preparatory to their admission to the monastery on reaching adulthood. He also pairs [3] older and younger monks in cells, apparently without fears for sexual misconduct.

B. *Constitutional Matters*

1. Private Ownership with an Independent Constitution

As we have seen, Manuel took the precaution in 1085 of obtaining [18] an imperial chrysobull from Alexios Komnenos to secure his foundation's title to being an independent monastery, yet what this *Rule* describes is in all essentials a traditional private religious foundation. The author is careful to note [3] that he bought the land on which the monastery stands, then built it, as founders liked to boast, "from its very foundations." In the discussion [11] of the lifetime rights (*pronomia*) of the monk Elias, his designated successor as superior, Manuel pointedly turns over the monastery held in "private ownership" (*idioktetos*) with all of its possessions. These rights include Elias' irremovability (either by an outsider or by one of Manuel's relatives), free use of the foundation's possessions "by his own will and absolute rule," tonsuring of whomever he chooses, and expulsion, after warnings, of factious and disobedient monks.

As usual for a foundation of this type, Manuel recognizes the possibility [11] that his secular relatives will make property claims against the institution, and attempts to foreclose it. Also, while explicitly denying [16] the inheritance of his patronal rights by Elias' successors, Manuel nevertheless permits them to expel an incorrigible monk, even one of his own blood relatives, thereby implicitly ranking good order over familial privilege.

Along with many of his contemporaries, both those who were reform-minded like the author of (23) *Pakourianos* [3], and those who were not, like the author of (19) *Attaleiates* [8], Manuel needed to preserve his foundation from the threat posed by the *charistike*. This surely was the reason why he was so fearful of the consequences of interference by his episcopal successors, motivating his declaration [18], (cf. [21]) of the foundation's independence. Manuel had only a very limited grasp of the broad implications of institutional independence, however, and in practical terms the monastery's independent constitution was to have no internal administrative significance until the end of Elias' upcoming tenure as superior. That Manuel should have chosen an independent constitution anyway does show the burgeoning prestige of the contemporary concept of the "independent and autonomous" monastery (for which see the discussion below in Chapter Four).

2. Election of the Superior

The unsuitability of the family as a dependable intergenerational vehicle for the administration of private religious foundations had been increasingly clear to benefactors since the tenth century.¹⁹ Therefore, procedures for the internal election of a new superior became an important topic of regulation. Manuel discusses both the desired qualifications for Elias' successor [15] and also procedures [16] for his selection and installation. He envisions a choice by the current superior "and the preeminent monks" (who were to play an increasingly important administrative role in reform monasteries), with "the knowledge and approval of all the rest of the brothers." His statement that he has chosen Elias as superior, "a member of your select group [of monks] and not an alien one" [11], shows a further sensitivity to reform ideas (cf. (14) *Ath. Typikon* [20] ff.) heightened by fear of the *charistike*.

3. Removal of an Unworthy Superior

Like some of his reformist contemporaries, such as the author of (22) *Evergetis* [14], Manuel was willing to contemplate the removal of an unworthy superior. The grounds for deposition included [16] appropriation of the monastery's property and "annoying" the monks by setting aside the founder's regulations. The mechanism prescribed for deposition of the superior is unfortunately lost in a lacuna in the text, but may have relied on the same "preeminent monks" whom he has designated for the selection of the superior.

4. Style of Rule

The authoritarian style of rule favored in practice if not in theory by Theodore the Studite came naturally to our author, but Manuel does caution [12] his successor Elias not to be too severe in punishment: "whip them not with a strap and rod but with a spiritual penalty" (cf. punishment by confinement mentioned in (4) *Stoudios* [25] and (11) *Ath. Rule* [19]). Moreover, his successor was not to be too ready to use his right of expulsion. Nevertheless this document suggests what the implications of the "absolute rule" to which Elias was entitled [11] might be in another private monastery.

C. Financial Matters

1. Size Limitation

With the decline in the importance of manual labor, which is nowhere mentioned in this document, the ability of foundations like Manuel's to support monks became directly linked to the productivity of their endowments. Thus we see a new feature, size limitations [3] on the number of monks (initially here only 10), which will be increasingly common for these sorts of foundations. As the subsequent history of this foundation makes clear, it proved difficult to support even this small number of monks without significant assistance from the emperors in the course of the twelfth century (see above, Institutional History).

2. No Inventory

Readily dispensing with canon law²⁰ when he thought its requirements to be irksome, Manuel orders [18] that no inventory of the monastery's possessions is to be drawn up, an example of his almost petulantly stubborn insistence on patronal prerogatives. There was, however, to be an examination of these possessions in the presence of Manuel's relatives, perhaps so that they could be assured that these valuables in which they too had a vested interest had not been secretly alienated. Manuel's injunction is doubtless one reason why no inventory was drawn up for this monastery until the fifteenth century (see (61) *Eleousa Inv.*).

D. External Relations

A bishop himself, Manuel is ambivalent [18] about endorsing the canonical prerogatives of his successors in the see of Stroumitza over his foundation. He allows [16] the monks to take a newly elected superior to the local bishop to receive a blessing (*sphragis*) in exchange for a cash gift, but the bishop was not to assume entitlement to any patronal rights from this concession. Manuel, however, provides no role for the bishop in the actual election of the monastery's superior.

Notes on the Introduction

1. For the dating of this document, see Petit, "Monastère," p. 15; the dates proposed are those of the two chrysobulls of Alexios I Komnenos, the first of which our author refers to in [18] while one of his episcopal successors is a witness to the rescript accompanying the latter. In view of the document's traditional approach to the foundation's governance, a date in the eleventh century is to be preferred.
2. Petit's edition is based only on a transcription made before 1865 by Emmanuel Miller of a manuscript in the Iveron monastery that itself appears to be a medieval copy of the official authenticated copy (the *isotypon*) of the original *Rule*; see Volk, *Gesundheitswesen*, p. 105, n. 232. Petit, "Monastère," p. 2, supposed that the Iveron manuscript, of which he had seen only photographs sent to him by Theodor Uspensky, was of the fifteenth century. Papageorgiu, "Dokumenten," p. 70, considered the Miller transcription to be of poor quality. If the Iveron manuscript is still available, a critical edition would be most welcome.
3. For the iconography of the Mother of God *Eleousa*, see Petit, "Monastère," 48–50.
4. See Petit, "Monastère," p. 6; Miljković-Peppek, *Veljusa*, pp. 32–33, with text at p. 253.
5. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1124, ed. Petit, "Monastère," doc. 1, pp. 25–27, and reproduced in Miljković-Peppek, *Veljusa*, pp. 253–55; see discussion by Laurent, "Recherches," p. 9, Miljković-Peppek, pp. 33–34, and Petit, p. 8.
6. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1231, ed. Petit, "Monastère," doc. 2, pp. 28–30, and reproduced in Miljković-

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- Pepek, *Veljusa*, pp. 256–58; see discussion by Miljković-Pepek, pp. 34–36, and Petit, p. 9.
7. Ed. Petit, “Monastère,” doc. 3, p. 30, with discussion, p. 9.
 8. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1328; cf. discussion by Petit, “Monastère,” p. 9.
 9. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1385, ed. Petit, “Monastère,” doc. 4, p. 31 = *Praktikon*, doc. 8, pp. 36–37, reproduced by Miljković-Pepek, *Veljusa*, pp. 275–76; see discussion by Miljković-Pepek, pp. 48–52, and Petit, pp. 9–11.
 10. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1409, ed. Petit, “Monastère,” doc. 6, pp. 32–33, reproduced by Miljković-Pepek, *Veljusa*, p. 281; see discussion of this and the following two documents by Miljković-Pepek, pp. 56–64, and Petit, pp. 12–13.
 11. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1337, ed. Petit, “Monastère,” doc. 7, p. 33, reproduced by Miljković-Pepek, *Veljusa*, p. 282. Although technically this document can be dated to either 1144 or 1159, only the latter date fits the context of events at *Eleousa*.
 12. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1437, ed. Petit, “Monastère,” doc. 5, pp. 31–32, reproduced by Miljković-Pepek, *Veljusa*, pp. 282–83.
 13. See discussions in Laurent, “Recherches,” pp. 12–13; Miljković-Pepek, *Veljusa*, pp. 64–75; and Petit, “Monastère,” p. 14.
 14. Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1312; ed. Laurent, “Recherches,” pp. 23–27, with discussion, pp. 5–7, 23.
 15. For the modern history of *Eleousa*, see Angelopoulos, *Boreios Makedonia*; Pandevski and Stoev-Trnkata, *Strumica*; Volk, *Gesundheitswesen*, p. 108.
 16. The architectural survey is based on Miljković-Pepek, *Veljusa*, pp. 109–22, with French summary, p. 310; Babić, *Chapelles*, p. 94; for architectural plans, see Tatić, “Dva ostatka,” pp. 88–95.
 17. See Miljković-Pepek, *Veljusa*, Fig. 74; cf. Ill. 36.
 18. Particularly (3) *Theodore Studites*, (6) *John of Rila*, (7) *Latros*, and (9) *Galesios* [246].
 19. See the extended discussion in Nikephoros Phokas, *Novella de monasteriis* (*JGR* 3.292–96 = Zepos, *Jus* 1.249–52); for awareness of the problem among Manuel’s contemporaries, see (19) *Attaleiates* [10], [13], [43]; (23) *Pakourianos* [18].
 20. For the canonical requirement of an inventory, see *C. Const. I et II*, c. 1 (R&P 2.648–49).

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Translation

[This is] the copy of the Rule of our most holy father, Manuel, monk and founder of the monastery of the supremely holy Mother of God, the Merciful, which has been established in the theme of Stroumitza and in the village called Ano Palaiokastron.

1. Truly “the life of human beings is a shadow” (I Chron. 29:15; Job 8:9), as the saying goes. This has not resulted without cause. For since after the transgression and that curse which was transmitted to us, we have come under the dominance of time, as condemned we have both fallen into corruption and have surely had to proceed towards non-existence. For this reason, in fact, we must consider the dissolution of the body and make a continuous study of death, which, inasmuch as it belongs to “the highest and more noble pursuit of knowledge” (cf. Col. 3:2), is in reality honest and certain. We must carefully consider that unbribable examination, yea, indeed, “the unbiased judgment of God” (cf. I Pet. 1:17), too, which is severe and shuddering to those who have been condemned, and besides also the continuous and inevitable punishments after such a judgment. According to the statement of [Gregory] the Theologian,¹ we must not continually be engrossed by things that are seen and to be beguiled by their spells. [p. 70] Therefore, because I consider these things to be such as I have distinctly stated, I, Manuel, the least monk and bishop of Tiberiopolis, that is, Stroumitza, having been one of the congregation of monks in the venerable monastery of Saint Auxentios² and having long ago pursued for some time the ascetic course in this monastery and having absorbed the good milk of the solitary way of life as best I could, being terrified at the sickle of excision, namely death, and expecting it, moreover, every hour, and pondering that undeceivable judgment seat before which I am going to stand, “seized by the neck” (cf. Heb. 4:13), in order that I may be asked for reasons for the deeds that I have done, having my mind sound and my body by God’s grace healthy and free of any illness whatsoever, have decided that I must set in order the matters that concern me, which, indeed, I set in order as follows.

2. “I believe in one God, all-sovereign . . .” and so forth (for, in fact, I must begin from the very One from whom all of us have had our beginning and towards whom we are led by means of the most beautiful mode of life; for it is actually faith which truly achieves everything). “I profess one baptism for forgiveness of sins. I expect the resurrection of the dead and the life of the future age. Amen.” (cf. *Symbolum Nicaenoconstantinopolitanum*) I so think with unwavering and unequivocal resolve. I so profess and declare wholeheartedly. I so profess and proclaim with a clear voice, being both united and “joined together” (cf. Eph. 2:21; 4:16) to the God-chosen society of the Church of the faithful in accordance with the traditions of the God-inspired fathers. I agree also with their divinely wise teachings and dogmas that have been enunciated and ratified on behalf of this our Christian orthodox faith in the seven holy and ecumenical councils; and avoid the accursed and profane tenets and propositions alike of the heretics who accuse the Christian faith which have been anathematized by the same divine fathers in these [councils]. I loathe them for being different in character from this our undefiled faith. As if they were pestilential and Arabian wolves, [p. 71] not only do I turn away from the inventors of such propositions and tenets as well, and stigmatize them as heretics, but I also subject to a curse the newly appearing teachings and tenets that are introduced by them, and, since they are spurious, I detach and separate them from

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our holy and apostolic church and its God-established tradition. Holding fast to this most noble “trust” (I Tim. 6:20, II Tim. 1:14) of the faith in such manner as I have shown, I pray that I may keep possessing it as “a firm anchor” (Heb. 6:19) in the present age, and that in the extended and future one (in which idle reasoning and movement of mind as well as thought that occur to us with our cooperation, that is, and approval will be weighed by God, who is unbiased, at his undeceivable and shuddering judgment-seat). I may be enriched with it as a defender and “helper who cannot be shamed” (cf. II Tim. 2:15) and an advocate and most valiant protector against my bitter accusers and auditors alike, as the saying goes. Furthermore, [I pray that my faith may be] also a passport and an indestructible bridge to the future life, which does not perish but is truly permanent if, indeed, I am not deceived in my hope. However, I have this [hope] in the Lord firm and unbroken. My account has in summary sufficiently discussed this concerning, that is, both my resolve and declaration regarding the undefiled orthodox Christian faith.

3. Regarding, however, my newly acquired monastery, which I built from its very foundations, bearing the name of the Mother of God, who pities me (for, in fact, this [monastery] has had the good fortune to bear this name), my writing will discuss more at length and also at the same time more leisurely and will clarify more distinctly both my wish and desire for this [monastery]. For, after I had, in fact, purchased with my own money the place for this monastery, which was formerly a fallen mass of debris and useless and happened to be in the theme of Stroumitza and was situated at Palaiokastron, and had brought it round with boundless expenditures to the condition that is seen at the present time, I dedicated it as both a useful and useless dedication to the Mother of God inasmuch as I had erected on it a very beautiful church for her and [p. 72] a worthy dwelling place for one such as she, even though the Divine Spirit “does not dwell in temples made with hands” (Acts 7:48. 17:24; cf. Heb. 9:11, 24) but rather in the tabernacle in us, I mean the soul’s substance (for how can that which has no visible shape [dwell] in things that have visible shape and that which is without shape and form [dwell] in material [objects] with concrete form?). But since it is truly estimated by faith and disposition, it is perceived as casting a shadow upon the divine churches and through them it sanctifies us by its invisible overshadowings and transmissions, inasmuch as we subject ourselves to it through our divine and glory-ascribing gatherings and hymns. Thereafter I also tonsured monks who were attested for their wisdom and virtue and had their calling assured by their deeds, and I “settled them together” (cf. Ps. 132 [133]:1) in the same monastery, according to the Psalmist, partly to send up to the Mother of God the hymn of glory at the assigned times and partly, in addition to these supplicatory prayers, to utter also pro-pitiatory words on my behalf.

4. I prescribe that there be no difference in respect of foods in the case of those men who live by a cenobitic manner of life, and that they not thereby destroy the cenobitic manner of life, but that all of them gratefully share equally in the same foods and drinks alike. For a really cenobitic manner of life is this: that it not admit of any difference and diversity in the case of some, but that even he who holds the office of superior share and be reckoned as one of those who sit for the partaking of things that are brought to the table, or rather be one who is both “an example” (I Pet. 2:21) and model of the true and first shepherd, Christ our God, and “a servant” (Luke 22:26), in accordance

with the statement of the Lord himself, and that he be eager to be considered as being “all things to all men” (I Cor. 9:22) the brothers in order that he may gain and save them and be rather by his deeds “a shepherd and not a hireling” (Cf. Mark 1:20; John 10:11–12).

5. I prescribe that the monks who are going to spend their lives in this monastery of the Mother of God, who pities me, be ten in number (if, however, through the wholly pure intercessions of the Mother of God the affairs of the monastery progress well, then the number of the monks shall grow), having in their cells only [p. 73] their bedding and clothes and holy icons for worship and at the same time affirmation of our undefiled and divine Christian faith and nothing else at all. For how will those who are eager to appropriate to themselves that which is shared in common and who intensely strive towards diversity and difference be called members of a cenobitic community and practitioners of the solitary life if they reckon that “mine” and “yours” ought to be preferred to that which is shared in common? [For these are] the words which cool and break down into members and parts the things that are well-joined together and at the same time tear them asunder and also cause and produce difference and separation in many things.³ [I prescribe] also that they “submit to the superior” (Heb. 13:17) of the monastery respectfully in all matters and not prefer their will to his command, but that they be obedient to him as to a father, in accordance with their truly more divine regeneration [in the monastic life], taking the place of a son. I also prescribe that two monks dwell in each cell, namely an elderly one and a young one, in order that the young one may be remolded by the traits of the elderly one and display “the wisdom of old age” (cf. Wis. 4:9) in youth.

6. When all the monks enter the divine church itself of the Mother of God at the time of the doxology and are going to perform the appointed office, I both wish and desire that this be performed by them with undistracted and intense eagerness, as I distinctly state in my *typikon*, and that they stand together at the time of matins in the narthex of this divine church.

For, in fact, according to the divine prophet, “what else is so pleasant as for brothers to dwell together?” (Ps. 132 [133]:5). For thus, precisely because I settled in the monastery of the Mother of God men who are of such disposition as to lead a solitary life, I myself, too, will likely be reckoned blessed, in accordance with the statement of the same prophet (cf. Ps. 83 [84]:5). Let them perform not only the midnight services and alone speak to God alone with undistracted resolve, but let them also complete in this manner the entire nightly office without fail.

After the completion of these services let them again begin the *trisagion* [p. 74] (the really best and timeless beginning, the one “towards which every activity of serious import tends,”⁴ as the saying goes), and let them offer a propitiatory prayer on behalf of the permanence of our most mighty emperors. Next I want [the members of] my flock to collect their souls’ senses away from external disturbances and distractions and, with steadfast concentration, to utter in this manner with guileless (to state it thus) and honest voice the verses, “Come, let us worship” and then to sing the divine nineteenth psalm, “The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble,” and going back again to the very good beginning, [i.e.,] the *trisagion*, let them make this both the beginning and apt ending of the intervening [psalms].

[Afterwards] let them sing with one voice the [*troparion* of the Exaltation] of the Cross,

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“Save, O Lord, thy people” and so forth, and also intone the Gloria. Thereupon, let them sing “Thou who wert raised upon the cross” and after intoning “Now [and forever],” let them sing again “Speedily prevent us” and cry out “*Kyrie eleison*” twenty-four times, in confirmation and conclusion of the preceding office. Then let them begin the six psalms⁵—I mean the best address—and through them and the remaining office and service [let them] speak to God truly with an unwavering mind, “face to face,” (Exod. 33:11) and propitiate him.

7. After the hymnody of matins has been completed, let the doxology of the hours be performed, just as if it were a golden chain, I mean through the beautiful and most salvific order of sequence: [for] the first hour, as it were, precedes the others, since, in fact, the announcement of the resurrection was transmitted to all on this [hour]. Next, then, let the hymn of ascription of glory to God pass over to the third hour. For on this [hour] “we were recalled from the ancient deceiver’s long-time deceit and our fall;”⁶ and, because we had accepted the grace of the [p. 75] new and divine covenant, we perceived the light from the light, as the saying goes (cf. Ps. 35 [36] 9), inasmuch, as the Comforter had come upon the disciples of the Word, (cf. Acts 2:1–4) and through them upon us “who sat in darkness and in the shadow of ignorance” (Luke 1:70). [The Comforter] illuminated us more brightly than the sun and enlightened us with the rays of the knowledge of God and led us to the co-eternal and “unapproachable light” (I Tim. 6:16) by the divinely wise teachings [of the apostles].

After the prayer of the third hour, let in turn the divine hymnody of the sixth hour begin. For on this [hour] the Savior of our souls, because he had been fixed to the cross bodily because of his compassion [for us], healed through the [tree of the] cross the tasting of the [forbidden] tree; and because “he had become a curse, he redeemed us from the curse” (Gal. 3:13); and because we had become captivated by “pleasure-loving” sin (cf. II Tim. 3:4), “the Good Shepherd laid us on his shoulders” (Luke 15:5), as the saying goes, and brought us back to heaven from our humiliation in this world, that is.

After the hymnody of the sixth hour has been completed, let in turn the doxology of the ninth hour begin. For on this [hour] the Mortifier of passions, because he had been put to death as a mortal man by his own volition, revived us who had been subjected to death, having mortified our carnal surges and thoughts alike, and “the Author of life” (Acts 3:15) consented of himself to live in us who had deadened ourselves to the world, that is.

8. Fathers and brothers and spiritual children in the Lord, when you perform these truly divine services, as I have pointed out, along with the *mesoria*, in accordance with the traditional rule among you, do not stand at the time of these gatherings as though you were lifeless and indolent. I paternally beseech you, to whom I have now made this exhortation and instruction to the best of my ability, and whom I have gathered together to the same place with eager zeal and have loved with heartfelt disposition, and I am confident that I have you in the Lord as a source of pride and boast and a truly delightful exultation. But since you have comprehended [the purpose] for which you have been called, hasten to confirm this with deeds and, according to the saying, “to be found worthy of your Master Christ, who called you [p. 76] to this most noble way of life and change” (cf. Matt. 22:3, 8–9). Since you have your calling agreeing with your ways, gather your soul’s

senses, as I have indicated above, together and by themselves, as the saying goes, and alone speak to God alone through your prayers. For in this manner “your conversation will be pleasing to him” (Ps. 103 [104]:32), according to the divine David, because your disposition has been freed, that is, from the cares that confine it like a prison.

For obviously, if, when praying, you have your soul’s senses beclouded and you are distracted in soul—a thing that I pray may not happen—and you make [your soul] have two natures instead of one through the passionate attachment to the things of the world and you become distracted in mind by evil reflections. Not only “the lifting up of your hands” (Ps. 140 [141]:2), [as] you certainly know, will not be directed straightforwardly at the time of your prayer, when your thoughts waver, that is, while those who are carefully observing them are standing there and estimating them by intention rather, and not by voice and tongue, but also your petition to God and address will become fraught with danger inasmuch as the enemy, who envies your good deeds, has carefully watched both the relaxation and slackening of your mind and has construed this as a windfall for your destruction. He easily shakes the changeful movements of your thoughts by insinuating and implanting contrary thoughts, through which he undertakes to choke and to extirpate completely, alas, even the divine seed, which is the word of God (cf. Matt. 13:25; Luke 8:11). When the truly fierce one removes from you your spiritual “burden” (cf. Matt. 11:30), the spirit in you which resembles a smooth sea, that is, because your state is peaceful and spiritual, he stirs up [in you] a fierce surf and sinks [you], alas for me, in the depth of despair. For these reasons, brothers, you must be “sober and watchful” (I Pet. 5:8) at the time of your work lest “the heavenly [p. 77] Bridegroom, having arrived and having found you sleeping, consider you unworthy workers” (cf. Matt. 25:1–13) and consign you as “utterly evil” (Matt. 21:41) to the fire of hell.

9. Or do you not know what sort of vows we professed to him when we were actually making our promise on the things that we were proclaiming, frequently repeating our consent with both a subdued posture and a calm voice? Since angels had invisibly recorded both these promises and consents at the time of their enunciation, they will inevitably seek from us at the time of our decease the fulfillment of such [promises and consents] and will severely exact punishments from those who have been neglectful with regard to this [fulfillment]. At that time the means of help for us, frequently turning around this way and that way and having our conscience a patent accuser, will not depend upon relatives and acquaintances but upon our deeds alone, “which” undoubtedly even after our decease “we have proceeding before us” (cf. Apoc. 14:13).

Let us keep in mind, spiritual children in the Lord, the symbols of the holy habit with which, that is, we have been clothed and the white garments [we put on] at the time of our tonsure, as these decisively are symbols that by their nature are indicative of angels and of purity, being administered bodily and at the same time symbolically.⁷ For, in fact, the cuttings of our hair, which the scissors removed at various times, precisely as is the custom at the sacrificial altars, and furthermore also the consecrations of our heads, have caused us more than other men to be called Nazirites (cf. Num. 6:18; Jud. 13:5), that truly revered name.

What does this word indicate? [That] we are certainly consecrated to God. Let us respect our calling. Let us preserve our dignified state. Let us understand the gain of this divine mystery. Also let us anticipate him who called us, and “let us come before his presence” (that is, the visitation of

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his manifestly probative power against sinners) “with thanksgiving” (Ps. 94 [95]:2) and tears [p. 78] for our transgressions. Since we have become lofty by our habit, let us not make ourselves debased by our deeds.

For how, indeed, have you not become lofty if you are willing to walk uprightly and by means of a sacred life to return to “the common head, Christ” (Eph. 4:15), the very one to whom you have totally sacrificed yourselves, having long ago severed from mixing with the crowd and having crucified your flesh (cf. Gal. 6:14). By your ragged dress, too, you have indicated the appearance of servitude in order that, having struggled well, you may “receive in return adoption” (Gal. 4:5) as most genuine sons and be established as heirs of his eternal kingdom, which, as you know “those who force themselves” (Matt. 11:12) and hold absolutely fast to the toils of the monastic life receive as a worthy repayment.

Since you have “crucified your limbs” (Gal. 5:24; Col. 3:5) by your cruciform scapular and hold on to this as an unconquerable weapon, repel the attacks of the adversary. Again, since you have “girded your loins” (Eph. 6:14) by your divine strap and by it you have been made dead to the world, nobly fight against “the passions of the flesh” (I Pet. 2:11; Gal. 5:16), according to the saying.

Since you have put upon yourselves your sacred cowl as a “helmet” (Eph. 6:17) and a defensive weapon (for “our struggle is, in fact, not against blood and flesh but against both the principalities and powers of the terrible world-ruler” [Eph. 6:12] according to Paul), protect your backs, against which is [directed] the evil one’s attack, in order that, being fortified all round from every side and clearly becoming incontestable and invincible soldiers of the universal Sovereign, Christ, by his power, you may run in the stadium the noble course of the monastic life, and, having in reality contested well and “having pleased him who enlisted you” (II Tim. 2:4), according to the divinely inspired Paul, soaring with eagerness through the sacred scapular that has been placed around you, you may fly as if with wings and may piously find rest, as I pray, [by him] from whom we have dementedly fallen away, and, having kept your pledge, you may receive the mystical grace of the all-Holy [p. 79] Spirit.

For this is the goal of your race in God or to God, which these singularly spiritual weapons of yours procure. For “God is Spirit, and those who worship him must worship him in spirit and truth” (John 4:24), having deadened themselves, that is, by the Spirit and having lived by themselves, as I have often said. For this reason hasten forward to “sing the praises of true wisdom in the streets” (cf. Prov. 1:20) (to cite opportunely to you Solomon’s statement) in order that you may enlarge yourselves by the truly God-pleasing pursuits and become rich in your confidence in God.

10. Yes, spiritual children in the Lord and beloved by me, yes, a sacred community and a host that is precious and chosen by God (for I beseech you once again as an affectionate father, seeking and desiring your salvation), in such manner, as I have pointed out, strip yourselves for the monastic life’s “struggle that lies before you” (Heb. 12:1), in such manner engage in this struggle to the end. Do not make me carry off to Hades my concern for you as a distressing shroud. For you are to me a daily care and a solicitude that is deep-seated and grieves my soul, and a limb and part and heart and “light of my eyes” (Ps. 37 [38]:10), according to the saying, and everything that anyone can say about things that bound [us] together in love and sincerity. But “let him who is strong in words

strengthen with admonitions and kindly exhortations whoever is not so” (cf. Rom. 15:1), according to the Lord’s commandment; and when his limb is not well, let him make it healthy appropriately.

For you are, I am convinced, a limb and body in God and “one composite whole that is fitted together and at the same time brought together in oneness” (Eph. 4:16). For this reason, in fact, let not any of the things that are to be deprecated and that are contrary to the things that are morally good interpose itself among you, children, inserting harm in your souls and making room in them for the hater of good and wicked demon. But let also strife and grudge-bearing, which is generated from the latter, be absent from you. For these are the principal sources of “the flaming darts of the evil one” (Eph. 6:16) through which he confuses our minds and counterplans to withdraw us from God. But if such things do, indeed, occur among you—a thing that I pray may not happen—through conciliation with [p. 80] one another let them be banished from your souls and let the sun “not go down on your anger” (cf. Eph. 4:26).

Likewise, also detest with your soul and ardently the rest of the things that are in reality diametrically evil and rivals of the former [evils], I mean lechery, drunkenness, gluttony, loquaciousness, lying, back-biting, heartlessness, inhumanity as well as hatred of mankind, envy, which begets murder, love of money, which is truly “the second idolatry” (Col. 3:5) and vices that are like these. For, since I wish you to be superior to such passions, I want you to go through life and to conduct yourselves with this good conduct in such manner that, by sprouting forth “the fruit of the Divine Spirit” (Gal. 5:22) (I mean “unhypocritical love” [Rom. 12:9] and compassion for one another, both absence of anger and at the same time absence of grudge-bearing, and moderate thinking in all things), “your soul’s light shall break forth as the morning, your health shall speedily spring forth” (Is. 58:8), according to the saying, because the True Light, Christ our God (John 1:9), has invisibly descended upon your minds and has overshadowed and “lived or truly dwelled in them” (II Cor. 6:16) and has made you, by the divine sharing of it, perfect lights, or, to state it better, “products of the Perfect Light,”⁸ according to [Gregory] the Theologian.

For our Master and Lord is, in fact, such that “when he has perceived that we are aroused to the performance of good works” (cf. Luke 12:37) and that we are anxious to cause the seed that is stored up in the furrows of our mind, which is the teaching that is conducive to salvation, to sprout forth and “to yield its fruit in its season” (cf. Ps. 1:3) in large quantity, he hastens to pour forth in full strength the mercy of his love for humanity, because the Bountiful One anticipates our requests to him with his bounties and is truly most ready for this.

Since we have such a Master, so loving and “forbearing” (II Tim. 2:24), both compassionate and at the same time sympathetic, and one who awaits our conversion (for he does not willingly desire the death of us sinners, so that we may repent and live [cf. Ezech. 33:11], thirsting, as he is all-merciful, for our salvation and as our God reckoning the latter as a personal gain), [p. 81] let us not depart far from him because we have become indifferent. Let us not [do that], fathers and brothers and spiritual children in the Lord, in order that we may not be miserably delivered to destruction. For “those who” through indifference “remove themselves far from him shall perish” (Ps. 72 [73]:27).

Let us not become a refractory and rebellious people. Let us not turn back again to our carnal cravings in order that we may not, because we have let our mind become callous or hardened in

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them, become “a pillar of salt” (Gen. 19:26), as the saying goes. Let us not become eager to choose earthly things instead of heavenly ones. Do not prefer over the eternal joy in the other world the temporary life of pleasure, which makes those who embrace it bear afterwards retributions more bitter than gall. May you not, because you pursued “praise from men” (Rom. 2:29), be disregarding of “the glory which is going to be revealed” (Rom. 8:18) at the time of the frightful advent of our Lord Jesus Christ to those who have been well pleasing to him. Do not, because you have become indifferent, shut off for yourselves the heavenly bridal chamber, in order that you may not hear the detestable voice which says, “I do not know you” (Matt. 25:12). But with compassion towards one another and as though you had kindled from the latter the oil-lamps of your souls, hasten rather to enter into the same undefiled bridal chamber along with Christ the Bridegroom and to be called prudent, or rather to appear at his side, as I pray.

But these things are, indeed, sufficient, fathers and brothers and spiritual children in the Lord, for your admonition and edification and truly ultimate rule. Accordingly, engrave them “in the tablets of your hearts” (II Cor. 3:3) and “preserve them as a trust indeed” (I Tim. 6:20; II Tim. 1:14) with eager mind, I implore you, and keep struggling to execute them, considering me, the lowly one, though departed from life, as being present with you by the spiritual, that is, and indissoluble bond of my love towards you, in order that you may benefit yourselves very greatly and thereby procure a reward for me, the sinful founder of your monastery.

11. Since I prescribed and appointed with my *sigillion* the most honorable monk lord Elias to hold the office of superior over both you and this monastery that I hold in private ownership, including all things in it, [p. 82] I also turned over to him during my lifetime the privileges that belonged to me over this monastery and the things in it and besides you, too, my brothers in the Lord, the monks. These privileges are, to wit, precisely the following: The fact that [lord Elias] is to be the superior over this monastery that I hold in private ownership, up to the end of his life, and he is not to be removed from it by anyone whosoever, whether he happens to be a person related [to me] or a stranger. The fact that by his own will and at the same time absolute rule he is to make full use of the things in it. The fact that he is to tensure in it whomever he chooses, and again, to expel from this monastery, after a first, second, and third admonition as well as instruction, those monks among you who perchance appear openly factious and disobedient towards his injunctions to you regarding the goals of the monastery.

Also now, too, I formulate and prescribe that these privileges be preserved both inviolable and inviolate in the hands of this most honorable man up to the end of his transitory existence in this life, as I have distinctly stated, inasmuch as he has been associated with me over many years and is known to me as God-loving.

I ask you, O fathers and brothers and spiritual children in the Lord, or rather I admonish you as beloved to me, to obey him as a father in all things and to subject yourselves to him with the appropriate honor, rejoicing in the leadership of this truly most honorable man for a twofold reason: both because he is a member of your select group and not of an alien one, and because you have obtained a shepherd who is dexterous and able to make you perfect in the Lord, and to lead you back to godly pastures.

For this most devout monk happens to be one of those who are celebrated for virtue inasmuch

as he has been consecrated to God from the “first hair of his head” as the saying goes, and “has chosen rather to be an abject in his house” (Ps. 83 [84]:10), according to the Davidic statement, than to be involved in worldly matters and by the distractions of the passions to contaminate the soul’s substance (which carries about in itself the image of the divine substance, preserving, that is, in itself the virtues unimpaired) and to run after [p. 83] the flesh, that is, [after] its cravings. Inasmuch as this “excellent fellow,” as the saying goes, has pursued the ascetic course for many years and “has put to death his limbs” (Col. 3:5), according to the divine apostle, and makes him who wishes to exercise discrimination well understand from the condition that is manifested in him the authority and independence of mind and, generally speaking, has gathered together, as does an industrious bee, the beautiful flowers of virtue and has deposited these in his mind, just as if in a beehive, and in the course of a protracted period of time has produced the good honey of virtue and by his inclination and elevation to higher things has become a towering “tree planted by the brooks of waters” (Ps. 1:3), to speak in accordance with the divine David, or, to state it better, a second paradise, he because of the luxuriance of his virtues will furnish you, O brothers and spiritual children in the Lord, the greatest benefit if you are eager to elevate yourselves so as both to resemble and imitate him.

For which of you, if he is conceited, when he has perceived his [the superior’s] moderation and humility, will not immediately suppress his arrogance and ameliorate himself [by correcting] such a fault? Who again, if he possesses an inordinate impulse and a loquacious as well as contentious tongue, will not become gentle-minded and “set a guard on his mouth” (Ps. 38 [39]:1; 140 [141]:3) when he observes his gentleness and tranquillity? Who, again, if he has his soul’s disposition inflamed with anger and grudge-bearing, will not restrain himself when he has undergone a change, will not then rouse himself towards reconciliation with the brother with whom perhaps he means to contend? Who will not cast off from himself that which grieves him and be forthwith elevated to a state of cheerfulness when he has seen with his own eyes this man’s graciousness as well as sweetness of countenance? Who, when he has discerned that the aforesaid most devout man “has become in everything all things to all men” (I Cor. 9:22) (not to recount in sequence each of his good attributes individually), will not return to that which is better, having deemed this amiable man blessed not only for his way of life and character but, indeed, also for nature itself, as is right, inasmuch as [nature] had attached to this man every form of virtue?

It is for this reason, in fact, that [p. 84] I offer with a very clear voice my gratitude to the Mother of God, because by her invisible supervisions she disclosed the man to me as a windfall that profits the soul and revealed him as your shepherd. Therefore, because he is such as I have pointed him out, accept him with glad welcome and render to him the honor that befits him and offer him your obedience in all things, as I have distinctly stated. He, too, when he has you obedient to him, “will shepherd you” in a manner that is both pleasing to God and skillful and, having nurtured you well, “will make you dwell in a place of green grass” (Ps. 22 [23]:1–2), I mean in the heavenly and beloved abodes.

12. As for you, my most honorable superior (for, since I am ostensibly departing from life and I am being led on to the places of judgment in the other world, I shall address myself to you and make this instruction), inasmuch as you have been appointed to shepherd the aforesaid monks by

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my humility, as I have said, or rather by the nod and decree of the Mother of God (for these men are, in fact, not only a flock but also at the same time a portion [of the Mother of God] and a truly “especial people” (Tit. 2:14) of hers, to whom, indeed, you are going to give an account as regards these men at the undeceivable and frightful judgment-seat), do be willing to prefer nothing at all to their souls’ salvation and their bodily care, but, as an affectionate father, embrace and accept them favorably as spiritual children.

Affectionately and kindly feel passionate love for them. Protect them from the snares of the evil one, even more at the present time, in which this truly crafty-minded one and hater of good “cunningly contrived stratagems” (Ps. 82 [83]:3) against our undefiled Christian faith, and those who cooperate with this clearly evil demon in his deeds and “who hate us have lifted their head” (Ps. 82 [83]:2) because they had not differentiated between the sanctity of the aforementioned orthodox faith and their loathsome and profane tenets, even if we, too, are culpable for these evils, pouring out against ourselves the cup of the Lord’s anger and “having drained the cup of calamity” (Is. 51:17, 22).

Alas! Who will lament these things properly? What sort of lamentations will he find that compensate for such an [p. 85] inhuman assault? It is for this reason, in fact, that I have borrowed Jeremiah’s statement at the present time and I say in lamenting in my heart, “Let me weep bitterly over the destruction of the daughter of my people” (Is. 51: 17, 22). For our affairs are “on the axe and the mason’s chisel” (Ps. 73 [74]: 6), according to the saying.

For these reasons, therefore, I shall surely cry out to him who is able to save, “Draw nigh to our help” (Ps. 69 [70]:1) who seek thee out, Lord, thou who art quick to comfort and to help, “and give not thine heritage to complete extermination and destruction in order that those who are wholly profane will not boast against us and say: ‘Where is their God?’ Let them know that thou art ‘the one who defends us’ (Prov. 30:5) ‘overlooking our sins’ (Wis. 11:23) because of thine abundant goodness.”

But my account must run back again to its sequence, even if it has diverged a little from the direct path. Anoint them, I beg you, “the congregation” (cf. II Cor. 11:28) of my monastery (to speak in accordance with the divine apostle) with exhortations for the good race of asceticism. As a disciple of the peaceful Christ, pacify them whenever they quarrel, if ever it will be necessary. Comfort them whenever they grieve. Care for those who are ill in accordance with your ability. Be kindly minded, feel compassionate love for all of them equally, and not for some more, while for others less. Do not refuse to make healthy and sound those who are ill and lame in soul. For not everyone’s responsibility is it to make sound that which is lame and to restore to well-being that which has need of it.

Do not reproach them because of simplicity. Do not despise them. Do not readily expel from the monastery those who perhaps have made a false step over something, but whip them not with a strap and rod but with a spiritual penalty. In the case of those who have repented, expel with a very gracious countenance the timidity of their souls that stems from their false step after the rendering of the prayers that are customary for them.

13. Refresh them at the cenobitic table, sitting down together with them and partaking without discrimination of both the same foods and drinks equally with them. For how shall a difference be

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made in the case of those who are brotherly minded unless, that is, a need of the body is pressing, someone of the monks having perhaps become ill or even having reached a ripe old age? Therefore, if some of them should happen to be so, I prescribe that they be deemed worthy of commensurate special fare. [p. 86] I both wish and order that two courses prepared with legumes and vegetables of whatsoever kind with seasoning be served up to such monks, that is, on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Mondays; but on the rest of the days, that is, Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays, three courses likewise with legumes and fish.

On the twenty-first day of the month of November, that is, the festal day of the Entrance of the Mother of God, my Mistress who is merciful to me, into the divine temple (which day I formulate that my aforementioned newly acquired monastery celebrate annually in accordance with tradition, and on which it is my wish that the copy of my present Rule, which has been confirmed, as is customarily done, be read within earshot of you, the superior at that time, after matins or even during the partaking [of food] at the cenobitic table) I prescribe that a special fare be offered to the aforesaid monks in accordance, that is, with the capability of this monastery and your, its superior's, wish.

Let, however, the same special fare be offered also on the twenty-third day of the same month for my remembrance and forgiveness of the sins that I have committed during my lifetime. I prescribe that a distribution be made also on the same two feast days at the gate of the monastery to my brothers in Christ. I prescribe that, in addition to the aforementioned special fare, a distribution of this sort be held also at my departure from the body, its commemoration, and the night offices of my third-day and ninth-day memorials, and that both you, the most honorable superior, and the monks under the monastery's jurisdiction, make mention of my humility in your entreaties.

14. I formulate and prescribe these things, in fact, for both you, the superior, and the monks, as I have already distinctly stated, whom, indeed, I entrust to the Mother of God, who pities me, and with tears I address her for your sake both suppliantly and at the same time boldly, "Guard, I beg thee, O Mistress, both the shepherd and the flock unoffended by the snares of the evil one. Protect them as thy God-chosen [p. 87] flock. Lead them on to the divine abodes through a God-pleasing conduct, having deemed me, too, the least, worthy to be led up along with them to the eternal abodes themselves, as I pray to thee and entreat thee, in order that, when I stand before the frightful judgment seat of our God, who became incarnate from thee, I may utter aloud with outspoken voice this assuredly delightful to me and lovely statement, 'Here am I and the children which thou hast given me, Master' (Is. 8:18); and may I hear from him the prayed-for voice which leads me 'into the joy' (Matt. 25:21) which is unending, and enjoins me gently and genuinely to enter into it together with them."

15. I wish and prescribe that he after you, the aforesaid most honorable superior lord Elias, who is going to receive in succession the office of superior of this monastery that I hold in private ownership, and besides his successors, too, are to be of this sort. Not only are they to be renowned for understanding and propriety and irreproachable life, and able to instruct besides, and make the monks in it perfect (as I have indicated above), but, also to manage skillfully all the things under

its jurisdiction, having sufficient experience, that is, in its affairs. That none of these persons, because he is parsimonious, is to claim as his own the things of the monastery and to embezzle them to the deprivation of the brothers. That he is not to be heartless nor haughty, neither a drunkard nor quick-tempered and at the same time grudge-bearing and truly a treasury of bad things.

Rather he is to be an abode of good things, and to possess the following superior qualities which produce goodness: discretion and at the same time humility, love and hospitality towards all, in order that through the latter [virtue] he, too, may receive God in his soul, as if in a tabernacle, as did Abraham. He is also to have the fountainhead that is mixed with such virtues, I mean charity, while possessing a “temper which is free of avarice” (Heb. 13:5) and to lead his own flock well. [p. 88]

16. I prescribe that the appointment of superiors of this sort be done as follows. After the one who is worthy to hold the office of superior has been selected without bias and with fear of God by him who at the time holds the office of superior of the aforesaid monastery and the preeminent monks under its jurisdiction, with the knowledge and approval also of all the rest of the brothers, they are to take him up to the most God-loved bishop of Stroumitza, whoever happens to be in office at that time, to receive from him the *sphragis*. As a gift and [token] of my generosity the aforesaid bishop is to receive for this *sphragis* three *nomismata* of the impress that prevails, that is, at the time and is in effect in the land of him who conducts the affairs of the imperial authority, even if perhaps just now for each *sphragis* one *nomisma* of the same impress is offered by canon law and regulation to him who happens to be the prelate in the area.

The most God-loved bishop himself of Stroumitza, however, is surely not to take such *sphragis* as a privilege or authority over the monastery which I hold in private ownership. For not, in fact, as an overseer or wielder of authority ought he to confer on him the *sphragis* who is to hold the office of superior and to receive the three *nomismata*, as I have distinctly stated, but as a local prelate, in accordance with the regulation of the sacred canons. If, however, the aforesaid bishop, because he is perhaps greedy, is not content to have received the three *nomismata* but undertakes rather to do something against the monastery and the things under its jurisdiction, it is my wish that the *sphragis* not be conferred by him but by the one who at that time holds the office of superior. My present Rule will suffice in place of the *sphragis* by such a superior.

After he who is going to hold the office of superior received the *sphragis* and has departed to the monastery together with the monks, in the course of the customary [liturgical] office for his [installation], let him take the pastoral staff from the holy altar after, that is, the *trisagion* has been performed and he has made a genuflection, and then thus let him assume the leadership of the monastery.

The privileges that through my *sigillion* have been lavished upon you, the above-mentioned most honorable lord Elias, and have been drawn up in my present Rule are to cease and be completely inoperative with regard to him who becomes the superior after you [p. 89] and those after him. In fact, the following privilege alone is to be preserved with regard to those who are to be superiors after you, as I have indicated, namely, that if he shall find anyone being either unruly or rebellious or engaging in harm to the monastery from the ranks of the monks in it and remaining incorrigible after a first, second, and third admonition as well as instruction, he is to expel him

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from the aforesaid monastery as a manifestly spoiled and useless member, even if he, indeed, happens to be from the ranks, that is, of my blood relatives.

Just as, again, if one of the very men chosen to hold the office of superior of this monastery appears to be corrupt—a thing that I pray may not happen—and claims as his own the things that belong to this [monastery] and also annoys the monks and sets aside the things that have been prescribed by me, and, to state it concisely, is clearly shown by his deeds to be a hireling and not a shepherd (John 10:12), I prescribe that after the [admonition and instruction] to him . . .⁹

17. If some strangers come to the monastery, I direct that in that eventuality they be shown hospitality and find refreshment at the instruction of the superior. If, however, some come to some of the monks in this monastery for the sake of conversation, I prescribe that such men not be permitted to come in the monastery secretly, contrary to the instruction of the superior, but I direct that first the gatekeeper make a report to him concerning them, and, after he has been instructed, permit them to enter, and that, if the time of day requires, they, too, be refreshed at the cenobitic table.

I also prescribe that the entrance of the monastery be completely closed to women. But neither is it, indeed, my wish that any youth who is younger than eighteen years of age be accepted in this my monastery. Let its dependency,¹⁰ therefore, admit one who is under eighteen years of age; and when he becomes eighteen years of age, let such a person be accepted in the monastery and tonsured. [p. 90]

18. I wish and prescribe that this, the monastery that I hold in private ownership and which bears the name of the Mother of God, who pities me, be self-governing and administered by itself, and that it not be subject perchance to any personage, ecclesiastical or magisterial, but to the Mother of God alone, whom, in fact, I have instituted as heir and through her the aforementioned most honorable superior, lord Elias, and those who after him are to hold the office of superior of both this monastery and those things in it that have been assigned to it by me, namely immovable, movable, and animate [property], and besides, sacred vessels and utensils.

Nor do I wish and prescribe that after my departure to the Lord an inventory be made over all these things, as the laws determine, but only an examination in the presence of my relatives by the superior of the monastery at that time and the monks in it. I instruct that such an examination be conducted after the death of the aforesaid superior at that time, namely, the most devout monk lord Elias, inasmuch as one such as he carries during his lifetime my privilege over both this the monastery that I have in private ownership and all the things in it, as I have stated.

As a matter of fact, this monastery shall not be subjected in any way whatsoever by anyone to any keeping of accounts. It shall not undergo removal of the things in it that have been attached to it partially or entirely, as I have explained. It shall not be transferred to any person by way of grant (for how shall this monastery be even brought under subjection to a person's authority since it has been consecrated absolutely to her who incomparably transcends the heavenly authorities and powers alike and is descriptively called her place?), but neither shall it be assigned to imperial rights perhaps on the pretext that it has been built on imperial land. Yea, rather this monastery will remain over and above all extraordinary impositions that are exacted and demanded now as well as in the future.

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For, in fact, according to the chrysobull that has been issued to me and is attached to this [*typikon*] by our most excellent and holy emperor, Lord Alexios [I] Komnenos (1081–1118),¹¹ for the sake of a supplicatory prayer on behalf of the permanence of his divine sovereignty, no one of the tax collectors in the region, I mean the state officials who have been entrusted with any services whatsoever in the theme of Tiberiopolis, that is, Stroumitza, [p. 91] or, after my lowliness, [any] of the most God-loved bishops of the most holy bishopric in the aforesaid theme of Stroumitza, and [any] of the most holy prelates themselves of the archbishopric of Bulgaria, will be permitted, on pretext of any reasonable right or privilege or even specious manipulation contrived by them in any way whatsoever, to innovate and to injure or to abuse at all this monastery of the Mother of God, who pities me, and the immovable things that have been assigned by me in the aforesaid [monastery], as I have distinctly stated.

19. Thus, if anyone of the above-mentioned holy persons, O Christ (for I shall raise my voice in heartfelt anguish to thee, who art consubstantial with thine inoriginate Father and the all-Holy Spirit) (cf. *Symbolum Nicaenoconstantinopolitanum*) shall attempt in any way whatsoever, as I have explicitly stated, either to abuse or to innovate this my monastery that I hold in private ownership, which was founded by my lowliness and humility in the name of the Mother of God, who pities me, namely thine all-Holy Mother, and the things in it that have been assigned to it, or to cast at all a gluttonous eye upon my labors, “do thou not direct the works of his hands” (Ps. 89 [90]:17).

“Let such a person,” while he is alive on earth, “have no helper” (Ps. 108 [109]:12). Let the contagious leprosy of Gehazi (IV Kings 5:27) and the trembling of the fratricide Cain (Gen. 4:12–14) from thy just judgment come upon him and those who are descended from him. “Let strangers spoil his acquisitions” (Ps. 108 [109]: 11). Let him be an heir to the curse of the three hundred and eighteen holy and God-bearing fathers. “Let his memorial perish out of the earth” (Job 18:17) and “let his habitation be made desolate” (Ps. 68 [69]:25; Acts 1:20) in accordance with the saying. May, again, such a person, when he has departed from life, not see thy countenance, Master. May he not hear thy prayer for life. May he not attain a position at thy right but may he be granted a lot with thy lawless and evil minded disciple, the one who had betrayed thee, my Master and Lord, and [with] the unmerciful and heartless rich man (Luke 16:23) who is dreadfully being fried in the flame of hell [p. 92].

20. In just the same manner, again, may he who has clearly preserved inviolable and inviolate the things that have been prescribed by me with respect to both this monastery that I hold in private ownership and the things in it, be deemed worthy of blessing from thee, Lord, the God of our fathers, while he is a wayfarer in life, and may he be satiated “from the fatness of the earth” (Gen. 27:28, 39). May such a person be as “a fruitful vine” (Ps. 127 [128]:3) in his pursuits in his lifetime. “May thou make him rejoice in thy strength” (Ps. 20 [21]:1). “May no enemy prevail over him” (Ps. 12 [13]:4). May he not fall into [diabolic] encounters in his life, but “let thine eyes continually gaze over him” (cf. Ps. 33 [34]:15). May he be deemed worthy of a position at thy right after his departure from this world. May paradise, the sacred precincts worthy of love, the unfailing dignified state, the most beautiful way of life, that is delightful and truly to be sought by

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those who are beneficent, be allotted to him just as a worthy reward for having made the right judgment of observing the things that have been enjoined by my lowliness. But these things have been formulated for the above-mentioned persons.

21. You, however, the most honorable superior of this monastery that I hold in private ownership, and those who after you are going to hold the office of superior in this [monastery] and besides, the monks too, in this monastery, I enjoin in the Holy Spirit and at the same time order that none of you ever transfer this monastery to anyone by way of gift or *epidosis* or alienate any of those things that have been assigned to it or even give out anything from its immovable possessions to any person by way of leasing out or in any other way to betray utterly any of my labors.

For, even if anyone from your ranks should attempt to violate a single one of those very things that have clearly been enumerated and indicated in my present Rule and have been forbidden by command by my humility, as I have explicitly stated, and proceed to overturn the things that have been prescribed by me, not only will he be liable to the above-mentioned curses but also whatever he might have done to harm the monastery, as I have indicated, will be reckoned invalid and as not even having been done at all, [p. 93] such a person being expelled from the monastery for “having removed the landmarks which his fathers placed” (Prov. 22:28, 23:10; Deut. 19:14), as it has been written.

22. Therefore, now that I have both formulated and prescribed in writing all these things in the text of my present Rule and have confirmed them, as is customarily done, through my personally written signature, I implore you, the most honorable superior lord Elias, and those who after you are going to hold the office of superior of the very monastery that I hold in private ownership, and besides also the monks in it, namely, those who are and those who will be, to preserve them without innovation and without violation, and with much eagerness to execute them and at the same time to see to it that they are executed, knowing that, if you shall set aside any of those things that have been put into this my Rule, you are going to render accounts to me at the undeceivable and frightful judgment seat, or rather to the Mother of God, who pities me, by whose vigilant and most saving intercessions may you be saved, I pray, O fathers and brothers and spiritual children in the Lord, unoffended by the snares of the evil one. Be superior to every kind of bodily ill-disposition, continually mindful also of my humility, particularly in your prayers, for the glory of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, the life-giving and consubstantial Trinity, which maintains and governs this earthly world and us who dwell upon it, now and always, and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

The Signature

I, Manuel, the least monk and bishop of Tiberioupolis, that is, Stroumitza, and servant, even if unworthy, of the supremely holy Mother of God, who pities me, have signed with my own hand.

+++

Having compared the present copy of the regulation and having found it to be exact, I have signed it. +

The lowly bishop of Stroumitza, Clement,¹² monk. +

Notes on the Translation

1. This quotation is not found among the works of Gregory Nazianzen.
2. For this monastery, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 47.
3. Cf. John Chrysostom, *De sancto Philogonio*, PG 48, col. 749.
4. Cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio 25, In laudem Heronis philosophi*, PG 35, col. 1200A.
5. Ps. 3, 37 [38], 62 [63], 87 [88], 102 [103], 142 [143]; cf. (4) *Stoudios* [2].
6. Cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio 44, In novam Dominicam*, PG 36, col. 609A.
7. Cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio 25, In laudem Heronis philosophi*, PG 35, col. 1200B.
8. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio 39, In sancta lumina*, PG 36, col. 336C.
9. Lacuna in the text at this point.
10. Perhaps this is the *metochion* at the village of Roulina near Mostenitz mentioned in the *Praktikon* of Michael Tzankitzakes, ed. Petit, “Monastère,” doc. 8, p. 38.
11. Dölger, *Regesten.*, no. 1124, ed. Petit, “Monastère,” doc. 1, pp. 25–27, and reproduced in Miljković-Peppek, *Veljusa*, pp. 253–55.
12. If this individual is identical with the bishop of the same name found in the *Praktikon* of Tzankitzakes, ed. Petit, “Monastère,” doc. 8, p. 38, then the certification must have been made circa 1152.

Document Notes

- [1] Meditation on death. Compare to similar discussions in (5) *Euthymios* [3], (6) *Rila* [2], and (7) *Latros*, Introduction.
- [2] Profession of faith. Compare to similar statements in (3) *Theodore Studites*; (7) *Latros* [1], [2], [3]; (49) *Geromeri* [2] ff.; and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [1].
- [3] Foundation history. Compare to parallel histories in (6) *Rila* [1], (9) *Galesios* [246], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [2] ff, (17) *Nikon Metanoite*, (18) *Nea Gephyra* [1], (19) *Attaleiates* [1], [2], (22) *Evergetis* [2], (23) *Pakourianos* [1], and (24) *Christodoulos* [A2] ff, etc. The wasteland *topos* has parallels in (6) *Rila* [1] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [1].
- [4] Equality in food and drink for all; so also [13] below. This is a key concept of the cenobitic life as developed by the monastic reform movement; see (22) *Evergetis* [26], (27) *Kecharitomene* [56], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [53], (30) *Phoberos* [45], (32) *Mamas* [34], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33], and (34) *Machairas* [106].
- [5] Size limitation; restriction of personal effects; placement of two monks in a cell. For similar size restrictions, see (9) *Galesios* [246], (16) *Mount Tmolos* [1], [2], (19) *Attaleiates* [27], (23) *Pakourianos* [6], (27) *Kecharitomene* [5], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3], (30) *Phoberos* [42], (32) *Mamas* [5], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33], and later documents. The restriction of personal effects, while stricter than in (9) *Galesios* [191], [192], is more lenient than in the militantly reformist (22) *Evergetis* [22], (20) *Black Mountain* [84], and related documents. Even the items permitted here could be—and probably were—communally supplied. The pairing of monks in cells is also found in (22) *Evergetis* [24].
- [6] Midnight and morning offices. Compare to treatments in (4) *Stoudios* [11]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [11], [12]; (20) *Black Mountain* [15] ff.; (22) *Evergetis* [7]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [38], [39]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15]; (30) *Phoberos* [12], [13]; (32) *Mamas* [47]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]; and (34) *Machairas* [45], [46], [48].

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- [7] Daytime offices. Compare to treatments in (11) *Ath. Rule* [8]; (20) *Black Mountain* [9] ff.; (22) *Evergetis* [6]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [35], [36]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15]; (30) *Phoberos* [12]; (32) *Mamas* [47]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]; and (34) *Machairas* [42], [43], [44].
- [8] Proper deportment at services. See also (36) *Blemmydes* [13], (55) *Athanasios I* [4], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [58], [59].
- [9] Discussion of monastic vows.
- [10] Moral exhortation.
- [11] Rights of the new superior; admonition to obedience. For other examples of exceptional privileges accorded only to the first incumbent of an administrative office, see (19) *Attaleiates* [26], [33], and (32) *Mamas* [15]. The admonition is a traditional element, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [25], (22) *Evergetis* [16], (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [43], (30) *Phoberos* [36], and (34) *Machairas* [142], etc.
- [12] Admonition to the superior. This is another traditional element, employed by reform founders to urge a moderation of the superior's absolute disciplinary authority; see also (22) *Evergetis* [17], (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [44], (30) *Phoberos* [36], (32) *Mamas* [42], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [41], (34) *Machairas* [144], and (58) *Menoikeion* [19].
- [13] Dietary concessions for old and sick monks; celebration of the patronal feast. Note justification of this important exception from the general principle of dietary equality (cf. [4] above). (4) *Stoudios* [30], (11) *Ath. Rule* [25], (22) *Evergetis* [26], (27) *Kecharitomene* [56], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [53], (30) *Phoberos* [45], (32) *Mamas* [34], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33], and (34) *Machairas* [107] also make selective provision for dietary concessions to the elderly and the sick. For the treatment of patronal feasts at other monasteries, see (4) *Stoudios* [A30], (21) *Roidion* [B9], (22) *Evergetis* [10], [11], (27) *Kecharitomene* [59], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [10], [29], (30) *Phoberos* [32], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [48], and (34) *Machairas* [27], [29]. The provision here for the reading of Manuel's *Rule* is a standard feature of reform *typika* such as (22) *Evergetis* [43] and related documents.
- [14] Appeal to the Mother of God for protection. See similar appeals for heavenly assistance in (19) *Attaleiates* [7], [15]; (28) *Pantokrator* [71]; and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [119].
- [15] Qualifications for the superiorship. Documents from reform monasteries such as (22) *Evergetis* [13], (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], (30) *Phoberos* [35], (34) *Machairas* [80] also illustrate this concern with the moral qualities of the superior.
- [16] Selection and installation of the superior; limited rights of Elias' successors; removal of a bad superior. Manuel envisions the superior selecting his own successor with the advice of the *prokritoi* and the consent of the other monks; cf. the more complex arrangements found in (22) *Evergetis* [13]. His willingness to have his monks present the new superior to the local bishop for the *sphragis*, for which the latter would receive a consideration of three *nomismata*, was shared by the authors of (29) *Kosmosoteira* [33], (32) *Mamas* [1], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1], but not those of (22) *Evergetis* nor (29) *Kecharitomene* [11]. The notion of restricting the rights of successors to the founder's hand-picked administrator is found also in (19) *Attaleiates* [26], [33] and (32) *Mamas* [15]. Documents drawn up for reform monasteries also provide for the removal of a bad superior, most commonly for financial misconduct; see (22) *Evergetis* [14], (23) *Pakourianos* [19], (24) *Christodoulos* [A20], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [41], and (30) *Phoberos* [35].
- [17] Hospitality; ban on admission of women and youths; housing of young novices in the dependency. For a contemporary discussion of the requirements of hospitality, see (21) *Roidion* [B2] ff. Manuel's ban on the admission of women parallels the hostility of reform monasteries to access by the opposite sex, for which see (22) *Evergetis* [39], (27) *Kecharitomene* [17], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [84], (30) *Phoberos* [55], (32) *Mamas* [27], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [27], (34) *Machairas* [115], and later documents. (23) *Pakourianos* [31] features a school for future monks under the tutelage of an elderly priest at that foundation's dependency.
- [18] Self-governing status; no inventory to be drawn up. For the development of the concept of the indepen-

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dent and self-governing monastery, see (13) *Ath. Typikon* [13] with the discussion in Chapter Two. Centuries later, an inventory was in fact drawn up; it is included as the last document in our collection as (61) *Eleousa Inv.*

- [19] Curses on violators. The use of curses seems directly related to the advent of the *charistike* and the increasing peril it posed in the eleventh century to the well-being of private religious foundations. For other eleventh-century examples, see (8) *John Xenos* [2], (9) *Galesios* [246], (18) *Nea Gephyra* [4], (19) *Attaleiates* [23], (22) *Evergetis* [12], and (24) *Christodoulos* [B14].
- [20] Rewards for preservers. See also (19) *Attaleiates* [34]. As reform sentiments became more common towards the end of the eleventh century, founders sought also to enlist the support of the pious laity and public officials for the preservation of their *typika*.
- [21] Warning to dishonest officials. See also (22) *Evergetis* [32], [42]. Assuring honest administration was one of the most important concerns of monastic reformers in the course of the transition from traditional family patronage to genuine institutional independence.
- [22] Injunction to preserve the founder's commands. Compare to other examples found in (3) *Theodore Studites* [24], (5) *Euthymios* [2], (6) *Rila* [5], (8) *John Xenos* [3], and (9) *Galesios* [246]; eventually personal injunction is transformed into a command for the preservation of the founder's *typikon*, as in (22) *Evergetis* [40], backed up by the periodic public reading [43] of that document.

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Athonite Monasteries

“In my own case, now, I have absolute dominion, and not even one person can gainsay my command . . .” (13) *Ath. Typikon* [16]

“My majesty does not wish that anything novel should be undertaken on this Holy Mountain, but rather that the ancient laws and rules be observed and that all be done according to the orders of the emperors of blessed memory.” (15) *Constantine IX*, Preface

“Once we succeeded in acquiring a deeply spiritual understanding of the matter, it was found that both parties were absolutely guiltless, strange as this may sound. The dispute which had arisen between them was recognized as having been caused by the activity of Satan.” (12) *Tzimiskes*, Preface

There are five documents in this second group of Byzantine monastic foundation documents, clustered together in less than a century’s span of time from the second half of the tenth to the first half of the eleventh century. They are all associated with the monastic communities located on Mount Athos on the southeastern peninsular extremity of the Chalkidike in northern Greece.

A. Typology of the Documents

Three of the documents, (11) *Ath. Rule*, (13) *Ath. Typikon*, and (14) *Ath. Testament*, all of the last half of the tenth century, share an author, Athanasios the Athonite, founder of the famous Lavra monastery on Mount Athos. Like (4) *Stoudios*, upon which it is heavily dependent, (11) *Ath. Rule* is an example of an early *typikon* in which the regulation of liturgical performances and some administrative matters are combined in a single document, the genre not yet having evolved into separate *typika leitourgika* and *typika ktetorika*. (13) *Ath. Typikon*, despite its title, is generically a testament, borrowing a significant amount of its content, in fact, from (3) *Theodore Studites*, the prototypal testament of the previous century. The last Athanasian document, (14) *Ath. Testament*, is a result of the author’s need to re-examine the administrative arrangements he had made for his foundation approximately a decade earlier in (13) *Ath. Typikon*.

The other two documents, (12) *Tzimiskes* and (15) *Constantine IX*, have a quasi-judicial character. They are records of imperial inquests by special representatives of the monarchs whose names they bear into disciplinary problems affecting all the monasteries on Mount Athos, not just Lavra. While these imperial documents are not unique, another example of the genre will not be found in our collection until (59) *Manuel II* in the fifteenth century, although (55) *Athanasios I*, a

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patriarchal document from the early fourteenth century, exhibits certain similarities. The objection raised that the two documents in this chapter are not really *typika* is unjustified.¹ The authorship and format may be atypical, but these documents were indubitably intended to be prescriptive for the governance of the monastic communities whose leaders subscribed to them, and on this basis merit their place in our collection.

B. Concerns of the Authors

1. The Studite Legacy

Athanasios' first two documents, (11) *Ath. Rule* and (13) *Ath. Typikon*, illustrate the continued influence and prestige of Studite monasticism, as they borrow freely from (4) *Stoudios* and (3) *Theodore Studites* respectively, though without attribution. It is likely that the Studite *typikon*, (4) *Stoudios*, had already been in circulation for more than a century by the time Athanasios made extensive use of a version of it that was evidently rather different from and later than either of the two versions, [A] and [B], now available in printed editions that we have presented in translation in Chapter One. By Athanasios' time, it had likely become a kind of "off-the-shelf" product, stripped of specifically Studite customs, Constantinopolitan geographic references, etc., that could be customized for any cenobitically-organized monastery to fit a founder's preferences for the liturgical and dietary matters with which it is primarily concerned.

The Studite *Testament*, (3) *Theodore Studites*, was another matter altogether. It is much more tightly bound than the Studite *typikon* to the context of its times in the early ninth century. It partakes of an anti-entrepreneurial bias that is even more archaic, rooted in an ideology of modest self-sufficiency that can be traced back to the document's late antique sources. It evidently suited Athanasios' needs at the time that he composed his own (13) *Ath. Typikon*, circa 973–75, to pay tribute to these aspects of Studite monasticism, utilizing (3) *Theodore Studites* selectively and even adding some provisions of his own in the same vein. Just a short time before, he had survived an imperial inquest, memorialized in (12) *Tzimiskes*, and a concerted attempt by his Athonite neighbors to have him expelled from the Mountain for pursuing an entirely opposite policy of aggressive economic activity and territorial aggrandizement that threatened their way of life.

In the long run, Studite institutions had a more lasting impact on the daily life of Lavra's monks, broadly based on cenobitic principles, than on the foundation's external relations, economic policies, or territorial ambitions. It may be significant that when Athanasios drew up (14) *Ath. Testament* towards the end of his life, he took care to note the continued validity of (11) *Ath. Rule* in an apparent allusion to that earlier document, but ignored (13) *Ath. Typikon* and superseded many of its provisions with new administrative arrangements.

2. Institutional Autonomy and Financial Security

Athanasios' three foundation documents, composed over the course of approximately thirty years from circa 963 to sometime after 993, demonstrate the founder's considerable ingenuity and flexibility in responding to the challenges of his times. This was a very tumultuous era in the institu-

¹ Cf. Catia Galatariotou, "Byzantine Ktetorika Typika: A Comparative Study," *REB* 45 (1987), 77–138, at 84.

tional history of Byzantium's religious foundations, and yet Athanasios managed to assure the protection of his monastery from assorted threats and predators. Thus we are presented with a rare opportunity (as also later with (25) *Fragala* and (51) *Koutloumoussi*) to study the evolution of a founder's approach to balancing the frequently conflicting needs for institutional autonomy and financial security for his monastery.

3. Birth of the Independent Monastery

Lavra, moreover, was no ordinary monastic foundation. (13) *Ath. Typikon* provides invaluable testimony to the origins of the "independent and self-governing" monastery in Byzantium, a form of organization that would come to dominate the ecclesiastical landscape of the Byzantine world from the late eleventh century down to the empire's collapse in the fifteenth century and even beyond (see below, Chapters Four, Five, Six, Seven, and Nine). Generally, if private monasteries like the monastery of Kolobou near Hierissos and the monastery of St. Andrew Peristerai near Thessalonike, to name two examples near Athos founded in the late ninth century, sought imperial financial support, they ran the risk of being taken over by the government and being converted into imperial foundations, as these two were in the course of the ninth century.² For a time it appeared as if Lavra might follow the same pattern, having been built by Athanasios at the orders of Nikephoros Phokas while the latter was still a general in the service of Romanos II (959–963); then with its patron's accession to the emperors in 963 the new foundation suddenly found itself a de facto imperial monastery. Through a brilliant set of tactical maneuvers, including temporarily resigning his superiorship and leaving for an intended pilgrimage to the Holy Land, followed by hard negotiating with the new emperor himself in Constantinople, Athanasios essentially succeeded in sparing Lavra this fate without giving up the advantages of generous financial assistance.

The critical document that made this feat possible was Nikephoros II Phokas's chrysobull of 964,³ portions of which are preserved in (13) *Ath. Typikon* and (14) *Ath. Testament*. A reconstruction of the fragments of this text follows:

Frag. 1: We decree that after us this Lavra is to be under the dominion of the most reverend monk Athanasios, and while my majesty is still alive we want this same most reverend monk Athanasios to be the undisturbed superior of the eighty monks in this Lavra and in the cells round about the Lavra. Everything is to be administered by him in accord with what is dear to God and consonant with the monastic constitution. After his death, if my majesty is still alive, the person who has distinguished himself in that same Lavra and the cells subject to it and in whom that most reverend monk Athanasios before dying should have placed his trust, that man should be installed in the position of superior. But when God shall call us from this vain life and have us partake of the common chalice of death, we want nobody else at all to be appointed as superior of this lavra except him whom the monks of the Lavra and the cells subject to it, having gathered together and

² For these monasteries, see Denise Papachryssanthou, *Actes du Prôtaton* (= Archives de l'Athos 7) (Paris, 1975), pp. 35–41.

³ Franz Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, 5 vols. (Munich-Berlin, 1924–65), no. 704.

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after careful examination, shall look upon as distinguished in virtue and capable of exercising this office, and they shall establish him as superior. Under no circumstances at all do we permit a person from a different lavra or monastery to become superior of this one. Even after our death we do not want anyone to be allowed to grant this Lavra to any secular or ecclesiastical person or even to a monk or to make it subject to another monastery. It is our will and command, rather, that it remain free and self-governing. = (13) *Ath. Typikon* [12]

Frag. 2: We do not want anyone advanced to the position of superior of this Lavra except that person whom the monks of the Lavra after careful investigation shall find to be outstanding in virtue and suitable for the task, and they shall install him as superior.
= (13) *Ath. Typikon* [18]

Frag. 3: The superior of the Lavra must not be appointed from anywhere else except from among the brothers persevering in it, and he must be distinguished in intelligence and in virtue. = (14) *Ath. Testament* [3]

As Athanasios' selection of excerpts from Nikephoros Phokas' chrysobull shows, he realized that the right to name a superior was one of the traditional keys to control of a monastic institution. By securing the emperor's assent that the choice of the superior should eventually be determined internally within Lavra, Athanasios hoped to make his foundation effectively an independent institution despite its continued dependence on the emperor for financial support.

4. The Costs of Growth

To a limited extent, the entire monastic community on Mount Athos had benefited financially from imperial patronage since Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944) granted an annual pension known as the *roga*, probably in the amount of three pounds of gold.⁴ This sum was shared among many institutions, however, while Athanasios had an analogous annual pension from Nikephoros Phokas exactly twice as large all to himself, even though he took the precaution of getting the emperor to raise the general Athonite pension to seven pounds. Athanasios' imperial subvention allowed him to support Lavra's relatively large contingent of eighty monks even as early as 964. A doubling of the subsidy later by Emperor John Tzimiskes (969–976) made it possible to increase the maximum number of monks supported to 120. Yet after Athanasios' death, Lavra was to grow to almost nine times its original size, reaching 700 monks by the time (15) *Constantine IX* [4] was issued in the mid-eleventh century.

Athanasios, like monastic directors elsewhere, had to face the consequences of the almost inescapable nexus of growth and the increased economic activity needed to support it. His statements in the Studite-inspired (13) *Ath. Typikon* notwithstanding, Athanasios seems to have had few compunctions about permitting a level of economic activities sufficient to support his monks, but he had the advantage of extra flexibility thanks to his large imperial subsidy. Most other Athonite ascetics, less well-connected than he, simply lacked Athanasios' access to patronage on

⁴ For the first imperial subsidy see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 54; Lavra's financial support from the emperors is discussed below in (11) *Ath. Rule*, Institutional History, A 7–11.

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this scale. Some, untroubled by the consequences of increased economic activity, opted for self-help. Others preferred to rely on the subsistence existence, perhaps assisted by a small share in the general imperial subsidy, that was traditional on Athos for solitary ascetics and small groups of monks living in individual cells called *kelliotai*.

5. Protection for More Perilous Times

Despite his assertion of Lavra's institutional independence, Athanasios still found it difficult not to think like a traditional patron, as in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [16], where he declares in connection with the choice of his successor, "In my own case, now, I have absolute dominion, and not even one person can gainsay my command." The appeal of the conventions of the old order was not merely psychological; as external threats to the well-being of monastic institutions increased towards the close of the tenth century (see below, Historical Context) prudent founders of the new independent monasteries like Athanasios realized that it was simply too dangerous not to find a replacement for the role formerly played by the private patron.

In (14) *Ath. Testament* Athanasios chose the protectorate for this role, embodied in two administrators (*epitropoi*), one on Mount Athos itself and another residing at court in Constantinople. The local administrator, Athanasios' friend and fellow ascetic John the Iberian, was to enjoy what were traditional patronal rights over Lavra despite Athanasios' concession of "absolute authority and dominion" in the governance of both spiritual and material affairs to his successor as superior. Therefore some thirty years after Lavra's initial designation as an "independent" monastery, the internal contradictions between traditional needs for protection and new aspirations for self-governance had not yet been resolved.

During Athanasios' lifetime, he skillfully parried the recurring opposition of his Athonite neighbors and managed to maintain the imperial subsidy, even gaining another increase from Basil II in 978, all the while retaining a free hand in administering Lavra as he saw fit. After his death, and throughout the eleventh century, arrangements for Lavra's governance remained subject to change, responsive to emerging threats to its institutional autonomy and problems the monks encountered in governing themselves. In this era, as earlier, protection and financial support were the currencies with which interested parties—the emperors, patriarchs, local notables—bought patronal privilege in the empire's religious institutions. Following the example of its founder, Lavra generally drove a hard bargain.

6. The Future Direction of Athonite Monasticism

Aside from the three Athanasian texts, the other two documents in this chapter's grouping are (12) *Tzimiskes* and (15) *Constantine IX*. Both are of considerable value to us since they stand outside of the normative conventions of most other monastic *typika* and illustrate how very different actual circumstances might be from the theoretical organization enjoined in the more conventional foundation documents. These documents are also critical witnesses to an ongoing struggle in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries for the heart and soul of Athonite monasticism.

Under its traditional pattern of organization, Athos had a delicate balance of a variety of monastic lifestyles under a loose organizational structure headed by a *protos* at the principal settlement, Karyes, and was governed by a council of elders and periodic assemblies of all the mountain's

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monks.⁵ During the reign of Leo VI the Wise (886–912), the Athonites had successfully fought off an attempt at annexation by the neighboring cenobitic monastery of Kolobou.⁶ Athanasios, who had initially been warmly received by the Athonites, must have given them reason to fear a repetition of Kolobou's initiative when he began to develop Lavra as a large, economically aggressive, and territorially expansionist cenobitic monastery during Nikephoros Phokas' reign (963–969).

7. Reconciliation of Divergent Forms of Monastic Life

The actual author of (12) *Tzimiskes*, the Studite monk Euthymios, may have been chosen in 971–72 to conduct Emperor John Tzimiskes' inquest primarily because of his monastery's traditionally close association with the emperors (for which see (5) *Euthymios*, Institutional History) but it is not unreasonable to suspect that Athanasios had some influence in the selection of the leader of a cenobitic monastery linked by its customary to his own for an investigation on whose outcome the fate of Athanasios' lifetime work depended. In any event, Euthymios attempted to provide for the interests of all the forms of monastic organization on Mount Athos, the emerging cenobitic monasteries like Lavra as well as the more traditional small groups of kelliotic monks and solitary ascetics.⁷ He made a modest attempt to reform some of the disciplinary abuses present in traditional Athonite monasticism—such as the vagabond priests who presumed to celebrate the liturgy without authorization from their bishops—that were endemic to the Byzantine private church system, yet he also permitted the continuance of the commercial aspects of that system, especially the sale, donation and bequeathing of monastic buildings and properties. His attempt to restrict the Athonites' other commercial activities, even those engaged in for profit with laymen beyond the Mountain, were half-hearted and ultimately ineffective. So not only were Athanasios and his brand of cenobitic monasticism enabled to stay on Mount Athos, but also the circumstances for its expansion at the expense of other forms of monastic life were especially propitious.

8. The Challenge of the Monastic Reform

The controversies of (12) *Tzimiskes* were re-examined in (15) *Constantine IX* in 1045, 73 years later, in another imperial inquest, led this time by the monk Kosmas Tzintziloukes. In the interim, Lavra, as noted, had grown to nearly nine times its original size, and along with other large cenobitic monasteries had come to dominate Mount Athos. Indeed, the last of the ascetics living in the traditional way with a minimum of work and alms received from other monasteries had been obliged to adopt a cenobitic organization before the close of the tenth century.⁸ This time the challenge to Lavra and the other large monasteries, Athos' exponents of "big monasticism," apparently came from the smaller cenobitic institutions. Their leaders, reformist partisans of a fundamentalist persuasion, achieved their first success even before Constantine IX dispatched Tzintziloukes on his mission by getting the emperor to order the use of (12) *Tzimiskes* along with certain imperial chrysobulls as the documents of reference for adjudicating the controversies with

⁵ For the governmental institutions of Athos, see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 11–64.

⁶ See the Act of Leo VI (908), ed. Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 52–54, with discussion 38–41.

⁷ For this interpretation, see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 100.

⁸ See Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 102.

their opponents. Ironically, (12) *Tzimiskes*, a document notable in the context of its own times for doing little to restrict the growth of Lavra, was now readily employable as a base-line standard for those who now wished to curtail the activities of the much larger Lavra of the mid-eleventh century.

In Chapter One, we have already seen how some reform-minded monks and aspiring patrons in (9) *Galesios* were appalled by the decay of cenobitical institutions and sought the founder Lazarus' guidance on how to do better. Virtually contemporaneously, the fundamentalist reformers on Mount Athos were launching their own revolt against aristocratic privilege and permissive attitudes towards a whole range of economic activities that they thought were incompatible with the monastic life. In addition to asserting the authoritativeness of (12) *Tzimiskes*, these reformers also attempted to set up patristic authority as an equally valid touchstone of authority. The fundamentalist recovery of late antique patristic precedents, just noticeable here, would become a development of great significance as the monastic reform movement progressed during the rest of the eleventh century.

It is noteworthy how the dynamics of the struggle changed in another way since (12) *Tzimiskes*. Leaving aside economic issues, three-quarters of a century earlier, Athanasios could with some justice see Lavra as the center of at least disciplinary reform against the background of the mores of traditional private religious foundations on Athos. Now in the middle of the eleventh century, Neophytos, one of Athanasios' successors, was among the participants in the assembly memorialized in (15) *Constantine IX*, but the mighty superior of Lavra, attended by his entourage of servants, could no longer be considered to be an agent of reform in any sense. The hostility of the smaller houses towards what they deemed to be the arrogance of the larger monasteries is quite manifest. Yet the larger houses—Lavra and Vatopedi are mentioned by name—convincingly argued that their very size justified a lenient interpretation of what was to be permitted in the way of sustaining economic activities. As Tzintziloukes quickly realized, times had changed so much that the economic provisions of (12) *Tzimiskes* could no longer simply be reinstated despite his mandate from the emperor to do just that. An enforcement of the disciplinary legislation in (12) *Tzimiskes* was easier to achieve, as was a partial curtailment of the honorary prerogatives of the superiors of the great monasteries. So neither side was able to win a complete victory here.

9. The Continuing Debate on Economic Activities

The participants in the inquest that resulted in (15) *Constantine IX* were engaged in a lively debate over the appropriateness of various economic activities for individuals in monastic life. As before, the tolerance of the various Athonite monastic communities for these activities had determinative implications for the size of their foundations, and tended to shape attitudes on related moral and disciplinary problems as well.

The larger institutions tended over the long course of time to become more traditional (and entrepreneurial) in outlook regardless of their ideological origins. By the mid-eleventh century the Athonite establishment monasteries like Lavra had in effect fallen back on the reliable if hardly abuse-free model available in the old private religious foundation. The mores of this model stressed freedom from interference by outside (i.e., public) authority, and accommodated self-sustaining

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growth by tolerating considerable economic activity, including transactions with laymen. Despite his mandate from the emperor to decide the issues in dispute on the basis of the prescriptions in pre-existing *typika* and chrysobulls, Tzintziloukes found the logic of the great monasteries' endorsement of this model compelling, since the economic activity they willingly accepted could be abolished only at the cost of drastically reducing the overall size of the monastic settlement on Athos.

The reformers, ideologically hostile to most commercial activities, had perforce to content themselves with smaller foundations in order to maintain consistency with their principles since—unlike Lavra—they were not recipients of specially-earmarked and generous imperial largess. The attitudes associated with a “smaller is better” philosophy naturally appealed to smaller institutions. Most later reform monasteries in succeeding centuries would tend to be small in size too, at least those that did not have access to imperial support.

As Tzintziloukes must have realized, the mid-eleventh century was hardly a propitious time to embrace a vision of fundamentalist monasticism that could not accommodate growth without outside financial support. The public authorities of the empire, both the imperial government and the ecclesiastical hierarchy, were at that very time enthusiastically cooperating in the use of the *charistike*, an extensive program to redistribute older private foundations among a new class of private patrons that also encompassed the effective privatization of existing publicly supported religious institutions. So massive imperial support, the solution devised for Lavra by Athanasios for assuring its institutional independence, was now hardly practical as a model for other institutions. Few contemporaries could have expected therefore that the fundamentalist reform party would have had much of an impact on the future of Byzantine monasticism, but the very smallness and relative insignificance of their foundations enabled them to escape the wave of de-facto secularization through the *charistike* that overwhelmed virtually all other monastic foundations in the course of the eleventh century.⁹ By the century's end, their foundations were well positioned to lead a reform with the support of sympathetic patrons of all social classes.

C. Historical Context

The broader historical context of this period helps us gain a better understanding of this micro-view of monastic history on Mount Athos in this hundred-year period from the mid-tenth through the mid-eleventh century.

1. The First Imperial Agrarian Legislation

A famous novel of Romanos Lekapenos issued in 934 included superiors, the directors of philanthropic institutions, archbishops, metropolitans, and other ecclesiastical officials along with lay magnates in the list of individuals who were forbidden to obtain the property of peasants under any circumstances.¹⁰ Romanos' successor Constantine VII (944–959) confirmed these restric-

⁹ So John of Antioch, *Oratio de monasteriis*, chap. 9, ed. Paul Lemerle, “Réquisitoire du patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat,” *REB* 33 (1971), 213–84, at 109.

¹⁰ Romanos I Lekapenos, *Novella de potentibus ab acquisitione praediorum arcendis* (934) (*JGR* 3.241–52 = Zepos, *Jus* 1.205 ff.) = Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 628.

tions in a law of his own dated to 947.¹¹ These laws had the effect of practically prohibiting extensions of the endowments of monasteries in order to increase revenues.

2. Nikephoros Phokas' Ban on Construction of Religious Facilities

Athanasios' patron Nikephoros Phokas thought that the number of monasteries and philanthropic foundations in the Byzantine Empire had become disproportionate to the need for them. Accordingly, shortly after his initial patronage of the Lavra monastery, he issued a controversial law,¹² probably in 964, which recommends that wealthy benefactors should henceforth sell properties that they would otherwise have donated to new foundations and give the proceeds to the poor. Alternatively, his law suggests that these benefactors turn their attentions to ruined and dilapidated foundations that badly needed financial assistance for repairs and capital improvements. These would use the benefactors' money to acquire field hands and livestock in order to put their current properties to better use. The law strictly forbids benefactors to make direct grants of lands and buildings although it makes special provision for exemptions for institutions that had shortages of endowed properties. While the law did not abolish private monasteries, it did prevent the endowment of any new ones with landed property. Individual monastic cells (*kellia*) and lavras (*lavrai*), or collections of such cells, were excepted from the restrictions too.

3. Relevance of Nikephoros Phokas' Law to Mount Athos

Nikephoros Phokas' law thus reflects a specific policy of encouraging small-scale lavriotic and kelliotic monasticism while simultaneously curtailing the further growth of large landowning monasteries.¹³ Whether Lavra was a foundation in accord with this policy or a special exception is difficult to say. Certainly Lavra was eventually to become just the sort of foundation of which the emperor would not have approved. The foundation's terminological ambiguity, called "Lavra" but operated as a *koinobion*, may have been intended to take advantage of one of the law's largest loopholes. On the other hand, Athanasios' heavy reliance at first on imperial subsidies may have kept Lavra within the spirit as well as the letter of Nikephoros Phokas' law. Even when his successor John Tzimiskes made an additional grant to Lavra, recorded by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [36], that was derived from tax receipts from the island of Lemnos, once again no land grants were involved.

4. Background to the Development of the *Charistike*

Nikephoros Phokas' law most likely remained at least nominally in force until repealed by Basil II in 988.¹⁴ At about the same time Patriarch Nicholas II Chrysoberges (980–992) unsuccessfully

¹¹ Constantine VII, *Novella de potentibus praedia pauperum acquirentibus* (JGR 3.252–56 = Zepos, *Jus* 1.214 ff.), esp. chap. 2 = Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 656.

¹² Nikephoros Phokas, *Novella de monasteriis* (964) (JGR 3.292–96 = Zepos, *Jus* 1.249–52) = Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 699; translation and commentary by Peter Charanis, "Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire," *DOP* 4 (1948), 53–118, at 56–57.

¹³ For the interpretation of the law and its relevance to Lavra, see Rosemary Morris, "The Two Faces of Nikephoros Phokas," *B&MGS* 12 (1988), 83–115, esp. 105–7.

¹⁴ Basil II, *Novella quae legem Nicephori de monasteriis tollit* (988) (JGR 3.303 = Zepos, *Jus* 1.259) = Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 772. Authenticity questioned by N. Svoronos, "Histoire des institutions de l'empire

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attempted to assert control over the monastery of Piperatos (once owned by Romanos I Lekapenos), but the owners objected and Basil II upheld their private property rights in the institution.¹⁵ The owners were able to establish that their monastery was independent (*autodespotos*), like Athanasios' Lavra, and had never been conceded to an ecclesiastical overlord.

There is no indication of what legal mechanism, if any, had been employed to permit private benefactors to undertake the restoration of ruined ecclesiastical foundations under the provisions of Nikephoros Phokas' law before its repeal. It is possible that the essential features of what would become known as the *charistike* were already in place in the 960s,¹⁶ but more likely that incidents like the Piperatos case provided the stimulus for its development since that judgment established that the ecclesiastical hierarchy could not take over an old institution without regard for the owner's property rights.

5. Impact of the *Charistike* on Lavra

The soon-to-be infamous *charistike* was a public program employed by the emperor and the ecclesiastical hierarchy for the private management of religious institutions.¹⁷ It did not disturb the ultimate rights of ownership but separated the rights of management and financial exploitation for a third party. All grants were temporary and limited to one, two, or (rarely) three lifetime tenancies. The *charistike* originated and flourished in the tolerant atmosphere of a society long accustomed to lay and governmental exploitation of ecclesiastical institutions and their properties, but contemporary benefactors like Athanasios who were committed to preserving the independence of their foundations could not but see it as a serious threat to their interests. Athanasios' establishment of a protectorate for his foundation in (14) *Ath. Testament*, sometime after 993, most likely reflects his perception of this threat and constitutes his attempt to ward it off by designating a high court official, the *epi tou kanikleiou*, and his successors in perpetuity as administrative trustees for Lavra.

6. Ecclesiastical Opposition to the *Charistike*

As we have seen, two distinct views on the proper conduct of monastic life on Mount Athos developed during the interval of approximately 50 years between (14) *Ath. Testament* and (15) *Constantine IX* in 1045. This was a time of great stress for the Byzantine church generally that was directly related to the *charistike*. Roughly contemporaneously with the drafting of (14) *Ath. Testament*, the *charistike* was challenged by Patriarch Sisinnios II (996–998) who terminated patriarchal participation in the program and ordered the return of all patriarchal monasteries alienated by his predecessors not only under the *charistike* but also under *epidosis*.¹⁸ This latter was a program parallel to but older than the *charistike*, designed to facilitate the transfer of monasteries

byzantin," *Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études, IV^e section* (1970–71), 353–65, at 357, but see my "A Disputed Novel of Basil II," *GRBS* 24 (1983), 273–83.

¹⁵ Eustathios Rhomaios, *Peira* (JGR 1.43); for the foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 39.

¹⁶ See (12) *Tzimiskes* [7] with note.

¹⁷ For the *charistike*, see General Bibliography, XXIV: Monasticism and the *Charistike*.

¹⁸ Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 809; recorded by Theodore Balsamon, *Comm. ad C. Nicaen. II*, c. 13 (R&P 2.612).

from one ecclesiastical authority to another. It had been used since the late tenth century to compensate for significant differences in the endowments of episcopal, archiepiscopal and metropolitan sees. Even Athanasios had been one of its beneficiaries when Nicholas II Chrysoberges employed it in 989 to donate to Lavra a dilapidated monastery of the Mother of God of Gomatou.¹⁹

7. Basil II's Agrarian Law of 996

Basil II, however, remained committed to the use of the *charistike*, as his famous law *Peri ton dynaton*, issued just before Sisinnios II's elevation to the patriarchate in 996, makes clear.²⁰ Among other problems addressed in this law was the challenge of how to reconcile operation of the *charistike* with the imperial government's longstanding agrarian policy of reversing the increasing concentration of rural land ownership in the hands of the aristocracy. Apparently local bishops, relying on the *charistike*, were annexing small religious foundations in villages upon the deaths of their peasant proprietors and then granting them out to wealthy magnates under this program. As a result, magnates were continuing to gain communal property in violation of the spirit of existing imperial agrarian legislation. This the emperor was unwilling to countenance any longer, but his law makes generous allowance for donations of other, larger foundations so that the *charistike* could continue. Foundations, like Athanasios' Lavra monastery, that were under imperial oversight (*pronoia*) by virtue of having received dedicatory offerings (*solemnia*) or allowances for expenses of illumination (*photapsiai*) were also excluded from liability to being granted out under the *charistike*. This exception, granted at a critical time in the history of Athanasios' foundation, perhaps accounts for Lavra's ability to escape from participation in the *charistike* during the eleventh century.

8. Basil II's Law on the *Allelengyon* (1002)

Basil II increased the pressure on the ecclesiastical hierarchy with his law of 1002 that required wealthy property owners to assume the burden of the defaulted taxes of their poorer neighbors, an obligation known as the *allelengyon*.²¹ Patriarch Sergios II (999–1019), supported by a delegation of bishops and monastic superiors, took the lead in protesting against the burden this law placed on the empire's ecclesiastical institutions. Basil II's refusal to repeal this law probably motivated the patriarchate to reconsider its opposition to the *charistike*. In any event, Sergios II eventually saw fit in 1016 to resume use of the *charistike* and *epidosis*. Even if this decision relieved the church of some of its fiscal burdens, it did not suffice to gain a cancellation of the law on the *allelengyon* from the emperor when the patriarch sought this favor a second time in 1019. The law remained in force even after Basil II's death in 1025, and was repealed only after the accession of Romanos III Argyros (1028–1034).

¹⁹ Paul Lemerle et al., *Actes de Lavra*, pt. 1: *Des Origines à 1204* (= Archives de l'Athos 5) (Paris, 1970), doc. 8 (989), pp. 115–17.

²⁰ Basil II, *Peri ton dynaton* (996) (*JGR* 3.306–18 = Zepos, *Jus* 1.262–72) = Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 783.

²¹ Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 793.

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9. Patriarch Alexios Studites' Reform of the *Charistike*

It was left to Alexios Studites (1024–1043), the last patriarch chosen during the reign of Basil II, to make the first attempts at reforming the abuses that became endemic in the *charistike*.²² Synodal legislation issued in 1027 set up the office of the patriarch's chancellor (*chartophylax*) to serve as a clearinghouse for the approval and registration of all grants of ecclesiastical institutions. Further legislation in 1028 ordered the expulsion of corrupt beneficiaries (the *charistikarioi*) and denied the competence of secular courts to entertain countersuits. This legislation also attempted to restrict the *charistike* to non-diocesan monasteries. The patriarch's decision to attempt to reform rather than abolish the *charistike* probably reflects the inability of the hard-pressed public churches to take back all of the institutions that had been conceded to laymen over the previous forty years and thus be responsible for their tax obligations under the then still current law on the *allelengyon*.

10. Renewed Peril from the *Charistike*

It may be doubted how effective Alexios Studites' legislation was in curbing abuses of the *charistike*. As (9) *Galesios* [141] shows, by the mid-eleventh century the provincial hierarchy eagerly sought to suppress the independence of or else simply dissolve privately founded monasteries. Lazarus, that document's author, sought to prevent this by gaining an independent constitution for one of his monasteries and by drawing up a *typikon* for the others, to be confirmed later by Constantine IX and Patriarch Michael I Keroullarios (1043–1058). Since by that time the emperor and the patriarch were among the most prolific users of the *charistike*, this was necessarily a dangerous game, yet one that the Athonite monks showed could still be played with success.

11. Historical Background to (15) *Constantine IX*

Therefore, when the assembly of the Athonite community attested to by (15) *Constantine IX* met in 1045 under the leadership of the emperor's personal representative Kosmas Tzintziloukes, Athos' monasteries were, despite their constitutional and ideological differences, anomalous elements in the contemporary ecclesiastical landscape otherwise dominated by the *charistike*. The knowledge of the blatant economic exploitation visited upon other ecclesiastical institutions included in the *charistike* probably helped the directors of the great Athonite monasteries like Lavra feel justified in their pursuit of various commercial activities and vigorous territorial expansion. At the same time, the example of the *charistike* probably served to reinforce the pre-existing casualness with which private benefactors were prone to treat their foundations and their properties (see especially (15) *Constantine IX* [9], [11]). Conversely, the fundamentalist reformers reacted in horror against

²² Alexios Studites, *Hypomnema A'* (R&P 5.20–24) = Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 833; *Hypomnema B'* (R&P 5.25–32) = Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 835.

11. *Ath. Rule: Rule of Athanasios the Athonite for the Lavra Monastery*

Date: Original composition, 963; possibly revised ca. 1020¹ *Translator:* George Dennis

Edition employed: Ph. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 130–40.

Manuscript: Codex Iveron 754 (16th c.)²

Other translations: None

Institutional History

A. Athanasios the Athonite and the Foundation of Lavra

1. Sources

As with Theodore the Studite's famous monastery of Stoudios at Constantinople, we are fortunate to have a considerable group of sources to illustrate the history of this foundation. Athanasios was the probable author, not only of the present document, but also of the later (13) *Ath. Typikon* and (14) *Ath. Testament*, which taken together enable us to follow the evolution of his ideas on the organization of Lavra over a troubled period of at least twenty years in the last half of the tenth century. Also, the cartularies of both Lavra and Protaton, the administrative center of Mount Athos, preserve documents dating back to the late ninth century, including several that date from Athanasios' lifetime. Both (12) *Tzimiskes* and (15) *Constantine IX* are preserved in the Protaton cartulary. The cartularies of some other Athonite monasteries, particularly that of the Georgian monastery of Iveron, are useful too, both for the early history of Lavra and for the balance of its history during Byzantine times down to the fifteenth century. Hardly less important are the contributions of the hagiographic tradition, especially the two *Lives* of Athanasios, for which J. Noret has provided a much-needed modern critical edition, and the Georgian *Life* of Athanasios' collaborator John the Iberian and his son Euthymios.³

The relationship between the two Athanasian *Lives*, their authorship, dating, and place of composition have all been subject to considerable controversy.⁴ The conclusions of Noret (*Vitae duae*, pp. cviii–cxxix) are accepted here: that *Life A* is the earlier of the two documents, having been composed by Athanasios, a monk of the *Panagios* monastery in Constantinople, in the capital in the first quarter of the eleventh century before the death of Basil II in 1025, while *Life B* was written at Lavra, utilizing *Life A* as well as other written sources, at some time after 1028, most likely considerably later, as late, in fact, as the first half of the twelfth century.

2. Athanasios' Monastic Vocation

The early life of Athanasios is known exclusively from the two *Lives*.⁵ He was born at Trebizond ca. 925–930, and given the baptismal name of Abraamios. Brought to Constantinople for studies

during the reign of Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944), he later became a professor. His attraction to the monastic life was due to Michael Maleinos, the superior of the Kyminas monastery on Mount Olympos in Bithynia.⁶ The latter, known to us from a hagiographic *Life* by his disciple Theophanes, had been a solitary ascetic before he built a lavra, a monastic institution designed to prepare monks for solitary life, for the benefit of his disciples. Maleinos drew up a *typikon* for this foundation that no longer survives. Abraamios became a monk at Kyminas under the name of Athanasios circa 952 and resided there for about five years, eventually progressing to the solitary life. During his residence, Michael introduced him to his nephew, the future emperor Nikephoros II Phokas (963–969), then *strategos* of the Anatolic theme and one of Kyminas' patrons.

3. Athanasios' Arrival on Mount Athos

Athanasios left Kyminas for Mount Athos, supposedly to escape the burdens of his growing notoriety. On his arrival, either at the end of 957 or the beginning of 958, he sought anonymity and even lived under an assumed name.⁷ He was welcomed both by an individual Athonite monk named Zygus, with whom he lived for a year, and later, by the Athonite community at Karyes, where he was installed in a *kellion* toward the end of 959. Sought out and eventually discovered by Leo Phokas, brother of Nikephoros, Athanasios nevertheless gained for himself a year of solitude during 960 at Melana, a desolate site near the southeastern tip of the Athonite peninsula ceded to him by the *protos*, the leader of the Athonite monks. It was here that the Lavra monastery would be erected a few years later.

4. Foundation of Lavra

(13) *Ath. Typikon* preserves the founder's own official account of the circumstances of the foundation of Lavra. This document, however, must be considered in conjunction with the hagiographic testimonies that not only present a different chronology but also record some important episodes that Athanasios chose to suppress.⁸ Summoned to Crete where Nikephoros Phokas was concluding his successful reconquest of the island for Byzantium, Athanasios arrived either just before or shortly after the fall of Chandax in March 961. Athanasios and his patron discussed the latter's idea of joining him in retirement on Mount Athos, but nothing definite was determined at that time. Later, Nikephoros Phokas sent Methodios, a monk and future superior of Kyminas, to Athanasios with sufficient funds to construct a lavra and the necessary associated buildings at Melana. *Life A* makes 961 the decisive year for the building of the Lavra, while (13) *Ath. Typikon* [6], [7] requires a chronology that would place the construction in 962–963.⁹ In any event, during the six months that Methodios was resident with Athanasios on Mount Athos, the latter began work, completing a group of cells designed for five solitaries and a refectory in which they could take meals together, then starting work on a church, a *katholikon* dedicated to the Annunciation of the Mother of God. Both the refectory and the *katholikon*, though much changed over the last thousand years, are still in existence today.¹⁰ The hagiographic sources record that Athanasios also fixed "in great detail" administrative, liturgical, and disciplinary procedures for his monks at this time.¹¹ The discussions clearly indicate that this was when the present document, (11) *Ath. Rule*, was drawn up, at least in its initial form.

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5. Lavra's Patron Nikephoros Phokas Becomes Emperor

Work on the church was interrupted when the news of Nikephoros Phokas' accession to the throne reached Mount Athos; since he was acclaimed by his army at Caesarea in July 963 but not crowned in Constantinople until August, this must have been towards the end of summer or early fall 963. In (13) *Ath. Typikon* [7], Athanasios implies that he left promptly for Constantinople to reproach the emperor for his breach of engagement, but from the hagiographic tradition we learn that Athanasios' actions in response to the anticipated loss of his patron, partner, and financial backer were considerably more complicated.¹² He evidently considered abandoning his own association with Lavra, even going so far as to propose the monk Euthymios to Nikephoros Phokas as a suitable candidate for the superiorship, a nomination that the emperor accepted. Athanasios himself intended to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but political conditions there were unstable, so he halted his journey at Cyprus, where the superior of the Monastery of the Saints lodged him and his disciple Antony for a time. Prompted by a vision to return to Lavra where, Euthymios having declined to assume the superiorship, conditions had deteriorated in Athanasios' absence, the holy man arrived at the end of 963 or early 964, warmly welcomed by his monks as well as by the other Athonites.

6. Athanasios' "Conversion" to Cenobiticism

Athanasios actually appeared at Constantinople before Nikephoros Phokas only in 964, sometime before May, the date of a chrysobull awarding Lavra three relics including a fragment of the Holy Cross and the head of St. Basil of Caesarea.¹³ As noted by Papachryssanthou (*Prôtaton*, p. 81), the year 964 was a turning point in the history of both Lavra and Athonite monasticism, for by virtue of the fact that Lavra's founder (its *ktetor*) had become emperor, it was transformed into a de facto imperial monastery, which could not but have consequences for all of Mount Athos. Also, Athanasios' "conversion" to cenobitic monasticism becomes clear at this time. Before his accession to the throne, Nikephoros Phokas seems to have envisioned an individual *kellion* attached to a traditional Byzantine lavra (hence the foundation's name) as his place of retirement on Mount Athos.¹⁴ Yet subtly, as Leroy ("Conversion," p. 110) realized, Athanasios modified his patron's plans to make Lavra (despite its name) a cenobitic foundation. Despite the fact that there is nothing in Athanasios' background to suggest that he might be receptive to this form of organization rather than the lavriotic and solitary forms of monasticism that he himself had practiced over the years, his choice of (4) *Stoudios* as the unacknowledged model for (11) *Ath. Rule* (for which see below, Analysis) certainly indicates that somehow he had come around to the idea of installing a cenobitic foundation on Athos.

7. Nikephoros Phokas' Chrysobulls for Lavra

In any event, the concessions Athanasios obtained from Nikephoros Phokas during the former's visit to Constantinople in 964 enabled him to support a large cenobitic foundation and assure its autonomy.¹⁵ Of the chrysobulls that the emperor awarded at this time, only the one mentioned above donating relics survives. This document confirms two earlier chrysobulls whose content must be reconstructed from scattered quotations and references elsewhere. The more important of

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these two chrysobulls awarded an independent constitution to Lavra and (probably) also the revenues required to support 80 monks, specifically a cash annuity (*solemnion*) of 244 *nomismata*, an annual payment in kind, and the monastery of St. Andrew of Peristerai near Thessalonike with all its properties (subordinated to Lavra under *epidosis*). The other chrysobull may have granted Lavra 32 tax-exempt peasants on a property near Hierissos, or some other combination of benefits from among those listed above.

8. Lavra and Its Athonite Neighbors

As Papachryssanthou (*Prôtaton*, p. 83) notes, these concessions and grants made Lavra a rich and powerful monastery, especially within the context of the other generally smaller, differently organized monastic foundations on Mount Athos. Perhaps conscious of the jealousy Lavra's good fortune might provoke or else to honor prior engagements to neighboring institutions, Athanasios also got the emperor to increase the annual pension for all of Mount Athos from three to seven pounds of gold and to make a promise to rebuild the Protaton church at Athos' administrative headquarters at Karyes.¹⁶ Yet these benefactions would not suffice to win Athanasios the good will of his neighbors. The murder of Nikephoros Phokas by his successor John Tzimiskes (969–976) four years later left Lavra without a patron and encouraged opponents of Athanasios on Mount Athos to hope to enlist the support of the emperor for his expulsion from the mountain.

9. The Tragos Affair

Athanasios' opponents included not only the solitaries whose traditional way of life his expansionist cenobitic monastery threatened, but also the Athonite elders who objected to his promotion of large-scale farming and viticulture, seen as a reversal of "ancient usages and customs." Eventually the new emperor dispatched Euthymios the Studite to the mountain to investigate the complaints. The inquest led to the issuance in late 971 or early 972 of the first *typikon* to govern Athos, (12) *Tzimiskes*, nicknamed the "Tragos" or "billy goat" after the parchment on which it was written, which sought (so Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 100) to safeguard the interests of each of the groups, the solitary hermits, the leaders of small bands of monks in *kellia*, and the burgeoning cenobitic monasteries like Lavra, so that all could share the mountain harmoniously.¹⁷ In his own writings, Athanasios ignores the inquest; the hagiographic tradition treats this, the most serious threat Athanasios ever faced to his position on Mount Athos, with a certain disingenuousness, turning the inquest into a favor granted by Tzimiskes to Athanasios to promote good-will among his Athonite opponents, who allegedly had been overawed by the results of a quick visit Athanasios had made to the capital that won the emperor over to his side. Regardless of the intent of (12) *Tzimiskes*, the result was a victory for Athanasios and his cenobitic version of monasticism, to the detriment of more traditional forms. Either personally or through the agency of his trusted collaborator John the Iberian, Athanasios secured from John Tzimiskes a doubling of his predecessor's cash annuity, which made it possible now to support up to 120 monks at Lavra.¹⁸

10. Continued Athonite Opposition to Athanasios

Both the hagiographic tradition and modern scholars view Athanasios' successful survival of the imperial inquest as a turning point, but opposition to Athanasios seems to have remained strong for the rest of his life.¹⁹ There was an attempted assassination by a monk in his own community

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who hated the cenobitic life, while another monk, whose grievance is not stated, sought to employ sorcery against him.

11. Athanasios' Political Skills

Athanasios drew up (13) *Ath. Typikon*, his foundation's *typikon*, later in the reign of John Tzimiskes, probably sometime between 973 and 975.²⁰ Like (11) *Ath. Rule*, it is textually linked to an earlier Studite document, (3) *Theodore Studites*, but once again without explicit acknowledgement. While most founders drew up their *typika* at the ends of their lives, Athanasios was far from finished with his career. Gifted with impressive political skills, Athanasios ably charted a course for his foundation during the troubled last quarter of the tenth century, getting the next emperor Basil II (976–1025) to confirm the chrysobulls of his predecessors Nikephoros Phokas and John Tzimiskes as well as to bestow others that left Lavra richer and more populated.²¹ In 978, the government of Basil II and Constantine VIII issued one such chrysobull that increased Lavra's financial assistance to the level where 500 monks could be supported. Athanasios even managed to benefit from one of the era's controversial programs for the management of religious institutions by obtaining from Patriarch Nicholas II Chrysoberges in 989 the donation under *epidosis* of a dilapidated monastery of Gomatou near Hierissos which he later converted into a Lavriote dependency.²²

12. Athanasios' Provision for a Protectorate over Lavra

It was at least a decade after the composition of (13) *Ath. Typikon* that Athanasios drew up what was to be the last of his three foundation documents, (14) *Ath. Testament*, sometime after 984. Accommodating himself skillfully, as usual, to changed political circumstances, he made a provision in this document, to be kept secret until his death, for a dual protectorate for Lavra, to be filled by two administrators (*epitropoi*), Nikephoros, the emperor's *epi tou kanikleiou* or chancellor in Constantinople, and Athanasios' old collaborator John the Iberian. The latter appointment was the culmination of a long friendly relationship between Athanasios and the Georgian community on Mount Athos, which had by this time been established in the Monastery of Iveron.²³

13. Last Challenge to Athanasios' Authority

Athanasios faced one more serious challenge to his authority on Mount Athos, the revolt of the "young superiors."²⁴ According to the account in the hagiographic tradition, certain superiors of the younger generation, jealous of Athanasios and resentful of his success in reducing the authority of the *protos*, the nominal leader of Athos, succeeded in persuading Phakenos, who held that office in the last decade of the tenth century, to join them in a personal appeal against Athanasios to Basil II, who was then in the vicinity with his troops in Macedonia. Athanasios quickly divined their intentions, but allowed them to proceed on their way to the emperor. As it happened, they were set upon by Turkish mercenaries allied to the Byzantines who robbed them and left them stripped naked on the road, where Athanasios discovered them later and took pity on them. These superiors are said to have still been alive when *Life A* was composed in the first quarter of the eleventh century.

14. Circumstances of Athanasios' Death

It was appropriately ironic that Athanasios should meet his death while engaged in an ambitious project to rebuild Lavra's *katholikon* to accommodate the sixfold increase in the number of monks

since 964.²⁵ Along with six other monks Athanasios fell from the scaffolding on which he was standing to make a work inspection, and was crushed on a pile of building debris. The sudden, violent, and unconventional manner of his death may have pleased some of his enemies, for the author of *Life A* was motivated to assert at length that such a death was not always a sign of divine displeasure. Athanasios died on July 5, but the year is unknown. Judging from documents in Lavra's cartulary, he was still alive in 996 but deceased in 1012; he is also known to have predeceased John the Iberian, who himself died in 1008.²⁶ Lemerle (*Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 48) supposes that he died in the first years of the eleventh century, perhaps in 1001.

B. The History of Lavra after Athanasios

1. Athanasios' Legacy

When Athanasios died, his designated successor Antony was in Constantinople conducting business for the monastery. This Antony was likely, but not certainly, Athanasios' companion on the latter's flight to Cyprus back in 963–964.²⁷ There is no direct attestation in the sources, but it appears that Antony later resigned his superiorship to become director (and possibly founder) of the monastery of *Panagios* at Constantinople.²⁸ If this monastery was not a formal dependency of Lavra, as Noret (*Vitae duae*, p. cxxiv) supposed, it was at least an alternative (and possibly rival) center for the Athanasian tradition; sometime before 1025, Antony's disciple, Athanasios of Panagiou, wrote here the first of the hagiographic lives of the late Athanasios the Athonite, *Life A*.²⁹ *Panagios'* own *typikon*, now lost, would serve as the model for the important reform *typikon*, (23) *Pakourianos*, towards the end of the eleventh century (see below, Chapter Four).

At Lavra, rivalries between the Greek monks there and the Georgians at Iveron frustrated Athanasios' hopes for utility of the protectorate under John the Iberian († 1008) and his son and successor Euthymios († 1028).³⁰ Turnover in the office of superior was frequent, and we do not even know the names of the incumbents during the 1020s. A dispute between the administrator (*epitropos*) Euthymios and the monks of Lavra over some administrative matter led the latter to appeal for relief to Constantine VIII (1025–1028), who summoned Euthymios to Constantinople for an inquiry. The enlargement of the *katholikon* begun by Athanasios was completed by 1004, however, with the financial assistance of the other administrator, Nikephoros *epi tou kanikleiou*. Mylonas ("Catholicon," p. 104) believes that the two side chapels dedicated to the Forty Saints and St. Nicholas, mentioned in *Life B* as well as in (11) *Ath. Rule* [1] but not in *Life A*, were built subsequent to the composition of the last-named document, i.e., after 1025.³¹ Mylonas' supposition that (11) *Ath. Rule* must have been re-edited or at least interpolated in the 1020s to reflect the existence of these side chapels is certainly possible, as it is a document in the Studite tradition that was itself a product of evolutionary change over more than a century since the original composition of (4) *Stoudios*.

2. Chrysobulls of Constantine IX Monomachos

By the mid-eleventh century, reform currents stirring in monastic circles emboldened opponents of the great Athonite monasteries like Lavra, Vatopedi, and perhaps also Iveron, to appeal to the emperor for a return to the provisions of (12) *Tzimiskes* as issued three-quarters of a century earlier. As will be seen in the discussion of (15) *Constantine IX* in this chapter, neither side won a complete victory in this second imperial inquest, conducted this time by the monk Kosmas

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Tzinziloukes, which led to the issuance of the second *typikon* governing the monastic communities on Mount Athos in 1045.³²

Although Lavra's superior Kosmas succeeded in preventing the imperial inquest from returning Athos to the terms of (12) *Tzimiskes*, an outcome that would have been disastrous for this very large monastery so dependent on extensive economic enterprise for its support, Lavra continued to be troubled by the demands of local imperial officials as well as the disorder and indiscipline of its own monks. Attributing these troubles to the lapse of its protectorate after the deaths of Euthymios († 1028) and Nikephoros the *epi tou kanikleiou*, Lavra's monks requested Constantine IX Monomachos to appoint a new lay administrator; the local administrator's position on Mount Athos was not proposed for revival, however. The emperor obliged, issuing a chrysobull in 1052, appointing John, the current incumbent of the office of *epi tou kanikleiou*, to the office.³³

3. Lavra's Imperial Relations down to Alexios I Komnenos

Judging from (15) *Constantine IX* [4], Lavra was able to support as many as 700 monks by mid-century. Exploiting its status as an imperial monastery without effectively surrendering its claim to independence, Lavra continued to accumulate donations and privileges for the balance of the eleventh century. Michael VI Stratiotikos (1056–1057) issued a chrysobull in 1057, of which an original copy is preserved, increasing Lavra's *solemnion* to the equivalent of 812 *nomismata*.³⁴ Originally set by Nikephoros Phokas at 244 *nomismata*, it was increased as we have seen by John Tzimiskes to 488 and then by Basil II to 596 *nomismata*.

In 1060, in another document still preserved in the original, Constantine X Doukas (1059–1067) acceded to a request by the Athonite monks that he confirm both Constantine IX Monomachos' (second) chrysobull restoring the protectorate over Lavra as well as another chrysobull (now lost) of Constantine VII Porphyrogennitos (944–959) that granted privileges to Lavra's dependency, the monastery of St. Andrew of Peristerai.³⁵ This last chrysobull, evidently granted to St. Andrew's before that monastery was subordinated to Lavra under *epidosis* by Nikephoros Phokas in 964, is said to have recognized Peristerai as an imperial monastery exempt from the control of the metropolitan of Thessalonike, and may therefore have served as a model for Lavra's own charter of independence. In Constantine X Doukas' chrysobull here, Lavra's protectorate is described for the first time as an *ephoreia* (see discussion below in Chapter Three).

4. Lavra in the Era of the Monastic Reform

Although at the time of its foundation in the tenth century, Lavra could be considered as a kind of "reform" monastery in the Studite tradition, its astounding growth thanks to generous imperial patronage and its willingness to engage in extensive commercial activity made it a very different kind of institution by the mid-eleventh century at the time of Constantine IX Monomachos' imperial inquest in 1045. The vigorous dissent of Athonite reformers against the Lavriote brand of "big monasticism" detectable in (15) *Constantine IX* did not succeed at that time in curbing Lavra's continued growth, nor that of similar large cenobitic institutions, yet the seeds of a successful monastic reform eventually took root elsewhere. As will be seen below in the discussion accompanying Chapter Four, the Constantinopolitan monastery represented by (22) *Evergetis* would eclipse Lavra and indeed all of Mount Athos as the most important center of Byzantine monasticism in the twelfth century.

The nature of the monastic reform's impact on Lavra, which had become by the end of the

eleventh century a rich but ideologically conservative institution, has not yet been studied. Yet some indications of the reform's impact on Lavra and on Mount Athos generally are readily apparent. A serious moral scandal, the "Vlach Question," due to consequences of the settlement of Vlach shepherds on the mountain, was uncovered circa 1100, resulting in the expulsion of these lay settlers at the instigation of the ecclesiastical reform party.³⁶ Also, the reform-minded Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos (1084–1111) tried to impose punishments and excommunications as part of an attempt to establish his jurisdiction over the monasteries of Mount Athos.³⁷

Though Lavra continued to receive benefits from the emperors, including a donation of an additional annual revenue of 100 *nomismata* awarded by Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) on the occasion of his installation of Theodore Kephalas as Lavra's superior,³⁸ both the monastery's imperial stipends and the growth in its landed estates must have come to a halt with the Latin conquest of 1204.

5. Lavra in Late Byzantine Times³⁹

Lavra's fortunes resumed with the growing power of the Nicaean Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–82), who in 1259 confirmed Lavra's existing properties and added another village to its endowment. This emperor, despite his recovery of Constantinople in 1261, was generally unpopular on Mount Athos because of his determination to enforce compliance with his Unionist policy towards the Latin church. Under Andronikos II (1282–1328), Lavra benefited from generous imperial donations, but also witnessed the attempt by Patriarch Athanasios I (1289–93 and 1303–9), circa 1303–5, to convert it into a patriarchal monastery (see below, Chapter Nine, (55) *Athanasios I*), and had to accept the imposition of the requirement of its superiors' obtaining patriarchal investiture that this emperor imposed in 1312. Several important figures in the late Byzantine church, such as the hesychast theologian Gregory Palamas and Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos (1354–55 and 1364–76), had served as superiors of Lavra at early points in their careers. Generally speaking, Lavra continued to prosper economically through the first half of the fourteenth century, then suffered along with all of Mount Athos as political conditions deteriorated with the slow but inexorable collapse of the Byzantine Empire during the latter half of that century.

6. Lavra under Ottoman Rule⁴⁰

Like the rest of Mount Athos, Lavra passed under Ottoman hegemony in 1423/24, a few years before the fall of Thessalonike in 1430 to Sultan Murad II.⁴¹ Despite the sultan's recognition of Athonite autonomy in exchange for the payment of annual tribute, Lavra inevitably lost many, if not all, of its far-flung estates outside Athos itself. By the early sixteenth century, the number of monks had become dangerously low, and at that time, if not earlier, the cenobitic regime was abandoned for an idiorhythmic form of monasticism that, by permitting the monks to earn their own livings generally as they saw fit, proved less burdensome on the monastery's resources. Circa 1525 a patron, Neophytos, metropolitan of Serres, commissioned the mural decoration of the *katholikon* by Theophanes of Crete. An earthquake destroyed the cupola of Lavra's *katholikon* in 1526, but the monastery was able to get it repaired thanks to the generosity of another patron, either a certain Vladislav or else Gennadios, another metropolitan of Serres who rehabilitated the refectory a year later in 1527. Theophanes of Crete also decorated the refectory, circa 1527–30. A second earthquake of 1584–85, which damaged the cupola again as well as the two choirs, was

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likewise repaired by a benefactor, Anthimos, metropolitan of Adrianople, who later became patriarch of Constantinople.

Sylvester, the orthodox patriarch of Alexandria, is said to have attempted a restoration of cenobitic life in 1579, but without enduring success. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, Lavra was reduced to only five or six monks, but the monastery was rescued when Patriarch Dionysios III decided to retire here in 1665, bequeathing all of his property to the monastery. Sometime before 1744, extensive additions to the *katholikon* were undertaken, with the open colonnade between the two side chapels being blocked off to create a second narthex, in front of which an exonarthex was constructed.

7. Lavra in Modern Times⁴²

Lavra still functions as a monastery, though it now follows an idiorhythmic form of organization. Of the twenty monasteries recognized by the Athonite constitutional charter of 1924, the Great Lavra holds the first rank of honor. In 1980, there were 376 monks, including 56 living at the Lavra itself and 320 living at the various dependencies, including Lavra's three *sketae*.⁴³ There was a major rehabilitation of the *katholikon* in 1899, with the three entrances being redecorated in neo-renaissance style, giving the building its present form. The building is now dedicated to the Dormition of St. Athanasios the Athonite, probably having been reconsecrated in the fifteenth century. The treasury, a freestanding building behind the *katholikon*, also houses the library, which contains some 2,046 manuscripts, of which at least 800 are from the Byzantine era, as well as 172 Byzantine charters.⁴⁴

Analysis

Although only the scribal title identifies the author of this document, Athanasios cross-references it in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [39] and in (14) *Ath. Testament* [3] which are undoubtedly his work. The document is undated, but the hagiographic tradition associates it with Lavra's foundation.⁴⁵ Indeed, as Lemerle (*Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 21) observed, it would be surprising if this, the most fundamental of Athanasios' three foundation documents, was not instituted in the first years of Lavra's existence.

A. Use of the Model Typikon

As Leroy ("Conversion," p. 115) realized, (11) *Ath. Rule* is modelled very closely on the Studite *typikon*, (4) *Stoudios*. Athanasios certainly had some version of that document in front of him while composing his own *Rule*. This document, therefore, is an important testimony to the continued influence and prestige of Studite monasticism nearly a century and a half after the death of Theodore the Studite. Of the 37 chapters into which our translation of this document has been divided for ease of cross-reference, 23 chapters contain quotations from (4) *Stoudios*. Within the chapters of the Athanasian *Rule*, there are many more quotations—all of them unacknowledged—the precise number and delimitations of which are difficult to determine. Only two, to be found in [25] and [26], can be traced solely to (4) *Stoudios* Version [A], while just five, located in [3], [6], [7], [15], and [24], can be traced exclusively to Version [B]. All the rest, with the exception of some found in [1], are shared with both Versions [A] and [B]. (11) *Ath. Rule* [1] is a special case,

weaving back and forth from line to line from a dependence on both Versions [A] and [B] to an exclusive dependence on Version [B].

In our presentation of the translation of (11) *Ath. Rule* below, we have endeavored to illustrate the linkages between this document and (4) *Stoudios* by presenting the former's quotations from the latter's Version [A] in boldface, those from Version [B] in italic, and those from both versions in boldface italic type. As even a cursory examination of our sourcing of (11) *Ath. Rule* will demonstrate, the textual variants of (4) *Stoudios* represented by [A] and [B] had thoroughly interpenetrated one another by the time Athanasios was ready to use that document as his model in the middle of the tenth century. This complex pattern of textual dependency suggests that the precise Studite model for the Athanasian *Rule* was neither [A] nor [B], but rather another, subsequent version of (4) *Stoudios*, either lost or presently unedited. This version was more heavily influenced by [B] than [A], yet it also drew independently on the latter.

Despite the generally very close correspondence between (11) *Ath. Rule* and its model, some 18 chapters of (4) *Stoudios* are missing from the Athanasian *Rule* entirely.⁴⁶ Some of these are the chapters that relate most specifically to the Stoudios monastery itself and its patron Theodore.⁴⁷ On the other hand, there are 14 new chapters in the Athanasian *Rule* that cannot be traced to any currently known Studite predecessors.⁴⁸ Nine of these are to be found in the most original portion of the Athanasian *Rule* which begins with [27]. Indeed, in [28] Athanasios alludes to the prior treatment of the common life of the community "as has already been discussed" immediately after what turns out to be the penultimate quotation from the Studite *Rule*. This sort of redundant treatment is a sure sign of a break in authorship.⁴⁹ Thereafter, there is only one brief quotation [35] on the subject of garments. It seems safe then to attribute these last ten chapters (from [27] through [37], excepting [35]) to the author of the Athanasian *Rule*.

Yet it is also evident that, in using his Studite model, Athanasios made some changes in the earlier portion of his own *Rule* too, certainly including the references to the side chapels in [1] and [27] as well as the distinctive list of monastic officials in [17]. The deletion in [26] of *eukraton*, the Lenten beverage that the Studites employed to substitute for wine, as well as his indignant banning [20] of the use of staffs and footstools in the church may also have occurred in Athanasios' final edit of his model for the *Rule*.

However, not all of the substantial differences between the two edited versions of (4) *Stoudios* on the one hand and (11) *Ath. Rule* on the other can be prudently attributed to Athanasios' editorial discretion. The model text he used quite likely reflected the evolution of certain aspects of Studite monasticism in the first half of the tenth century, particularly in terms of regulation of the liturgy and dietary observances.⁵⁰

The liturgical and disciplinary regime presented here by the Athanasian *Rule* then is a complex composite of Studite observances endorsed either unreservedly or, more typically, in modified form, to which the author has added certain new provisions of his own.

B. Lives of the Monks

The disciplinary regime of (4) *Stoudios* strongly influenced the provisions of this document governing the lives of the monks. The length of time for testing newcomers [18], the practice of

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scriptural readings at mealtimes [21], the veneration of the Holy Cross [28], prescriptions for clothing and shoes [35], and even the endorsement of monastic prisons [19] all have Studite precedents.⁵¹ Even in some cases where there is no direct textual dependency between the respective rules, Studite observances can be seen as models for the declaration of hostility [34] to personal property, as in (3) *Theodore Studites* [7], requiring [33] the monks to offer their confessions to the superior, as in (4) *Stoudios* [22], and for alternating [32] manual labors and spiritual reading, as in (4) *Stoudios* [26].

Sometimes, however, the Athanasian *Rule* cites Basil of Caesarea [19], [34] or patristic tradition generally [33], [34] as authorities even when the regulations in question have solid Studite precedents with which the author was undoubtedly acquainted. This is an indication of an increasing acquaintance with and appreciation for the patristic traditions that lay behind the disciplinary practices of Theodore the Studite.

1. Liturgical Duties

The Athanasian *Rule*'s indebtedness to the Studite *Rule* is most evident in the former's adaptation of many Studite liturgical prescriptions. Like its model, this is primarily a liturgical text, starting with regulations for the Easter service [1], [2]. Despite the indebtedness to the Studite *Rule* in matters of liturgical observance, there are some chapters [5], [10], [11], [14] on the subject not found in the published exemplars of that rule, though some of these additions, as noted above, may predate the composition of the Athanasian *Rule*. The outdoor procession [27] before vespers, however, is almost surely a new liturgical observance particular to Lavra.

2. Manual Labor

Perhaps the most important feature of this document is its testimony [29], [30] to a greater practice of diversified, manual labor, noted also by Leroy ("Conversion," p. 115, n. 88), than can be seen in the model Studite *Rule*. This alone required the author to allow the superior considerable flexibility [30], [31] in determining appropriate diets for the monastery's metal workers, muleteers, shipwrights, carpenters, vineyard and bakery workers. The hagiographic tradition abundantly confirms the importance Athanasios placed on manual labor (he himself was a calligrapher),⁵² and of course the commercial activity portrayed (critically) in (12) *Tzimiskes* [15], [22], [24], etc. would have been impossible in its absence.

3. Sacramental Life

Curiously, the parallel Studite provisions related to this subject are prominent among those not adopted by the Athanasian *Rule*,⁵³ though there is a provision [33] for confession to the superior analogous to but textually independent of (4) *Stoudios* [22].

4. Diet

In the typical fashion of a *typikon leitourgikon*, the Athanasian *Rule*'s dietary regulations ([22] through [26]) lend themselves to a discussion paralleling the annual liturgical cycle. Here too Studite observances are influential, though there are many minor variations, and perhaps a greater willingness to concede [30], [31] a considerable amount of discretion to the superior in moderating the rules.

5. Importance of Reading

If the Athanasian *Rule* placed a greater emphasis on manual labor than its model, it also apparently placed a lesser emphasis on reading, for (4) *Stoudios*' chapters on the alternation of reading with manual work [26], on copyists and the library [33], and on teaching monks the psalter are all missing in (11) *Ath. Rule*. As at the Stoudios monastery, however, at least some monks are presumed to be literate [29], [32], cf. [21], and the hagiographic tradition is nonetheless eager to assert Athanasios' interest in teaching his illiterate monks how to read.⁵⁴

6. Disciplinary Regime

It is unclear if the deletion of the Studite ban on corporal punishment in the chapter [19] endorsing monastic confinement is significant; elsewhere there is a provision [17] for the use of "moderate punishments." Like others before and after him, Athanasios was concerned to restrict [34] departures by disgruntled monks, preferring to place them with another spiritual director or make "other arrangements for their welfare."

C. Constitutional Matters

Like its Studite model, the Athanasian *Rule* was not much concerned about administrative and constitutional matters, which Athanasios would treat adequately later in his (13) *Ath. Typikon* and (14) *Ath. Testament*. Here he employs (4) *Stoudios* [18] for the designation [17] of some of the monastery's functional officials: disciplinarians, a waker, and an overseer. Perhaps a heightened concern for security motivates him to add both a doorkeeper [17] for the church and a gatekeeper [36] for the entrance to the monastery; the latter is specifically responsible for the prevention of theft.

Finally, there is a provision [37] for reading the rules in assembly which was to have many imitators among founders of later eras anxious to see their prescriptions for community life endure.

Notes on the Introduction

1. For dating, see the apparent reference to this document in *Vita A*, chap. 84; cf. *Vita B*, chap. 26, which would have occurred before the news of Nikephoros Phokas' elevation to the throne (963) reached Mount Athos. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 21, however, proposes a dating of 964–973, interpreting (11) *Ath. Rule* [28] as a reference to the relic of the Holy Cross donated by Nikephoros Phokas in his chrysobull of May 964 (Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 706, ed. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, no. 5, pp. 103–6), considering that our document must be subsequent to that chrysobull and prior to (13) *Ath. Typikon*, which is thought to date to 973–75. The relevant passage of (11) *Ath. Rule* [28], however, is a borrowing from (4) *Stoudios* [AB32], so it cannot be used to establish a *terminus post quem*. Mylonas, "Catholicon," pp. 95–96, 104, arguing from archaeological evidence, is inclined to accept a much later date of 1020 as originally proposed by Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, pp. viii, 273 for the document "as it now exists," or, alternatively, to postulate the reference to subsidiary chapels in (11) *Ath. Rule* [1] as an interpolation of the text as originally drawn up at the time of Lavra's foundation.
2. See Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, pp. 270–73, and Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 21, cf. 13–14; as Lemerle notes, a true critical edition remains to be done on the basis of Lavra ms. E 194 (14th–15th c.), for which see Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. xxxii. This manuscript also contains *Vita A*, an *Enkomion* (= Halkin, *BHG* 189), (13) *Ath. Typikon*, and (14) *Ath. Testament* as well as some other documents associated with Athanasios.
3. Athanasian *Vitae*, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*; the Georgian *Life* of John the Iberian and Euthymios by George

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- the Hagiorite (from before 1044) is accessible through the Latin translation of P. Peeters, “Histoires monastiques géorgiennes,” *AB* 36–37 (1917–19), 8–68.
4. Petit, “Vie,” believed that *Vita B* was dependent upon *Vita A*; Lemerle, “Vie ancienne,” pp. 61–63, accepted this conclusion enthusiastically and thought that *Vita A* was written on Mount Athos by a Lavriote monk named Athanasios in the first decade of the eleventh century; Leroy, “Deux vies,” pp. 411–28, argued for the importance of *Vita B* and implied that it might actually be older than *Vita A*, which he thought was written not on Mount Athos but at the Constantinopolitan monastery of the *Panagios* by a monk named Athanasios who was the disciple of Athanasios the Athonite’s successor Antony; in *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 24–26, Lemerle defended his original views against Leroy’s proposals; Mossay, “Note,” p. 124, sided with Leroy on the Constantinopolitan origin of *Vita A*, but thought that it was impossible to establish a priority of *Vita A* over *Vita B* solely on the basis of internal evidence.
 5. For Athanasios’ early life and his monastic profession, see *Vita A*, chaps. 4–37, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 4–18, and *Vita B*, chaps. 2–12, ed. Noret, pp. 128–39; with Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 30–31, and Leroy, “Conversion,” pp. 106–8.
 6. *Vita*, ed. Louis Petit, “Vie de saint Michel Maléinos,” *ROC* 7 (1902), 543–603 (= Halkin, *BHG* 1295); for the *typikon*, see Petit, p. 560, cf. the *hypotyposis* of Basil, one of Michael’s successors, pp. 598–603; for the foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 115–18; general discussion by Leroy, “Conversion,” pp. 106–8.
 7. For Athanasios’ arrival on Mount Athos, see *Vita A*, chaps. 38–59, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 18–29, and *Vita B*, chap. 13–21, ed. Noret, pp. 139–47; with Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 32–33, and “Vie ancienne,” pp. 72–75.
 8. For the foundation of Lavra, see (13) *Ath. Typikon* [2] – [8]; *Vita A*, chaps. 68–81, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 32–38, and *Vita B*, chaps. 22–25, ed. Noret, pp. 147–53, with Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 33–35, and “Vie ancienne,” pp. 75–76.
 9. See discussion in Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 34–35.
 10. See Mylonas, “Trapéza,” p. 154, and “Catholicon,” p. 103.
 11. See *Vita A*, chaps. 84, 86–89, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 39–42, and *Vita B*, chaps. 26, 29, ed. Noret, pp. 153–54, 157–59, with Lemerle, “Vie ancienne,” p. 76, n. 55, and the discussion below in Analysis.
 12. For this troubled period, see *Vita A*, chaps. 90–95, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 42–45, and *Vita B*, chaps. 30–32, ed. Noret, pp. 159–63; cf. (13) *Ath. Typikon* [7]; with discussion by Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 35, and “Vie ancienne,” pp. 77–78.
 13. For Athanasios’ visit to Constantinople, see (13) *Ath. Typikon* [7], *Vita A*, chaps. 100–101, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 48–49, and *Vita B*, chap. 34, ed. Noret, pp. 165–66; for the chrysobull, see Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 706, ed. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, doc. 5, pp. 103–6.
 14. For Nikephoros Phokas’ original intent, see (13) *Ath. Typikon* [5], *Vita A*, chap. 70, p. 33, and *Vita B*, chap. 22, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 148, with discussion by Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 77–78; see also the emperor’s views on monasticism in general in his *Novella de monasteriis* of 964 (*JGR* 3.292–96) = Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 699, a general prohibition on the founding of new monasteries, with *kellia* and *lavrai* conspicuously excepted.
 15. For the concessions obtained from Nikephoros Phokas, see *Vita A*, chap. 103, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 49–50; *Vita B*, chap. 34, ed. Noret, pp. 165–66; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [12], [13], [18], [20], [23], [36], [42]; (14) *Ath. Testament* [3]; Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, doc. 5, pp. 103–6, and doc. 6, pp. 106–10; with discussion by Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 36–39, and Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 81–83. Two of these chrysobulls are in Dölger, *Regesten*, nos. 704, 706.
 16. For the concessions obtained for Mount Athos, see Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 705; *Vita A*, chap. 104, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 50, and *Vita B*, chap. 34, p. 166; with discussion by Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 83.
 17. For the Tragos affair, so called after the nickname for Tzimsikes’ *typikon*, Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 745, ed. Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, doc. 7, pp. 202–15, see (12) *Tzimsikes*, *Vita A*, chaps. 114–23, ed. Noret,

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- Vitae duae*, pp. 54–58, and *Vita B*, chap. 36, ed. Noret, pp. 168–69; with discussion by Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 39–41, and “Vie ancienne,” pp. 79–80, and by Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 95–102.
18. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 744, mentioned in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [36], [51], in *Vita A*, chap. 116, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 56, and in *Vita B*, chap. 36, ed. Noret, p. 169; in a document of 984, Athanasios himself attributes this increase to the efforts of John the Iberian in Lefort et al., *Iviron*, pt. 1, doc. 6; cf. comment by Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 43, n. 156: “So it is possible that despite the *Vita*, Athanasios never met this emperor.”
 19. See *Vita A*, chaps. 125–28, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 59–62, and *Vita B*, chaps. 38–39, ed. Noret, pp. 170–72; with discussion by Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 41.
 20. For dating, see Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 17.
 21. For Athanasios’ relations with Basil II, see Dölger, *Regesten*, nos. 758 and 760, ed. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, doc. 7, pp. 111–14; with discussion by Lemerle, p. 46.
 22. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, doc. 8, pp. 115–17.
 23. For Athanasios’ relations with John the Iberian, see Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 43–44, and Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 83–85.
 24. For the revolt of the young superiors, see *Vita A*, chaps. 209–11, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 100–102, and *Vita B*, chap. 58, ed. Noret, pp. 194–95; with discussion by Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 46–47, and “Vie ancienne,” p. 81.
 25. For Athanasios’ death, see *Vita A*, chaps. 234–46, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 112–17, and *Vita B*, chaps. 65–68, ed. Noret, pp. 200–203; for the discussion of its implications, see *Vita A*, chaps. 231–33, ed. Noret, pp. 110–12.
 26. For the parameters for Athanasios’ death, see Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, doc. 13 (996), pp. 130–33, and doc. 16 (1012), pp. 141–44.
 27. For Athanasios’ successor, see (14) *Ath. Testament* [17], *Vita A*, chap. 247, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 118–18, and *Vita B*, chap. 69, ed. Noret, pp. 203–4; with discussion by Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 48.
 28. Antony’s resignation and transfer to *Panagios* was first suggested by Leroy, “Deux vies,” to reconcile the apparent Constantinopolitan origin of *Vita A*, self-attributed to a certain Athanasios, who identifies himself in chap. 213, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 105, as a disciple of Antony, with the testimony of *Vita B*, chap. 78, ed. Noret, pp. 211–12, in which Antony, the superior of *Panagios*, is identified as a disciple of Athanasios (the Athonite). Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 26, rejected the hypothesis, but Noret, p. cxvii, accepts it as a reasonable way of reconciling our evidence.
 29. For Athanasios the Athonite, see Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. cxxx–cxlv.
 30. For *Lavra* in this era, see the discussion by Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 48–49; a list of *Lavra*’s superiors after Athanasios down to 1218 is to be found at p. 55; for the administrator Nikephoros, see Mylonas, “Catholicon,” p. 104.
 31. For the side chapels, see (11) *Ath. Rule* [1], [27], and *Vita B*, chap. 25, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 151; if one is to believe that the chapels postdate Athanasios, both references must be seen as anachronistic. Moreover, since *Vita A* was apparently written at Constantinople, the absence of the side chapels in its parallel account, chap. 81, ed. Noret, p. 37, cannot be considered really firm evidence for their subsequent construction.
 32. Ed. Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, doc. 8, pp. 216–32, with commentary, pp. 102–7; translated below in this chapter as (14) *Constantine IX*. See also the emperor’s confirmation issued in 1046, doc. 9, pp. 233–38.
 33. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 907, ed. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, doc. 31, pp. 189–92, with discussion, pp. 45, 52.
 34. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 932, ed. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, doc. 32, pp. 192–94, with discussion, pp. 52–53; for the number of monks at mid-century, see Talbot and Kazhdan, “*Lavra*,” p. 1190.
 35. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 946, ed. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, doc. 33, pp. 195–99, with discussion, p. 45; note the similar protectorate assigned to the logothete of the drome for Iveron by Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–81) in a chrysobull of 1079, ed. Lefort et al., *Iviron*, pt. 2, doc. 41 [= old Dölger, *Schatzkammer*, no. 35].

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36. The central document for the “Vlach Question” is the *Diegesis merike*, ed. Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, pp. 163–84, with commentary, pp. 38–47; see also Ferdinand Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d’Alexis I^{er} Comnène (1081–1118)* (Paris, 1900), pp. 288–89, and Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 53.
37. Alexander Kazhdan and Alice-Mary Talbot, “Protos,” *ODB* p. 1747.
38. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1227, with a proposed date of 1105; see discussion by Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 53, who dates the grant provisionally to 1107.
39. For the late Byzantine period, see Lemerle et al., *Lavra*, pt. 4, “Chronologie de Lavra de 1204 à 1500,” pp. 3–64, with a list of Lavra’s superiors during these centuries at pp. 61–64; in the same work, Nicolas Svoronos, “Le domaine de Lavra sous le Paléologue,” pp. 65–173; Kadas, *Mount Athos*, pp. 31, 36; Talbot and Kazhdan, “Lavra,” p. 1190.
40. For the *Turkokratia*, see Kadas, *Mount Athos*, pp. 15, 32–36; Mylonas, “Catholicon,” pp. 91–94, 104–5.
41. Nicolas Oikonomidès, “Monastères et moines lors de la conquête ottomane,” *SF* 35 (1976), 1–10, at 10.
42. For Lavra and its buildings in modern times, see Kadas, *Mount Athos*, pp. 16, 36, 38, 40; Mylonas, “Catholicon,” pp. 89–91, 106, and “Trapéza,” p. 155.
43. Kadas, *Mount Athos*, p. 40.
44. Kadas, *Mount Athos*, pp. 39–40; Talbot and Kazhdan, “Lavra,” p. 1191.
45. *Vita A*, chaps. 84, 86–89, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 39–42, and *Vita B*, chaps. 26, 29, ed. Noret, pp. 153–54, 157–59; with discussion in Leroy, “S. Benoît,” p. 115.
46. (4) *Stoudios* [1], [8], [12], [13], [16], [17], [19], [20], [21], [22], [26], [31], [33], [34], [35], [36], [B37], [A38].
47. E.g., (4) *Stoudios* [1], [19], and [36]; so also Leroy, “Conversion,” p. 115.
48. (11) *Ath. Rule* [5], [10], [11], [14], [20], [27], [29], [30], [31], [32], [33], [34], [36], and [37].
49. See the discussion below in Chapter Five, (29) *Kosmosoteira*, Analysis, Stages of Composition.
50. See, in connection with the subject of (4) *Stoudios*’s once militantly pro-cenobitic outlook, the warning of Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 100, against assuming that the customs of Studite monasticism as practiced in Athanasios’ lifetime and later were essentially unchanged from Theodore’s time.
51. See (4) *Stoudios* [24] for testing of newcomers, [28] for scriptural readings, [32] for veneration of the Holy Cross, [A37] and [B38] for clothing.
52. See *Vita A*, chaps. 53, 138, 139, 172, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 26–27, 65–66, 81, and *Vita A*, chaps. 19, 40, ed. Noret, pp. 144–45, 172–73; with discussion by Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 80.
53. (4) *Stoudios* [B37] and [A38] on communion; [B16], [21], and [36] on catechetical instruction, this despite the evidence of *Vita B*, chap. 65, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 200, that at the end of his life Athanasios was employing Theodore of Studios’ *Catecheses* of his monks. The hagiographical tradition also records Athanasios’ encouragement of confession: see *Vita A*, chaps. 173–74, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 81–82, and *Vita B*, chap. 45, ed. Noret, pp. 181–82.
54. See *Vita A*, chap. 165, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 78–79, and *Vita B*, chap. 45, ed. Noret, pp. 179–80.

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Translation

Key to Sources

Boldface Type = (4) *Stoudios* Vers. [A]*ItalicType* = (4) *Stoudios* Vers. [B]**Boldface Italic Type** = (4) *Stoudios* Vers. [A] & [B][**Rule of Observance** of the Lavra of the holy Athanasios.][= (4) *Stoudios* [B2]]: *How we conduct services for the holy and glorious resurrection of our savior Jesus Christ on the third day.*

[1.] [= (4) *Stoudios* [AB2]]: It must be noted **that after the third watch of the night, that is the ninth hour, has passed**, and the tenth is beginning, [p. 131] **the signal of the water clock strikes, and at this signal** they immediately arise and **sound the wooden semantra**.¹ **While all the brothers assemble in the narthex of the main church and pray silently**, the priest takes the censer in his hands and censes first the holy sanctuary and **from there, with a large candle being borne in front of him, he walks through the screen in front and passes along the north side of the church** by the Forty Saints. **Arriving at the royal gate he censes the brothers and immediately returns by the south side.** The brothers then enter the church behind him carrying large candles, while the priest enters the sanctuary through the oratory on the right. He **puts aside the censer in the sanctuary, and then comes out and stands with his face towards the sanctuary** to begin the troparion in the first plagal mode: “Christ is risen from the dead.” After this has been sung three times by himself and the brothers, the priest **recites the verse: “This is the day which the Lord has made”** (Ps. 117 [118]:24). The brothers repeat the troparion, and then the priest recites the second verse: “Celebrate the feast” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) to its conclusion. Again the congregation repeats the troparion and concludes with the doxology. After this has been completed, the canon begins immediately, **since during this whole week we do not chant the Six Psalms**.² One reading follows the third [ode], and we sing the **kontakion after the sixth [ode], followed by the fiftieth psalm.** When matins has been completed, the embrace takes place as **the brothers sing the “Christ is risen.”** Then the **“Day of the resurrection”** is read, followed immediately by the great synapte and **the dismissal**.

[2.] [= (4) *Stoudios* [AB2]]: **During this week** at the **office of lamplighting**,³ we recite the **“Christ is risen from the dead,”** followed immediately by **“Oh Lord I have cried [to thee]”** (Ps. 140 [141]). **At the dismissal** we repeat the **“Christ is risen.”** Similarly, **at compline the “Christ is risen,” the trisagion hymn, and the “Kyrie eleison”** twenty times.

[3.] [= (4) *Stoudios* [AB2]]: **On the Saturday of Renovation**⁴ **at the vespers, we begin [to sing] the customary psalm** (Ps. 102 [103]), **and immediately the “O Lord I have cried to thee”** (Ps. 140 [141]:1), **and at compline “God is with us”** (Is. 8:9) and the rest. [= (4) *Stoudios* [AB3]]: **On**

the Sunday of the Radiant Week⁵ the Six Psalms begin, and we sing the “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) *in the grave mode and then only the canon* of the day. *There is one reading, the holy gospel* after the conclusion of the morning office. *In the evening the “Blessed is the man”* (Ps. 31 [32]:2) is followed by the rest of the service and the resurrection *troparia*⁶ in the first mode as prescribed for Sunday. At compline we say “He who dwells” (Ps. 2:4) and the *prokeimenon* “God is with us,” and so forth. [= (4) *Stoudios* [AB4]]: *On Monday at matins we again sing the “God is the Lord”* [p. 132] *in the first mode, and we also sing one kathisma, then the gradual antiphons in the same mode, the prokeimenon, “Let everything that has breath [praise the Lord]”* (Ps. 150:6), *the first gospel of the morning, the fiftieth psalm, and then the canon of the resurrection.* For we celebrate Monday as though it were Sunday without any change. There are two readings. [= (4) *Stoudios* [B3]]: *From that time on, we carry out the full compline service, except on Saturday evening, a feast of the Lord, and the commemoration of a saint, which brings for us rest from our work, our hours, and our prostrations whenever they occur. On these days we sing “He who dwells,” and what follows.*

[4.] It should also be known that after celebrating the feast of Low Sunday, immediately after compline we begin the night office. Until All Saints we do only the canon, followed by the [psalm] “Blameless” (Ps. 118 [119]). From that time until the Exaltation [of the Cross] we add six psalms, during which we make three prostrations and standings. After the Exaltation we chant twelve [psalms], and we carry out the rest of the service until great Lent. Then at each single *trisagion* we do the prostrations and the standings. [= (4) *Stoudios* [AB20]]: *On the vigil of the Nativity of Christ and Epiphany, as well as on the evenings of Holy Thursday and Holy Saturday we do not sing compline, but only a trisagion.* [= (4) *Stoudios* [B3]]: *We begin performing our tasks again beginning on Tuesday morning of the second week [after Easter].* Until All Saints we chant the *prokeimenon* of each day at the office of lamplighting. [= (4) *Stoudios* [AB5] and [B6]]: *Until the feast of the Ascension the kathismata and stichera for the resurrection precede the penitential ones and those of the apostles and of the martyrs in the psalmody, but not those dealing with the crucifixion.*

[5.] [= (4) *Stoudios* [B4]]: *It should be known that at the office of lamplighting on all the feasts of the Lord, of [St. John] the Forerunner, of the Holy Apostles, and of the rest of the more notable saints on which we are not busy with our labors, “Blessed is the man” is begun in the fourth plagal mode, then “O Lord I have cried to thee” in the mode of the stichera of the feast.* On all the other days we do “To the Lord” (Ps. 140 [141] and 141 [142]) in the mode assigned to be sung.

[6.] [= (4) *Stoudios* [A6] and [B7]]: It must be noted *that until Pentecost we do not sing the hours nor genuflect.* [= (4) *Stoudios* [AB7]]: *On Saturdays we do not sing the canons for the dead.* [= (4) *Stoudios* [B8]]: *It should be known that on the Saturday of Pentecost at the exaposteilarion we sing “The remembrance of those who are at rest.” Singing this we go out to the graves of the brothers, and while standing there, we sing the stichera of the day and likewise the other hymns for the dead.* [p. 133] *This concludes matins.* We observe this also on the Saturday of *Meatfare*.

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[7.] [= (4) *Stoudios* [B9]]: *It should be known that in the evening on the Sunday of holy Pentecost at the office of lamplighting we make three genuflections and say immediately after the prooimion the “O Lord I have cried [to thee]” (Ps. 140 [141]) and in the morning at matins after the Six Psalms we say the “God is the Lord ” (Ps. 117 [118]: 27). Immediately, the canon and two readings follow. We pass this week as well without singing the hours. [cf. (4) *Stoudios* [AB10]]: **Then the fast of the Holy Apostles arrives and we begin to sing the hours with the kathismata**, but leave out the first and the ninth hours. These we recite only in the great Lent. We also say the ninth hour in the fast of saint Philip,⁷ and at its conclusion *we recite “Kyrie eleison”* thirty times. **At first we make three prostrations at the same rate all following the superior.** During this we also keep up our prostrations for a little while. Standing erect once again *we stretch our hands out towards God, then we do twelve more* in the same way following the lead of the superior. We then stand for a longer period in prayer, and this is immediately followed by the dismissal. Such, therefore, is our observance for each service during the year in which we do not celebrate a feast. During the great Lent, moreover, we add twelve more prostrations and another period of standing.*

[8.] [cf. (4) *Stoudios* [AB27]]: *It should be known that when we are not performing the hours and are working, the signal for the divine liturgy is at the beginning of the fourth hour. When the liturgy is finished, the wooden semantron sounds three times and all the brothers assemble in the same place and after singing the required verses and receiving the blessed bread, they leave for the refectory.* When we do the hours, the divine liturgy is celebrated after the chanting of the third hour. [The brothers] in a file⁸ enter [the refectory] at the fifth hour; while the sixth and the ninth hours are sung at the same time after the liturgy, the first with a *kathisma* and the other plain. In the fast of Saint Philip when we sing the ninth hour, the divine liturgy is celebrated at the sixth. Joining vespers with the ninth hour, we omit the recitation of the vesper [psalms].

[9.] Let it be noted that we do two hundred prostrations each day in the course of all the services during the day and night. This comes to [cf. (4) *Stoudios* [AB10]]: **forty at matins**, twenty during each of the hours, thirty at vespers, and **fifty at compline**. During great Lent we even [p. 134] increase them by doubling the number at compline and matins and adding up to ten at the other services.

[10.] In each vesper service it should be noted, at the “O Lord I have cried [to thee]” (Ps. 140 [141]), we intercalate six verses and repeat the *stichera* of the saints. On Saturday and on feasts of the Lord we intercalate eight verses, and we repeat the first of the resurrection *troparia*, but not the others. We recite those of the feasts three times.

[11.] It must be noted that in each matins service the signal of the water clock strikes after the conclusion of the seventh hour, on Sundays after the sixth, and on feasts of the Lord at the beginning of the fifth.

[12.] It must also be kept in mind that in each matins office we intercalate eight verses on weekdays and ten on Sundays and on feast days. [cf. (4) *Stoudios* [AB11]]: **After the reading is com-**

pleted, we rise up and say “Kyrie eleison” twelve times, and then the psalmody takes up again. This same number and selection of psalms lasts until the Exaltation of the life-giving wood [of the cross].

[13.] [= (4) *Stoudios* [AB13]]: *It should be known that on the Dormition of the all-holy Mother of God, that is, in the evening at the office of lamplighting of the after feast, after the prokeimenon psalms, we sing “O Lord I have cried [to thee]” (Ps. 140 [141]), and in the morning at matins after the Six Psalms again the “God is Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27), followed immediately by the canon and two readings. The same order is followed on her Nativity and on her Entrance [into the temple], in like manner also for the Nativity of Christ, for the Epiphany, and for the feast of the Presentation of the Lord in the Temple, and for the Exaltation [of the Holy Cross]. The other feasts besides those listed above are not celebrated in two days. From the Exaltation to the Paschal Celebration another kathisma is added to the matins service, as well as one reading. We intercalate ten or more verses in the canon, depending on how many are prescribed for the canon and the day.*

Holy Lent

[14.] Let it be noted that on the Monday of the first week, since the brothers have been enjoying some relaxation, we sing only two antiphons and do two readings and the *triodia*. Thereafter we do three antiphons and three readings. We rise at the end of the fifth hour, then we relax a little after matins, and at daybreak we begin the first hour. If indeed the canon for Monday happens to be for an anniversary observance, then we sing one *kathisma* after the Six Psalms, then the [p. 135] fiftieth psalm, then the canon and the *triodia*, and there are two readings.

[15.] [cf. (4) *Stoudios* [A10, B14]]: *It should be known that during this period of Lent if we sing a canon, we do the first hour all together with a kathisma but without a reading in it. We do have readings at the third, sixth, and ninth hours.* [cf. (4) *Stoudios* [B15]]: *It should be known that during Holy Week until Holy Thursday we sing the hours and do the prostrations just as in the days before that.* But then on the Holy Thursday, as also on Holy Friday, we chant the [hours] in a plain fashion. We join the *troparia* of the holy passion together with the hours, along with the rest of the entire service for that day, and we chant the [hours] in a plain fashion.

[16.] [= (4) *Stoudios* [AB23]]: *It should be known that during the Holy Lent a prudent brother is chosen who should at the third hour visit each of the ministries, and making a deep bow, say: “Brothers and fathers, let us take thought for ourselves since we shall die, we shall die, we shall die. Let us also be mindful of the eternal punishment.”* The brothers immediately drop what they have in their hands, arise, recite the *trisagion*, and sit down again.

[17.] [cf. (4) *Stoudios* [AB18]]: *It should be known that there are two disciplinarians, one in each choir, who are to remind the brothers to stand in an orderly manner in the choirs. After the wooden semantron sounds, they urge on the slothful to run to the service. From those who have stayed behind they demand the reason for their doing so. By means of rather moderate punish-*

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ments they provide an incentive for those who have been tardy to do better. *In addition, there is the waker who at the matins readings goes quietly around to the brothers and wakes those sleeping. There is also the overseer who* night and day wanders among the cells, places of service, and the other places of the Lavra, and *with fitting severity* and an appropriate penance *breaks up those who are meeting at an improper time.* There is also a doorkeeper who guards the entrance to the church, whose first task is to demand of those who come late a reason for their tardiness, and then, after one exit, he forbids those who want to leave at an inopportune moment from going out again.

[18.] [= (4) *Stoudios* [AB24]]: *It should be known that when we receive brothers* whom we do not know *either those from another monastery or even laymen seeking the monastic life, we require them to stay in the hospice for two weeks or even* [p. 136] *three to see and experience the monastery. Then, if they remain steadfast in their decision, after the superior informs them of what awaits them,* once and then a second time, *he thereupon introduces them to instruction and enrolls them into his flock. With the permission of the superior the newly arrived prostrates himself before the brothers while they pray for him.*

[19.] [cf. (4) *Stoudios* [AB25]]: We must admit that *we have places of confinement,* in accord with the precept of the great Basil⁹ in which, after many warnings and admonitions, the *disobedient and refractory brothers are confined,* put on *a diet of dry food and disciplined in virtue.* Those, however, who do not improve their attitudes even by these means, but persist in the same behavior even after lengthy punishment, as diseased limbs should be cut off from the rest of the body of the community, so that their own contagion may not spread to their neighbors.

[20.] This too must be known. Standing with staffs or entering the church with them and likewise making genuflections on footstools is far removed from us altogether as a sign of laziness and contempt for God.

The quantity and the quality of the food and drink
Proper order at table

[21.] [cf. (4) *Stoudios* [AB28]]: It must be known that at the signal given by the bell, *when the brothers come down to the midday meal, they should carry a verse* [of the psalms] *upon their lips,* just as [they should] after rising [from the table] until they have gone over to the narthex to perform the thanksgiving for the food they have shared. They take their seats in the order which they have received. *A monitor ensures that the tables are filled up in an orderly fashion without commotion. A reading then takes place.* The ecclesiarch, that is, divides up the readings. He makes sure that none of the material that there was no time to read in the church is left out. *The signal for the ending of this reading is the sound of the spoons at the last serving when all together toss them on their dishes. Similarly, at a signal the wine is poured and at another signal food is served.*

[22.] [= (4) *Stoudios* [AB29]]: ***It should be known that from Eastertide until All Saints we eat two cooked dishes—garden vegetables and legumes*** and season them both *with* three *litrai* of olive *oil*. On feasts of the Lord, unless there is also a relish dish, we add one more [*litra*] [p. 137], since another cooked dish is added, of course. On these days ***we also eat fish***, if available, ***cheese, and eggs. We drink three [measures of wine]***. In the evening ***when the signal is struck the brothers*** who so wish ***come out to eat their bread as well as any food that may have been left over from the morning. For the community has no food prepared especially for the evening;*** [they also drink] ***two servings of wine.***

[23.] [cf. (4) *Stoudios* [AB29]]: On Monday, Wednesday, and Friday ***during the fast of the Holy Apostles we do not use*** oil and we do not drink wine. As on ordinary days we partake of these on the remaining days of the week, but we abstain from ***fish***, apart from Sundays and feasts when we relax from labor and the recitation of the hours.

[24.] [cf. (4) *Stoudios* [AB29]]: It should be known that even though on the above-mentioned three days of the week we do not use olive oil, the dishes are the customary ones, those which we always have, I mean vegetables and legumes. This rule also applies for *the fast of St. Philip*, except that sometimes, as in Great Lent, ***we eat one meal a day***. From the memorial of the Holy Apostles to that of St. Philip, on Wednesday and Friday we do not partake of olive oil or wine. But ***if*** a feast of the Lord or ***the commemoration of a saint falls on one of these days***, which grants us a holiday, then, if available, ***we eat cheese, eggs, and fish***. As on the other days there are ***three servings of wine at midday and two in the evening***. From the Nativity of Christ to the end of the twelfth day our diet is like that of the pentecostal season. After that the rule of the previous days is again observed until Cheesefare Week. The week of Cheesefare is absolutely free [of fasting].

[25.] [= (4) *Stoudios* [AB30]]: ***During Great Lent we have only one meal a day except for Saturday and Sunday. In the first and the fourth weeks our meals are unvaried, that is, beans or boiled chick peas***, on occasion ***almaia without oil***, or ***chestnuts*** or some other boiled fruit. ***In the second, third, fifth, and sixth weeks this is what we eat: boiled beans and a dish*** [seasoned with] ***ground nutmeg***, except that on Wednesday and Friday the food we eat is the same as that of the first week. ***Throughout the entire Holy Lent we do not drink*** wine apart from Saturday and Sunday ***with the exception of the sick and the aged.***

[26.] [cf. (4) *Stoudios* [AB30]]: ***It should be known that on the first Saturday, starting on Friday evening, we do not perform prostrations. Also on Saturday and Sunday we use*** [p. 138] olive ***oil and wine***, up to ***two servings at the midday meal and one in the evening***, just as on the other Saturdays and Sundays, and for the Forty Saints, and ***when we sing the Akathistos hymn and the great canon. On Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday of Holy Week the food is similar to that of the first week. On Holy Thursday*** we may use olive oil and ***wine. On Holy Saturday*** in the middle of the twelfth hour we ***begin vespers, and the dismissal will come*** at whatever time [the service is concluded], but the refectory is not opened because the liturgy finishes so late and because a large meal would weigh heavily on the stomach and on the mind. We are content with the blessed bread, and can partake of about two servings of wine in the narthex.

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[27.] It must be noted that at the completion of the fourth hour the wood is struck and we are led into the church. Taking up the litany we go off to St. Nicholas, if the weather is clear, and to the Forerunner. There we turn around and begin vespers, without reciting the psalter. Then we enter for the complete liturgy. We can then have fish, oil, and wine.

[28.] [cf. (4) *Stoudios* [AB32]]: ***It should be known that in the middle week of Holy Lent the life-giving wood*** [of the cross] ***is presented*** on that Holy Sunday after matins, ***and we all do reverence***. We do the same thing on Wednesday. The order of the common life of the community has already been discussed. Each individual has permission in accord with his own ability and enthusiasm to carry on his struggle with the aid of the words and the advice of his spiritual father and superior.

[29.] Also recall that in the first week of Holy and Great Lent the brothers are excused from their duties outside and are free to take part in the services in the church and in concentrating on themselves and in reading. They should not go out to their tasks outside unless there should be some necessity or unless the superior should command some of the brothers to go out. In like manner they should be excused during the week of Renovation, especially until that Wednesday. On the rest of the days of Holy Lent, when the signal for the first hour is given, those who are assigned should go out to their tasks, each to his own work. Those who are laboring in the vicinity of the monastery should assemble in the church at the doxology of the office of lamplighting and then go in to table. Those who have gone further away should come for compline.

[30.] When they are working, the metal workers, the muleteers, the shipwrights, and the carpenters should be given on the third hour [p. 139] bread and wine, up to two measures of wine, except on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, for on those days we do not want anyone to drink wine unless they are infirm. Those who go out to perform the rest of the chores and who are unable to eat once a day should take some bread and eat it with water, not with wine. In the evening they may be served whatever happens to have been put aside at table. After Holy Lent has passed, the muleteers and metal workers are given bread and a measure of wine before the main meal each day, since they are engaged in heavy labor. The same applies to the carpenters and shipwrights when they are working. The workers in the vineyard shall also be given one measure, but only on the days when they are pruning the branches, and likewise for those who work in the bakery when they have kneading [to do]. All the rest should be content with the common fare.

[31.] The arrangements to be made for those faint of heart and weak persons are left entirely to the judgment of the superior. On Wednesday and Friday during the fast before Christ's Nativity wine should not be permitted except to the infirm, even though the superior may decide in favor of some receiving wine. On the remaining days of this fast, Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, when the brothers eat only one meal a day, then before the meal the metal workers, muleteers, carpenters, and shipwrights may be given two measures. When there is a memorial of a saint which frees us from reciting the hours, and meals are served twice, then the above-mentioned craftsmen receive an additional measure if they are laboring. If they happen to be without work, they too should be

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content with the diet of the community. For the brothers who are in ill health there is no fixed rule, but depending on the gravity of the illness of each we ought to give them proper care and encouragement.

[32.] It should be noted that we must not spend the days on which we are free from manual labor in idleness and laughter, but rather in prayer and reading, so that on feasts such as these we may receive enlightenment of soul and spiritual grace, and not condemnation.

[33.] Remember that it is an ancient tradition and precept of the holy fathers that the brothers ought to [p. 140] lay before the superior their thoughts and hidden deeds, and they should conform to whatever the superior determines.

[34.] No brother is allowed to possess any personal property and private funds or coins or currency without the approval and knowledge of the superior. This is absolutely forbidden by our holy fathers and by the great Basil.¹⁰ In the same way the holy fathers have judged that secretly leaving the monastery is utterly alien to the monastic promise. Nobody, therefore, is allowed to leave secretly. But if a person finds that his soul is not at ease in our Lavra, let him inform the superior of the reason. If the man appears to have good cause to seek a change, then the superior should transfer him to another spiritual director or make some other arrangements for his welfare. In this way his departure from the monastery will be accompanied by prayer and blessing, and will not be the sort that was forbidden, cursed, and condemned by the holy fathers.

[35.] [cf. (4) *Stoudios* [A37] and [B38]]: ***It should be known that each brother ought to have two undergarments, two outer garments, one woolen garment, one cowl, two monastic cloaks, a shorter one for work and another more copious one which according to custom must be used in church, a heavy cloak, shoes, boots, and his bed clothing.***

[36.] At the gate of the monastery station a wise old monk, or if not an old one, at least a monk who knows with good sense how to reply to inquiries as well as to answer them. This gatekeeper ought to have a cell close to the gate, so the visitor will always find someone to answer his questions right away. He should also be there to prevent anyone from stealing from what belongs to the craftsmen and then going out the gate. Whoever commits such a theft of the goods, the products, and services of the monastery should undergo the death of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5: 1–11), who indeed underwent bodily death, whereas these will end up under a curse with the death of their souls.

[37.] In conclusion, I want all of these regulations which I have laid down to be read regularly in the assembly so that none of the brothers may be able to plead ignorance. May the Lord grant my request that, having received these rules with full confidence, you will produce worthy fruits of the spirit with the blessing of God and the cooperation of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory together with the Father and the Holy Spirit forever and ever. Amen.

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Notes on the Translation

1. “They” must refer to the waker (*aphypnistes*) and perhaps his assistants, for whom see *Vita A*, chap. 84, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 39, *Vita B*, chap. 26, ed. Noret, p. 153, and below, [17]. These monks would be aroused by a signal or alarm in the water clock and would then awaken the others by banging with a mallet on a wooden semantron.
2. Ps. 3, 37 [38], 62 [63], 87 [88], 102 [103], 142 [143].
3. *Lychnika*, the first part of the office of vespers, when the lamps were lit, sometimes synonymous with vespers; see Lampe, *PGL*, p. 817.
4. Week of Renovation, name given to the week after Easter.
5. Sunday after Easter or “Low Sunday.”
6. *Anastasima: troparia* stressing the theme of the Resurrection.
7. Also known as the Christmas fast, which begins on the day after the feast of St. Philip (November 14).
8. The meaning of this passage is clarified by (4) *Stoudios* [38], where the word *stichos* refers to the “file” of monks entering the refectory.
9. The monastic prison does not seem to be a genuine Basilian institution; see Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae brevius tractatae* 44 ([SR 44]), *PG* 31, col. 1109D for his preferred method of punishment.
10. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae brevius tractatae* 85 ([SR 85]), *PG* 31, col. 1144A; cf. his *Regulae fusius tractatae* 8 ([LR 8]), *PG* 31, cols. 933–41 and the patristic citations in E. Herman, “Die Regelung der Armut in den byzantinischen Klöstern,” *OCP* 7 (1941), 406–60, here 406–9.

Document Notes

- [1] Regulations for the Easter Service. The text appears to draw alternately on (4) *Stoudios* [AB2] and [B2], with a brief portion towards the end coming exclusively from [A2]. Most likely an intermediary Studite *typikon* has developed this particular synthesis. The references to the chapel of the Forty Saints (see also below, [26]) and the oratory on the right (of St. Nicholas, also in [27] below) reflect the topography of Lavra’s *katholikon*; see the site plan in Mylonas, “Catholicon,” p. 90. Mylonas, p. 96, believes that these references are interpolations or else an indication that this document was revised ca. 1020 at which time he believes that these chapels were added to the *katholikon*.
- [2] Regulation of hymnody for Easter week. Text shared with (4) *Stoudios* [AB2].
- [3] Liturgical prescriptions for Renovation Sunday services. Renovation Sunday is the first Sunday after Easter. This complex chapter has been formed (probably by an intermediary) utilizing parts of (4) *Stoudios* [A2], [AB2], [AB3], [B3], and [A4].
- [4] Regulation of hymnody for the rest of the year. This is another complex chapter formed out of (4) *Stoudios* [AB20], [B3], [AB5], and [B6].
- [5] Regulation of hymnody for feasts of the Lord. This is a new chapter not traceable to the edited versions of (4) *Stoudios*.
- [6] Special observances for Easter season and Pentecost. This chapter has been formed out of (4) *Stoudios* [A6], [B7], [AB7], and [B8]. The prohibition on singing canons for the dead on Saturdays (during Easter season) is at variance with (4) *Stoudios* [AB7].
- [7] Vesper service on Pentecost Sunday; liturgical prescriptions for the fasts of the Holy Apostles and of St. Philip. This chapter has been formed out of (4) *Stoudios* [B3] and [AB10]; other portions may be original to Athanasios or derived from an unknown version of the Studite *typikon*.
- [8] Timing of the liturgy and meals. The first portion of this chapter is identical to (4) *Stoudios* [AB27], except that the liturgy here starts at the fourth hour instead of at the sixth hour at *Stoudios* on those days free from the recitation of the hours.
- [9] Number of prostrations during performance of the hours. This chapter has only a minor textual link to (4) *Stoudios* [AB10]. Note the increase in the importance and number of prostrations.
- [10] Specifications for the vesper service. This is a new chapter not traceable to the edited versions of (4) *Stoudios*.

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- [11] Timing of the morning office. This is another new chapter independent of the edited versions of (4) *Stoudios*; for the water clock, see also (4) *Stoudios* [2].
- [12] Hymnody at the morning office. This chapter utilizes part of (4) *Stoudios* [AB11].
- [13] Order of psalms at feasts of the Lord and those of the Mother of God. This chapter follows (4) *Stoudios* [AB13] closely, except for the addition here of the Virgin's feast of the Entrance into the Temple.
- [14] Daily routine for Lent. This is an apparently new chapter not traceable to the edited versions of (4) *Stoudios*.
- [15] Liturgical prescriptions for Lent. This chapter is derived from (4) *Stoudios* [B14] and [B15]; there is no parallel treatment in [A]. In the Studite tradition of [B], the regular performance of the hours and prostrations continues until Holy Saturday.
- [16] Lenten reminder of death. This chapter follows (4) *Stoudios* [AB23] closely; here a "prudent" brother substitutes as the messenger for the "elderly" monk found in the Studite tradition.
- [17] Officers of the monastery. This chapter makes considerable use of (4) *Stoudios* [AB18], but the author has adapted his source for his own needs, authorizing the use of punishments (cf. [19] below), adding a doorkeeper and making a reference to the cells (*kellia*), places of service, i.e., workshops (*diakoniai*), etc. that were particular to Lavra. There is also a discussion of the officers of the monastery in *Vita A*, chap. 84, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 39–40, and *Vita B*, chap. 26, pp. 153–54.
- [18] Testing of novices. This chapter follows (4) *Stoudios* [AB24] closely, but the superior is obliged to repeat his synopsis of the novices' obligations as monks. For the sensitive topic of the treatment of monks tonsured in other monasteries, see *Vita A*, chap. 89, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 41–42, *Vita B*, chap. 29, ed. Noret, p. 159, and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [22] through [29].
- [19] Place of confinement. This provision is adopted from (4) *Stoudios* [AB25] but attributed to Basil of Caesarea. The failure to include the Studite ban on corporal punishment, like the new provision for expulsion, may be significant.
- [20] Use of staffs and footstools in church prohibited. A new chapter; compare to the rigorist attitude found much later in (36) *Blemmydes* [13]; (22) *Evergetis* [4] and related documents, however, permit the use of footstools.
- [21] Refectory procedures. This chapter is based on (4) *Stoudios* [AB28] with substantial additions. See also the description of refectory procedures in *Vita A*, chaps. 86–87, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 40–41, and *Vita B*, chap. 29, ed. Noret, pp. 157–59. The references to a single narthex (only) here and below in [26] have implications for dating architectural features of Lavra's *katholikon*; see Mylonas, "Catholicon," p. 95. The specification that the ecclesiarch is to perform the reading is not found in the Studite *Rule*.
- [22] Diet from Easter to the feast of All Saints (first Sunday after Pentecost). This chapter is based on (4) *Stoudios* [AB29], with the addition of concessionary supplements to the diet on feasts of the Lord occurring during the Easter season.
- [23] Diet for the fast of the Holy Apostles. This chapter makes a very slight use of (4) *Stoudios* [AB29] but the diet is prescribed more succinctly and may be less strict than in the Studite tradition.
- [24] Dietary regulations for the fast of St. Philip and for the Christmas season. This mostly new chapter makes some minor use of (4) *Stoudios* [B29] and [AB29].
- [25] Diet for the Lenten fast. This chapter is based closely on [AB30], with a brief quotation found only in [A30]. The Athanasian regulation here follows [B30] in requiring that the strict fast of the first week of Lent be observed again during the fourth week.
- [26] Special Lenten regulations; diet for Holy Week. This is a chapter of complex derivation, employing (4) *Stoudios* [A30], then [B30], and then [AB30]; considered with [1], [3], and [4] above, this suggests Athanasios' reliance on some intermediary Studite *typikon* for the drafting of this document rather than a direct use of either or both of the versions on which our printed editions are based. The dietary concession for the feast of the Forty Saints (Martyrs), on March 9, which was to be only a minor feast in (20) *Black Mountain* [89], must have been in honor of the dedicatees of the north side chapel of Lavra's *katholikon*.

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- [27] Procession before vespers and the liturgy. This is a new chapter, specific to Lavra. The reference to St. Nicholas is to the south side chapel of Lavra's *katholikon* or perhaps, as implied here, some predecessor structure detached from the main church; the other topographical reference is to the free-standing oratory of St. John [the Baptist] the Forerunner, mentioned in *Vita A*, chap. 73, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 35, and *Vita B*, chap. 23, ed. Noret, p. 149, as having been built by Athanasios at the instructions of Nikephoros Phokas; cf. Mylonas, "Catholicon," p. 103.
- [28] Veneration of the Holy Cross; permission for individual ascetic observances. The first part of this chapter is derived from (4) *Stoudios* [AB32], the penultimate Studite quotation in this document, after which (except for [35] below) the remaining materials appear to be original to Athanasios. His cross-reference to an earlier discussion of the common life probably refers to preceding treatment of dietary observances, beginning with [21]. (13) *Ath. Typikon* [38] is more critical of self-imposed ascetic observances, while in the late eleventh century, (20) *Black Mountain* [72] was to encourage and (23) *Pakourianos* [15] was to discourage them.
- [29] Suspension of outside work during first week of Lent and Easter week. For a contemporary example of the practice of seclusion during all of Lent, see (7) *Latros* [6]. Note the differentiation among laborers who report back at different times depending on the distance of their worksites from the monastery.
- [30] Special arrangements for feeding laborers; dietary concessions for same. In (43) *Kasoulon* [19], monks absent on assignments have a share of food saved for them until their return, while [25] allows that monastery's fishermen to eat fish, use oil, and drink wine during Lent, a concession that apparently was later withdrawn.
- [31] Dietary concessions for the sick; additional concessions for laborers. See (22) *Evergetis* [33], some comparable laborers in another monastic community.
- [32] Prayer and reading on feast days. This is a new chapter, but it is analogous to (4) *Stoudios* [AB26] without the latter's provisions for a lending library and a structured time for reading.
- [33] Confession to the superior. Again, this is a new chapter, but analogous to (4) *Stoudios* [22]. The focus here, however, is on obligatory confession, which is taken up later by (22) *Evergetis* [7], [15] and related documents of the monastic reform movement.
- [34] Prohibition of personal property; procedures for leaving the monastery. The former was to be one of the principles of the militantly cenobitic monastic reform movement: see (22) *Evergetis* [22] and related documents. For the condemnation of unauthorized departures, see Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 14 ([LR 14]), *PG* 31, cols. 949–52, along with the references to canonical legislation on this subject in E. Herman, "La 'Stabilitas loci' nel monachesimo bizantino," *OCP* 21 (1955), 115–42.
- [35] Regulation of clothing. This chapter is a condensation of the analogous Studite regulations, (4) *Stoudios* [A37] and [B38], providing for essentially the same items of clothing. For some later descriptions of monastic clothing, see (22) *Evergetis* [25], (28) *Pantokrator* [22], (31) *Areia* [T4], (32) *Mamas* [28], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28].
- [36] Gatekeeper and his responsibilities. Provision for a gatekeeper. See description of this officer's responsibilities in (27) *Kecharitomene* [29], (32) *Mamas* [12], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [12]. The focus of responsibilities here on prevention of theft is unprecedented elsewhere in the documents in our collection. Leroy, "S. Benoît," pp. 117–19, believed that this chapter contains unattributed quotations from the *Rule of St. Benedict*; cf. *Regula monasteriorum*, chaps. 57, 66, ed. Cuthbert Butler (Downside, 1912), pp. 99, 116.
- [37] Reading of the rules in assembly. Seen here for the first time, this was to become a very popular custom as monastic *typika* became institutionalized in Byzantine monasteries, though usually in the context of a seasonal recitation at mealtime. See (22) *Evergetis* [43], (27) *Kecharitomene* [65], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [59], (30) *Phoberos* [59], (32) *Mamas* [16], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [16], etc. Leroy, "S. Benoît," pp. 117–19, believed that this chapter contains an unattributed quotation from the *Rule of St. Benedict*; cf. *Regula monasteriorum*, chap. 66, ed. Butler, p. 117.

12. *Tzimiskes: Typikon* of Emperor John Tzimiskes

Date: 971–72¹

Translator: George Dennis

Edition employed: Denise Papachryssanthou, *Actes du Prôtaton* (= Archives de l’Athos 7) (Paris, 1975), pp. 202–15, with text at 209–15.

Manuscript: Original charter preserved in the archives of the Protaton monastery (Karyes)²

Other translations: Russian, by Porfirii Uspensky, *Vostok kristianskii. Athon. Istoriiia Athona*, vol. 3, pt. 1 (Kiev, 1877), pp. 81–89.

Analysis

This document, known also as the *Tragos* or “billy goat” in allusion to the parchment on which it was written, is more a juridical document than a traditional *typikon*. A bitter rivalry between Athanasios the Athonite and his fellow monks of Mount Athos led to an appeal by the latter to Emperor John Tzimiskes (969–976), probably soon after the emperor’s accession.³ Surely it was on his own initiative that the emperor sent Euthymios, the superior of the Stoudios monastery, to investigate the problems and restore peace to Mount Athos. The Athanasian hagiographic tradition, however, represents the imperial inquest as having taken place at the request of Athanasios in contradiction to the account in the preface of the present document. Unlikely as this is, there are some grounds for suspecting that Athanasios either influenced the choice of the imperial arbitrator or at any rate had reason to be pleased that Euthymios was selected. The conflict between Lavra’s cenobitic form of monasticism and the alternatives popular elsewhere on Mount Athos was at the root of many of the difficulties, and so it was to Athanasios’ advantage that a superior of one of the empire’s most famous cenobitic monasteries, and one from which his own (11) *Ath. Rule* was derived, had been chosen for this assignment. Moreover, on another occasion Euthymios is reported to have joined with Athanasios and the latter’s collaborator John the Iberian in an unsuccessful appeal to John Tzimiskes to donate the imperial monastery of Kolobou near Hierissos to Lavra.⁴ However, it does not necessarily follow from the likelihood that Euthymios was a mediator friendly to Athanasios that he was sent to impose cenobiticism on Athos. Rather, a close reading of the present document will show, as Papachryssanthou (*Prôtaton*, p. 100) has demonstrated, that Euthymios endeavored to preserve the interests of each of the three important forms of monastic life on Mount Athos, not only the large cenobitic monasteries but also the small independent (kelliotic) groups and the solitary hermits, though without enduring success.

Perhaps the most salient feature of this document is the evidence of widespread commercial activity not only among the various Athonite communities themselves but even with the outside world. The biased Athanasian hagiographic tradition nevertheless acknowledges that Lavra’s aggressive pursuit of agricultural enterprise under Athanasios’ direction was especially offensive to Athos’ other ascetics who were accustomed to a quieter, more traditional way of life. Later,

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Athanasios himself would find it prudent in (13) *Ath. Rule* [10] to denounce outside commercial activity as “dishonorable” and even to censure [11] other Athonites for their purchases and development of fields and vineyards. In this document, commercial activity such as Athanasios himself is said to have practiced, despite his later disavowals, seems to flourish. The attempts [13], [15], [24] to restrict it are tentative and riddled with exceptions, a pattern that would be repeated in the eleventh century with (15) *Constantine IX*. Also, the indulgent standards of traditional private religious foundations prevailed with respect to the bequeathing, donation, transfer and outright sale of monastic cells and associated properties [2], [6], [7], requiring a provision for restricting outright speculative activity [13] and other regulations to discourage monks [8] wandering about without subordination to a superior or unknown priests [11] celebrating the liturgy without written authorization from their bishops. These latter provisions are typical of official attempts (usually futile) to curb abuses endemic in the traditional, free-wheeling private-enterprise approach to the ownership of Byzantine religious foundations.⁵ Indeed the assertion [6] that a superior was free to sell, donate or transfer his land “to any person he wishes” recalls a similar claim made by the author of (1) *Apa Abraham* [4] in seventh-century Byzantine Egypt.

Along with the other superiors of Athos, Athanasios attended the assembly which led to the drafting of this document and placed his signature on it immediately after those of the emperor himself and Athanasios the *protos*, the head of the Athonite community. The impact of this document on Lavriot monasticism and vice-versa is hard to determine. A few years later Athanasios of Lavra would incorporate in his own (13) *Ath. Typikon* some of the customs and usages agreed upon here, including the year’s probation [3] for candidates for tonsure, the requirement [10] that monks seek permission before becoming solitaries, and the bans on spiritual relationships with laymen [14], on tonsuring youths or eunuchs [16], cf. [25], and on importation of livestock [22], cf. [23]. Some of the provisions for observing the Lenten fast [12] seem to be derived from the earlier Studite tradition while others are shared with (13) *Ath. Typikon* [29]. It is taken for granted in (12) *Tzimiskes* that the Athonite superiors (even Athanasios) should have personal servants, despite the explicit condemnation of (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34] and the Studite tradition. Likewise, this document assumes that monks will retain personal financial resources and even draw cash incomes from their monasteries [18], [19], [27] despite the weight of the Athanasian and Studite traditions to the contrary. Athanasios’ disposition to restrict the practice of non-cenobitic monasticism in his community by banning the erection of new *kellia* in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [45], [53], cf. [44] did not sway his colleagues in the assembly that drew up this document, who were more concerned to uphold the property rights [18] of those kelliotic monks who continued to build them. There is also no evidence from this document to suggest that Athanasios’ pioneering attempt to establish institutional autonomy for his own foundation under the patronage of the previous emperor Nikephoros Phokas (for which see (13) *Ath. Typikon* [12]) had inspired imitators among the other monasteries on Mount Athos.

Yet as Papachryssanthou (*Prôtaton*, p. 101) has noted, what was left unsaid in this document was perhaps as important as, or more so than, what its terms in fact provide. Most important of all for Athanasios, either before or after Euthymios’ arrival he managed to prevent his opponents the *protos* Athanasios and Paul Xeropotamites from securing his expulsion from Mount Athos. The failure to restrict economic activities such as sale of monasteries and landed properties, even if, as

seems likely, their preservation was desired by the kelliotic and solitary monks, ultimately doomed their way of life on Athos since Lavra and the other large monasteries with vast resources remained free to expand at their neighbors' expense.

Notes on the Introduction

1. The document is undated; the proposed dating here follows Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 207, after Dölger, "Echtheit," p. 346, and Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 22; cf. Anastasiević, "Date," p. 11, who argued for 970.
2. The document is preserved on very thick rolled parchment in a sealed chest in the *Protaton* monastery at Karyes. It is the oldest original charter on Mount Athos and the oldest document bearing an autograph signature of an emperor. See discussion in Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 22, and Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 202–4, with illustrations in the Album, pls. XI–XIX.
3. For the background to the Tragos affair, see *Vita A*, chaps. 114–23, ed., J. Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae* (Louvain), 1982), pp. 54–58, and *Vita B*, chap. 36, ed., Noret, pp. 168–69; with discussion by Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 39–41, and "La vie ancienne de saint Athanase l'Athonite composée au debut du XI^e siècle par Athanase de Lavra," in *Le millénaire du Mont Athos, 963–1963*, vol. 1 (Chevetogne, 1963), pp. 79–80, and by Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 95–102.
4. See Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 98, with n. 34.
5. See my *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987), pp. 111–15, 125–27, 133–6.

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Translation

[Preface]

The reverend monks of the renowned Mount Athos, Athanasios the reverend monk and *protos* of the Mountain, and the reverend monk Paul, have presented themselves in the God-guarded city before our benevolent emperor.¹ For some time now, they explained, certain problems and disputes had arisen between them and the reverend monk Athanasios, superior of the imperial lavra called *Ta Melana*. The result was that several monks were injured and unjustly treated by him. They reported that they could find no way of solving the problem and no way of guaranteeing peace among them. Our mighty emperor, crowned by God, living by his laws and guarded by righteousness, places great importance on the monks, more than anyone else, being at peace and leading undisturbed and tranquil lives. He is, moreover, reluctant to have them brought before a secular tribunal, or to have their affairs investigated by civil officials and their charges against one another brought before the general public. Laymen, in addition, have no real understanding of monastic life. As the behavior of monks is different, so the charges are different. The charges which might be brought against them differ from the accusations and the judgments likely to be made against laymen. As a result, the emperor ordered our humble selves to betake ourselves to the place, and bring both sides together, and listen attentively to the charges brought by them. We were then to concentrate on straightening out matters properly according to the dictates of the holy canons.

We did indeed betake ourselves there, and both parties in the dispute also presented themselves. All the superiors of the Mountain sat together with us in council, while the entire assemblage of the brothers was also in attendance.² For an entire week the dispute was aired and very thoroughly investigated. Once we succeeded in acquiring a deeply spiritual understanding of the matter, it was found that both parties were absolutely guiltless, strange as this may sound. The dispute which had arisen between them was recognized as having been caused by the activity of Satan. The result was that, by God's graceful assistance, they merited the reward of a profound and unshakable peace, with all points of controversy resolved.

While engaged in this, we discovered that several other matters stood in need of correction, and we did our best to rectify them carefully in accord with the holy canons. We also found that some other monks were quarreling and making accusations against one another. We arranged to bring them to a settlement and establish peace. Closer study of the situation revealed that it was the assemblies which provided the occasion for some problems, quarrels, and seeds of discord. Now, we knew that those who had conceived of these assemblies had intended them to be beneficial and supportive for the brothers, but it turned out that they were having the opposite effect. We, therefore, all the reverend monks and superiors, whose names and signatures are given at the conclusion of this *typikon*, meeting in council, have by common consent, demand, and will determined and ordained that the two assemblies, the one at Easter and the one at the holy Nativity of Christ, are to be discontinued. Instead, the brothers are to gather and hold their assembly just once a year on the venerable feast of the immaculate Bearer of God and Mother of God.³ [p. 210] The allowance should also be kept until that day.⁴ We also lay down that on the assigned feast, the *protos* should come with only three disciples, the reverend Athanasios, superior of the Great Lavra, with two, and the monk Paul with one. The rest of the superiors, *kelliotai*, and solitaries should all

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come to the assembly without any servants, since we have discovered that it is the servants who generally cause the disorder and strife. As best we could, so we believe, we have devised a remedy which should aid both parties among the monks in being concerned about reverence and devotion. A peaceful situation should prevail in all respects and keep them from splitting into factions or separate groups and from becoming a scandal to laymen in the future, and especially from disturbing the sacred ears of our devout and mighty emperor. Now if, as time goes by, with the graceful assistance of God, the situation improves to such an extent that everyone agrees that they want to hold a second assembly, we rejoice and are very pleased at this. All we request is for them to inform us in writing, so that nothing will slip by which might weaken any prescription of the *typikon*. We, therefore, instruct them to observe these norms which have been approved by the prudent judgment of all the superiors on Mount Athos and which, I am sure, will be acknowledged as pleasing to God and acceptable to our virtuous emperor as befitting the ascetical life.

[1.] We have, in addition, determined that in case anything should occur which needs to be corrected, either in the community or individually regarding one of the brothers, no one of the superiors has permission to make direct inquiries about such a failing, or to correct it, or to censure or condemn the offender without the knowledge of the *protos*. On the other hand, without meeting with the superiors of the Mountain, and without their consent and advice, the *protos* does not have authority to do anything with which they disagree, even if it should seem particularly beneficial to the common good or to some individual person.

[2.] Concerning monks who have been tonsured in other monasteries, then left them and come to this venerable Mountain and been deemed worthy of reception, we order and we desire that they should not have the authority to purchase fields or to take possession of unclaimed places on their own initiative and will. They are not to direct a *kellion* without obtaining the approval and permission of the *protos* and the superiors.

[3.] All who come to you and promise to receive the monastic tonsure ought to be received by each one of the superiors. By no means should they be permitted outside the spiritual enclosure. They should not be tonsured right away, but should observe the ecclesiastical canon⁵ by devoting one year to being trained in the monastic way of life. They should give evidence that their resolve is firm and unshakable. When they show that such is the case, then, the superior may judge that they be clothed in the monastic habit. But if someone comes out of urgency or for some other reason, for whom it is not possible to wait out the year, and he requests to be enrolled immediately, we should leave this to the judgment of the superior. We suggest that the same consideration be granted to someone who is anxious to be tonsured and be garbed with the monastic habit because of some infirmity, fearful that death may intervene, and he may depart this life before he completes the assigned time we have stipulated.

[4.] A layman who has come to one of the superiors and stays with him for six months or an entire year, but who becomes dissatisfied with the superior's direction for certain causes and has good reason to claim that he has not been helped by him, may give himself to another spiritual director,

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whomsoever he might select, provided that other persons testify that this new director is irreproachable and capable of helping souls. [p. 211] He should not be allowed to go off to him without the consent, knowledge, and blessing of the first director, but he must present himself to whomever he has chosen with the advice and knowledge of the former.

[5.] If a monk has cause to be dissatisfied by his association with his superior for certain reasons which could be harmful to his soul, even though he may have received the monastic habit from him, he can nonetheless find another superior and with the knowledge, advice and permission of his previous father present himself to him. We recommend that it should not be permitted for any superior to receive the disciple of another superior without that person's knowledge. But if anyone is detected making a captive of such a disciple, he should not be entrusted with the disciple.

[6.] If one of the superiors should choose to sell, donate, or otherwise transmit his own plot of land to any person he wishes, either while he is still alive or to have such disposition of his possessions made after he has departed this life, we consent that he be permitted to exercise his ownership and authority with full freedom, and he is not to be restricted. If he should wish to transmit the ownership and possession of such a plot of land to his disciple, he is allowed to do this also, and he should not be hindered by anyone.

[7.] If, when he is close to death, one of the superiors on the Mountain shall leave his land to one of the administrators, so it will be well and properly managed and administered, no one of them may be allowed to have the authority to annex the dead man's land either to the Great Lavra, or to any other, or to someone else's land or to his own. He may, however, sell or donate it to a worthy and devout person if it turns out that that person has no other land. In like manner, from the present time on, these same regulations should be observed in the case of lands given to someone by *charistike*.

[8.] All those who withdraw from their own superiors and who do not choose to settle under the obedience of a father in accord with the *typikon* published by us, but who prefer to wander in a bold and undisciplined way around the whole Mountain, and to offer their services for hire, these should be warned once, twice, and more often. If they refuse to obey the men giving them such salutary advice, they should, even though unwilling, be handed over to spiritual fathers.

[9.] In accord with the ancient decrees of the holy fathers, we insist and we sternly declare that no one is to be allowed to ridicule or publicly expose the thoughts and confessions of anyone. If a person should be caught doing this, no matter who he may be, let him be subject to the canonical punishments.

[10.] Those subjects who have sufficiently advanced in spirituality and asceticism by the practice of virtue, and whose superiors deem capable of stripping to enter the stadium of solitude, we too permit and agree that they may dwell apart by themselves to practice asceticism according to the pleasure and judgment of their superiors.

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[11.] Regarding unknown priests coming here, we must insist that they do not have authority, either privately or publicly, to presume to celebrate the divine liturgy, unless they have an official letter from their bishops or some solid testimony in their favor.

[12.] We also make this recommendation. During the period of Holy Lent, all the solitary ascetics and those living in community should spend the time in silence, and they should not visit one another except for a good reason, an emergency, or to seek treatment for evil and shameful thoughts. None of the superiors, moreover, should busy himself with any work during these holy days, except on Saturday, or anything else unless it is related to spiritual matters. In addition, you may not partake of fish at all on these holy days, [p. 212] except on the revered feast of the Annunciation⁶ of the very holy Mother of God and in case of some infirmity.

[13.] Concerning monks who possess fields and sell them, then purchase others in turn, and sell them again for the sake of profit and shameful gain, and who do not cease engaging in mercenary pursuits, we command that they be made to refrain completely from any such business so harmful to their souls or that they be simply expelled from the Mountain, that is, if after one or two admonitions they have not reformed or turned from their wicked ways.

[14.] No one of the brothers is to be allowed to leave the mountain to form a bond of spiritual relationship or adoptive brotherhood with laymen. If some of them have already concluded a bond of this sort for themselves, they must still not go off to their houses or have lunch or dinner with them or join them at all in drinking.

[15.] Since you clearly wanted instructions on what you have to do in this matter, by common consent we lay down this regulation concerning wine. We do not permit anyone to dare to sell wine to laymen from the Zygos river in towards the Mountain. This allows outsiders to spend too much time with the monks and fill them with worldly corruption. If, however, anyone has more of a vintage than he needs, let him sell it to monks, and from the buyers let him receive what he does not have in return. For some of the monks on the Mountain lack necessities. Everyone does not have everything. If some laymen should happen to frequent the Mountain with some supplies which are lacking there, then in that case, because of the unavoidable shortage, it is allowed to give them wine in exchange.

[16.] We must strictly enjoin that boys, beardless youths, and eunuchs who journey to the Mountain to be tonsured should not be received at all. But in case it cannot be avoided, and the situation becomes urgent, we order that nothing should be done, and nobody should be admitted or tonsured unless the *protos* and all the superiors of the Mountain have investigated the case and freely consent. But if one of the superiors or *kelliotai* out of contempt for these stipulations should introduce into his field or cell a eunuch or a child, and after being denounced for this once and then twice, and should give no evidence of changing his ways, then we consider it best simply to drive him away from the Mountain.

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[17.] Any brothers who happen to lack an education but who are proficient in spirituality and who have become superiors should have permission to tonsure candidates who come to them just as the rest of the superiors, and they should not be hindered. Nonetheless, we order that those who are superiors because they seized this office first, but who are not really capable of directing themselves, should be assigned to spiritual fathers and reap some benefit from them by confessing their thoughts.

[18.] If anyone enters upon obedience to one of the superiors or comes to him from another, and should construct a cell with his consent and approval, but then instead of remaining there wants to get up and leave without his superior causing him any trouble, let him take half of what he spent for the cell. But if he wants to move away because the superior has been harassing him, we enjoin that he should take the entire amount of his expenses and so leave. We decree the same regarding fields and vineyards.

[19.] If a monk comes and agrees to work for one of the superiors for a year, but before the designated time is up neglects his duty and departs, let him be allowed to take the payment for his work with him. But if the superior acts wickedly and, after the monk had served him [p. 213] for a period of four or six months, he should try to harm the brother by chasing him away without pay, we order that he should receive the entire amount of his salary. But if the one who is wickedly depriving him should become obstinate and not pay the salary to the worker, he should be accused before the elders. Without delay let them demand the full amount of the salary from him, and let it be given to his accuser. In like manner, if a person entering upon a period of obedience and service without a contract, but who is chased away by the superior or harassed by him, gets up and leaves, we order that he should receive the full amount of his allowance from the superior.

[20.] We think it fitting to put an end to the so called “forced labor” imposed upon the *kelliotai* by the superiors. For these are indications of worldly, not monastic, life. But if someone, without being forced, freely chooses to come and help another, this lies in his power.

[21.] We order that the steward⁷ entrusted with the supervision of the Mese⁸ should have the authority to expel from the Mese those whom he might discover stirring up scandals or contention. If they happen to sow discord, and the steward does not take the proper steps to correct it, then the fault is his. If some compelling business causes him to be absent from the Mountain, he should leave in his place a competent man, superior to the others, who can guide the monks along the path of peace. But if some scandal occurs outside the Mese on the Mountain, then we order that the steward should take along with him three or four superiors from the vicinity of the place in which the scandal occurred and after careful examination apply a fitting solution to the problem.

[22.] Some years ago because of the incursion by foreign peoples the animals of the great monastery found their way to the Mountain with the knowledge of the monks of the Great Lavra. While that may be true, we order that it should not happen again, apart from necessity or another foreign

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incursion. This same rule must also be observed by the rest of the superiors, so that no individual may bring them in on his own authority. Regarding those animals which habitually come onto the Mountain, we leave any decision about them up to the council of the elders who may choose to prohibit them from being led here or not.

[23.] We decree that none of the superiors should have yokes of animals. The only exception is the Great Lavra, which may have one yoke because it is needed, and because of the large number of monks there, and because without such a yoke it would be impossible for the Lavra to function.

[24.] Regarding firewood which has been cut on the Mountain by the monks, we desire that it not be transported and sold outside, but that it be sold on the Mountain. In an emergency, though, let it be sold to laymen.

[25.] Concerning construction workers who come here, it is our view that they should not bring boys along to work with them as assistants or apprentices.

[26.] Regarding the appointment of the steward, we order that during the assembly on the revered feast of the Dormition of the very holy Mother of God he should give an account of the stewardship entrusted to him. If it is found that he has carried it out well, and if the *protos* and all the superiors are pleased with him, let him continue undisturbed in his service. But if they are not pleased, then we allow them to take that responsibility away from him and pass it on to another.

[27.] With the suppression of the two assemblies there is bound to be a surplus of the funds which were supposed to be paid out for the comfort of the elders. These should be added to the allowance and distributed to the monks. [p. 214]

[28.] Regarding the appointment of the *protos* we prefer that the ancient rule which has been followed from the beginning be maintained firmly and without change.

We are convinced that it is to the advantage of all the superiors and monks of the Mountain to adhere to all the regulations laid down here and that nobody should dare attempt to overturn any of the chapters in this *typikon*. But, if anyone should be detected holding these matters in contempt which were regulated and decreed not merely by our own initiative and authority, but by the common intent of all, let him be subject to the penalties of the holy canons, inasmuch as he has trampled on his own conscience and become a source of scandal and very great harm to everyone. These matters have been decreed and stipulated with the common intent and accord of all the reverend superiors of Athos by Euthymios, monk of the most holy monastery of Stoudios. Moreover, so they might be more perfect, secure, firm, solid, and lasting, they were referred to the judgment and review of our virtuous, mighty peace-making emperor John. For we had been ordered by the living voice of his unconquered, mighty majesty and, according to the esteemed, holy command of the sacred imperial letters which we received, we were assigned the mission of conducting a detailed investigation, of resolving all disagreement, of establishing peace, and of issu-

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ing regulations on all these matters. These have been accepted as canonically valid and confirmed by the imperial seal.

- + John in Christ our God faithful emperor of the Romans
- + Athanasios, monk and *protos*
- + Athanasios, monk and superior of the Great Lavra
- + Christodoulos, monk and superior of the *Protaton*
- + Iakobos, monk, priest, and superior
- + Thomas, monk, priest, and superior
- + John, monk and priest
- + Kallinikos, monk, priest, and superior
- + Anthimos, monk and superior
- + Elias, monk, priest, and superior
- + Arsenios, monk and superior
- + Daniel, monk and superior
- + John, monk and superior
- + Antony, monk and superior
- + Theodosios, monk and superior
- + Andrew, monk and superior
- + Dionysios, monk, priest, and superior
- + Kosmas, monk and superior
- + Thomas, monk and superior
- + Hilarion, monk and superior
- + George, the painter
- + Methodios, monk and superior
- + Nikephoros, monk and superior
- + Theodoulos, blind monk and superior [p. 215]
- + Euthymios, monk and superior
- + Zacharias, monk and superior
- + Michael, monk and superior
- + George, monk and superior
- + Michael, priest and superior
- + Luke, monk and steward
- + Nikodemos, monk and superior
- + John, monk and superior
- + Luke, monk +
Ignatios, monk
- + Stephen, monk +
Paul, monk and priest +
Andrew, monk and superior
- + Arsenios, monk and superior
- + Gabriel, monk and superior

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- + Damian, monk and superior +
- + Nikephoros, monk and superior
- + Basil, monk and superior
- + Basil, monk and superior + Symeon, monk and superior
- + Mark, monk, priest, and superior
- + Kosmas, monk and ecclesiarch
- + Theophilos, monk and superior
- + Nicholas, monk and superior, the calligrapher
- + Sergios, monk and superior
- + Kosmas, monk and superior
- + Kosmas, monk and superior of Theoktistos
- + Demetrios, monk and superior
- + Lazarus, monk and superior
- + Symeon, monk and superior
- + Antony, monk and superior
- + Theodoulos, monk and superior
- + Nikephoros, monk and priest
- + Sabas, monk and superior and *koubouklesios*⁹ +

Notes on the Translation

1. For the *protos* Athanasios, the third known incumbent of this office, see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 130; for his office, see pp. 123–29; for Paul Xeropotamites, see pp. 66–68.
2. For the Athonite council and assembly, see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 115–21.
3. This is the feast of the Dormition, August 15 (see [26] below).
4. The *roga*, the annual pension from the emperor first granted by Romanos I Lekapenos; see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 54, 122.
5. Cf. *NJ* 5.2, which provides for a three-year novitiate.
6. March 25.
7. For the office of the steward, see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 151–55; the incumbent was the monk Luke, who signs this document.
8. Mese is used here as a synonym for Karyes, i.e. the Protaton monastery; see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 152.
9. Title born by patriarchal chamberlains; cf. Darrouzès, *Οφφικια*, pp. 39–44. As Papachryssanthou notes (*Prôtaton*, 207–8), it is not clear whether Sabas held this title before arriving at Mt. Athos or this office existed at the *Prôtaton* in the 10th c.

Document Notes

- [1] Rights of the *protos* and the superiors. There was to be a more extensive development of this topic in (15) *Constantine IX* [14].
- [2] Permission of the *protos* and a superior needed for non-Athonite monks to direct a *kellion*. See also [18] below and the discussion by Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 101. In (15) *Constantine IX* [11], the *protos* was forbidden to make grants of common land.
- [3] Novitiate of one year. (13) *Ath. Typikon* [50] provides similarly, but like later documents, e.g., (22) *Evergetis* [37], makes an exception for those who are “pious and well known.”

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- [4] Postulants may change spiritual directors. See also below [5], [8], and [18].
- [5] Previous superior's permission required to transfer to another monastery. See also above [4], and below [8], [18]; reaffirmed by (15) *Constantine IX* [7].
- [6] Superiors allowed to sell, donate or bequeath personal property freely. Cf. (1) *Apa Abraham* [4] and (41) *Docheiariou* [5]. These rights were later restricted in (15) *Constantine IX* [9].
- [7] Regulation of personal property of superiors held in trust by administrators. The intent is to prevent Lavra from annexing other monastic foundations upon the deaths of their owners. The mention of the *charistike* could be 1) a generic "act of donation," as in an act of Emperor Leo VI dated to 908, ed. Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, doc. 2, pp. 181–85, at 184, line 12, 2) an early example of the infamous public management program of that name for ecclesiastical foundations developed later in the tenth century, or 3) a synonym for *epidosis*, a similar but older public management program for transferring control of a religious foundation from one ecclesiastical authority to another, under which Lavra received the monastery of St. Andrew of Peristerai from Nikephoros Phokas in 964 (see the Athanasian *Vita A*, chap. 103, ed., Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 50, and *Vita B*, chap. 34, ed. Noret, p. 166).
- [8] Monks not to allowed to wander without supervision. The cross-reference is to the regulations in [3] ff.
- [10] Solitaries permitted. See also [18], [20] below. A system like that in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [40], cf. [42] is envisioned, in which the superior advances to solitary status a select number of cenobitic monks; see the discussion of the status of solitaries in Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 101.
- [11] Unknown priests not to celebrate liturgy without written authorization from a bishop. For the problem of migratory clerics, see *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 111–15.
- [12] Lenten observances. Cf. similar provisions for seclusion in (7) *Latros* [6] and (13) *Ath. Rule* [29]; the exception for the feast of the Annunciation is found in (4) *Stoudios* [AB31] but not in (13) *Ath. Rule*.
- [13] Monks not to engage in real estate speculation or other mercenary pursuits. Cf. the critical comments of Athanasios in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [10], [11] as well as the Athonite critique of Athanasios himself in *Vita A*, chap. 114, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 54–55 and *Vita B*, chap. 36, pp. 168–69.
- [14] No spiritual relationships or adoptive brotherhoods with laymen. Utilized later by (59) *Manuel II* [10]. These are also forbidden by (3) *Theodore Studites* [8], which is in turn quoted without attribution in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [32].
- [15] No sales of wine to laymen. Note Athanasios' attempt to limit Lavra to a single vineyard in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [53], and his condemnation of commerce in wine [10] and extensive plantings [11] by others.
- [16] Youths and eunuchs banned. See also [25] below. Utilized later by (59) *Manuel II* [13]. (3) *Theodore Studites* [18], quoted without attribution by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34], bans adolescent disciples in the superior's cell; a ban on eunuchs is also found in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [48]. The bans are repeated in (15) *Constantine IX* [1], cf. [15].
- [18] Compensation due monks who leave behind the cells they have built when they change superiors. These *kellia*, designed for kelliotic monks and their small bands of followers, are discussed in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [44], [45], and [47].
- [19] Payment of contract workers engaged by superiors. This is part of the legislation intended to prevent the exploitation and expropriation of solitary and kelliotic monks; see also [18] above and [20] below.
- [20] Superiors not to impose forced labor on kelliotic monks. See also [10], [18], and [19] above, with discussion by Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 101, and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [41].
- [21] Steward of the Mese responsible for its good order. For this official's subordination to the *protos* and his council of superiors, see [26] below. The reference to scandals at Karyes (Mese) is obscure, but cf. (15) *Constantine IX* [12] for evidence of persistent problems relating to unspecified commercial activities.
- [22] Ban on the importation of animals. This provision will be repeated later in (15) *Constantine IX* [3]; note exception in [23] below. In (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31], Athanasios, quoting (3) *Theodore Studites* [4] without attribution, bans the use of female animals for any kind of work.
- [23] Only Lavra permitted to have a yoke of animals. (15) *Constantine IX* [4] cross-references this chapter,

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and extends the privilege of having a yoke of cattle for kneading bread to the Vatopedi monastery. In (13) *Ath. Typikon* [53], however, Athanasios rejects the prospect of Lavra's ownership of sheep and goats.

- [24] Restriction on the sale of firewood to laymen. In (15) *Constantine IX* [6], the sale of lumber and other shipbuilding supplies to laymen is banned also, while [10] issues regulations for the monks' cutting wood for fuel and construction.
- [25] Construction workers not to bring boys with them. That is, in violation of the principle behind [16] above, which see. Utilized later by (59) *Manuel II* [15].
- [26] Steward's rendering of accounts on the feast of the Dormition. See also [21] above and discussion by Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 121–22, 152.
- [27] Surplus funds formerly used to pay for two of the assemblies to be given to the monks as part of their allowances. See discussion by Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 54–55.
- [28] Retention of the traditional procedure for the selection of the *protos*. The “ancient rule” is no longer preserved, but later it is probable that the *protos* was chosen by the Athonite assembly, most likely at the initiative of the “notable monks”; see discussion by Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 124.

Subscriptions. For the prosopography of the known individuals, see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 207–8.

13. *Ath. Typikon: Typikon of Athanasios the Athonite for the Lavra Monastery*

Date: 973–975¹

Translator: George Dennis

Edition employed: Ph. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 102–22.

Manuscript: Lavra, unnumbered ms. (1814 A.D.); Codex Iveron 754 (16th c.)²

Other translations: None

Institutional History

For the institutional history of the Lavra Monastery, see (11) *Ath. Rule*, Institutional History.

Analysis

This document shares Athanasian authorship with (11) *Ath. Rule*, which it cross-references [39], and (14) *Ath. Testament*. Repetitious treatment of certain topics suggests multiple stages of composition.³ The document can be divided for analysis into four sections:

A. Foundation History

The document commences with a foundation history, [2]–[8] (cf. the earlier and less well developed example of the genre in (6) *Rila* [1], [2]). This is an official history from the author's viewpoint that eliminates certain episodes, such as his flight to Cyprus after the unexpected accession of the patron Nikephoros Phokas to the emperorship in 963 and the attempt to expel him from Athos in the Tragos affair of 971–972. There are also chronological differences with the account preserved in the Athanasian hagiographical tradition.⁴ The history is nevertheless of considerable interest, since it vividly portrays the nature of a traditional patronal relationship between a private founder, who provided the inspiration and funding, and a monastic holy man, who actually carried out the work of constructing what was then conceived of as a private monastery and its associated buildings. Moreover, the patron's elevation to the emperorship launched this foundation on a path different from that originally envisioned for it, as Lavra became a new kind of independent monastery under imperial patronage.

B. Constitutional Status and Succession to the Superiorship

Thanks to these circumstances, then, this is the earliest document in our collection composed for an “independent and autonomous” monastery, a category of constitutional organization of enduring significance for the rest of Byzantine history (see below, Chapter Four). (8) *John Xenos*, (9) *Galesios* (in part), and (10) *Eleousa* provide later examples of documents written for independent monasteries in the eleventh century. Athanasios quotes [12], [18] and summarizes [13], [20], [23],

[36], [42] a lost imperial chrysobull of Nikephoros Phokas, one of three awarded to Lavra in 964, that evidently served as a kind of proto-*typikon* and which granted the monastery its self-governing status.⁵ Papachryssanthou (*Prôtaton*, p. 82) has skillfully reconstructed the content of this chrysobull. Athanasios claims [13] he himself was behind the crucial passages on the foundation's constitutional status and the succession to the superiorship.

The possibility that someone might impose a future superior from outside Lavra on the monastery was appropriately Athanasios' greatest concern [20] for the future of his foundation, "For if it were permitted that the superior could be appointed by some stranger, then the Lavra would end up under the authority of that person." Perhaps Athanasios was already worried about the threat that the notorious public management program, the *charistike*, would pose to his and other privately founded monasteries by the end of the tenth century, as seems indicated in the later (14) *Ath. Testament*.⁶ Yet even earlier, there were other reasons to be concerned about the loss of a private foundation's autonomy from the public authorities, as Athanasios knew well, since in 964 he had exploited the system of imperial concessions to gain control of the wealthy, formerly private monastery of St. Andrew of Peristerai near Thessalonike under *epidosis*, a program for the concession of ecclesiastical institutions to other religious authorities that had been in existence since at least the beginning of the tenth century.⁷

Whatever the precise nature of the threat Athanasios perceived, the independent and self-governing constitution that he had extracted from Nikephoros Phokas in 964 was his defense. This could well, as Athanasios comes close to claiming, have been an original concept of his own, though there are also some possible precedents.⁸ It would be a long time, however, before the implications of genuine self-rule became evident.⁹ Here, recognizing the traditional connection between the right to appoint the superior (which typically belonged to the founder or patron) and actual control of the institution itself, Athanasios insists [16] on his "absolute authority" to choose his own successor. As a practical matter, however, he was willing to exercise this right after consultation with the monastic community. Subsequent superiors were to choose their successors in the same way [15], [19], cf. [12], but without outside interference.

Yet the very provision [20] designed to protect Lavra from falling under outside control had created an unanticipated problem, since it could be interpreted to make any monk not actually tonsured at the monastery ineligible for the superiorship. Since the foundation was at this time not much more than a decade old, a strict interpretation of the chrysobull would have eliminated many of Athanasios' closest and oldest disciples from consideration. Athanasios therefore argues [21] ff. strenuously for the acceptability of "foreign" monks (*xenokouroi*) as future superiors, provided they had been living in the community for two or three years.

C. Studite Quotations

Although this document is self-described and functions as a *typikon*, it is textually linked to (3) *Theodore Studites*, a testament, just as (11) *Ath. Rule* is to (4) *Stoudios*. There are literal but unattributed quotations from 18 of the chapters in the Studite *Testament*.¹⁰ The integration of these quotations from a much earlier and rather different era of Byzantine monasticism into the text of the present document is not entirely satisfactory, though Athanasios does group them in a more logical order than in the original Studite *Testament*. Athanasios' reluctance to acknowledge

his debt to (3) *Theodore Studites* is curious; as in (11) *Ath. Rule*, however, he actually takes some trouble to refer instead to patristic sources that happened to underlie Studite observances.¹¹ In any event, Athanasios provides [30] an implicit endorsement of Theodore's prohibitions on changes in the rule, on worldly possessions, and on the diversion of monastic property to friends or relatives. Athanasios' bans [31] on personal and community slaves and female animals, his endorsement [32] of communal ownership of property, and the requirement that a superior should not administer finances directly are all derived from (3) *Theodore Studites* too. Following Theodore on other matters, Athanasios also urges his successors as superior not to adopt [33] a luxurious lifestyle and to refrain [34] from seeking higher office. In another implicit endorsement of the canons of the Studite tradition, Athanasios views worldly entanglements and sexual misconduct (with the one seen as leading to the other) as the primary threats to the morality of the monks.¹² Athanasios adds [33] a warning from Antony, the founder of Egyptian monasticism, against lengthy absences from the monastery in support of a like-minded (but unattributed) prohibition from the Studite *Testament*. Athanasios shared with the Studite tradition a concern with reconciling the mandate [35] to provide hospitality to strangers with the need [34] to isolate the monks from secular (and especially sexual) intercourse.

As Leroy ("Conversion," pp. 113–14) realized, it is also worth noticing what provisions of (3) *Theodore Studites* Athanasios chose not to adopt for the present document.¹³ The omission of (3) *Theodore Studites* [9], [15], [16], which deal with relations with women, is understandable since they were absent from Mount Athos; [12], prohibiting the distinction between the great and the small habit, was already a dead letter by the time (4) *Stoudios* [A2] was composed.¹⁴ Some other Studite provisions, like the ban [6] on the use of horses or mules for transport, the admonition [21] not to store up wealth in the monastery, and the recommendation [24] of consultative rule, must have been rejected because they were clearly opposed to Athanasios' own opinions on due privilege, extensive economic activity, and style of rule. The Studite endorsement [12] of patristic authority was perhaps redundant in view of Athanasios' own propensity to make direct citations. Finally, the omission of the provision [11] for the teaching of catechism is puzzling, but apparently deliberate, since references to catechetical instruction found in (4) *Stoudios* were not adopted in (11) *Ath. Rule* either, even though there is an attestation in the hagiographic tradition that Athanasios employed the Studite catecheses in the instruction of his monks.¹⁵

D. Administrative Dispositions

Such non-Studite legislation as appears in this document is to be found at the end, beginning with [36], along with a treatment of relations with Lavra's ascetics and various dependent communities elsewhere on Mount Athos.

In this document, Athanasios professes to be hostile to excessive entrepreneurial activity, an attitude that he may have picked up from the Basilian tradition. He explicitly rejects [11] economically expansionist foundations elsewhere on Mount Athos as suitable models for his own foundation. To back up his own more modest vision, he bans [53], cf. [45] the construction of additional detached cells (*kellia*) or the development of more cultivated fields or vineyards, making an exception [34] from a rule against further acquisitions of landed property only for an anticipated dependency to be located in the capital city of Constantinople.

Not only did Athanasios (and his successors) fail to observe these restrictions subsequently, but curiously, the hagiographic tradition depicts his aggressive pursuit of just the sort of economic development program here condemned as the primary reason his fellow Athonites sought his expulsion during the Tragos affair in 971–972.¹⁶ This complicates an analysis of the many links between the present document and the provisions of the slightly earlier (12) *Tzimiskes*.¹⁷

If the hagiographers, who were undoubtedly acquainted with Lavra's expansionist policies by the time they wrote in the eleventh century and later, simply erred in reading back these policies as the likely grievances of the Athonites against their hero in the Tragos affair, then perhaps Athanasios' very different policies as announced here in (13) *Ath. Typikon* may be taken at face value. In that event, Athanasios and the Lavriotes would have been a party arguing for restraint of mercenary activities at the Tragos inquest, and their policies an important influence on the provisions of (12) *Tzimiskes*.

If, on the other hand, the hagiographers have accurately represented the substance of the complaints of Athanasios' opponents, they and not he must be seen as the motive force behind such restraints on economic activity as (12) *Tzimiskes* did in fact impose, and similar provisions to it found here in (13) *Ath. Typikon* would have to be interpreted as a discreet bow to the former document's authority, to be set aside when circumstances might permit. Perhaps Athanasios traded acceptance of his own disciplinary observances (Studite in origin) in exchange for his own agreement, for a time, to abide by certain economic restrictions demanded by his Athonite neighbors.

Unlike the cautious John, the author of (6) *Rila* [7], who warily refused royal benefactions, Athanasios welcomed [36] cash annuities (*solemnia*), from both Nikephoros Phokas and his successor John Tzimiskes.¹⁸ He was also willing to accept entrance gifts [49] from postulants, but like some later reform-minded founders, e.g., the author of (22) *Evergetis* [37], he feared the divisive psychological effects they might have on the community. Athanasios resolved this by ordering such gifts to be given away. Charity then is here a convenient way of disposing of a problem rather than an imperative in its own right. Athanasios was unwilling, however, to allow [44] outsiders to purchase cells with entrance gifts. Eunuchs, young or old, were not acceptable [48] as postulants; other suitable applicants could be tonsured [50] as members of the community but only after a year of examination except for those with a well-attested reputation for piety.

Lavra's complexity obliged Athanasios to address certain institutional relationships not discussed in the Studite documents. These include a discussion of how Lavra as a cenobitical community would relate to its neighboring solitaires [40], [41], to the dependency (*metochion*) of St. Andrew of Peristerai [51], [52] and the group of cells [47] Athanasios had granted to his long-time friend and collaborator, John the Iberian. Athanasios' tolerance of a limited practice of solitary monasticism, carefully subordinated to the *koinobion* on the model of the traditional lavra, serves to distinguish him from the more militantly cenobitic Studite monasticism, at least as the latter was practiced during the lifetime of Theodore the Studite.¹⁹ Earlier in the document's foundation history, Athanasios makes [9] a reference to another dependency of St. Eustathios, then later on [34] also to a possible future dependency to be located in Constantinople.

The document concludes with a message [56] to the brothers urging them to give obedience to Athanasios' successor that is another unattributed quotation from (3) *Theodore Studites* [25]–[27].

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Notes on the Introduction

1. For dating, see Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 17, who assumes it was drawn up during the reign of John Tzimiskes (Dec. 969–Jan. 976) and after (12) *Tzimiskes*, which is commonly thought to date to 971–972.
2. See Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, pp. 270–73, and Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 13–14; as Lemerle notes, a true critical edition remains to be done on the basis of *Lavra* ms. E 194 (14th–15th c.), for which see J. Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae* (Louvain, 1982), p. xxxii, and another manuscript, reputedly of the 10th–11th c. that Panteleemon Lavriotes, “Sympleromatikos katalogos cheirographon kodikon Hieras Mones Megistes Lauras,” *EEBS* 28 (1958),” p. 115, claimed was “probably” from the hand of Athanasios himself. The former manuscript also contains *Vita A*, (11) *Ath. Rule*, and (14) *Ath. Testament*, while the latter contains just (14) *Ath. Testament*.
3. Note repetitive treatments of: [15] ff. the succession to the superiorship, cf. [19]; [17] exclusion of *xenokouroi* from the succession, cf. [20]; [21] exceptions to this exclusion, cf. [23], with different terms of service for qualification; [25] punishment of discriminators against *xenokouroi*, cf. [29]; [31] ban on certain animals, [53]; [34] ban on youths, [48]; and [31] prohibition on construction of additional cells, cf. [53]. This pattern suggests the document was composed in at least five sittings.
4. See the discussion in Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 33–36, with proposed solution at 36.
5. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 704; see above, (11) *Ath. Rule*, Institutional History, A 7. The excerpts are collected and translated in the introduction to this chapter.
6. Cf. the reference to *charistike* in (12) *Tzimiskes* [7], with discussion in note.
7. For the concession of this monastery, see *Vita A*, chap. 103, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 50, and *Vita B*, chap. 34., ed. Noret, p. 166, with discussion by Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 35–36, 82; for ecclesiastical *epidosis*, see my *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987), pp. 156–57, cf. 146–47; above, (12) *Tzimiskes* [11] note.
8. See Basil I’s grant of immunity to the monastery of Kolobou and the monks of Athos (883), ed. Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, doc. 1, pp. 177–81, at 180, line 21, and a lost chrysobull of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (944–959) that denied the metropolitan of Thessalonike any rights in the monastery of St. Andrew of Peristerai, mentioned in a chrysobull of Constantine X Doukas (1060), ed. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, doc. 33, pp. 195–99, at 197, line 35.
9. Note the difficulties that Manuel, bishop of Stroumitza had, even at the end of the next century, in attempting to reconcile traditional notions of private ownership in a religious institution with an independent constitution; see (10) *Eleousa*, Analysis, B. Constitutional Matters.
10. (3) *Theodore Studites* [1], [2], [3], [4], [5], [7], [8], [10], [14], [17], [18], [19], [20], [22], [23], [25], [26], [27].
11. (11) *Ath. Rule* [19], [34]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [33].
12. (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31], [32], [33], [34], cf. [40].
13. (3) *Theodore Studites* [6], [9], [11], [12], [13], [15], [16], [21], [24].
14. Athanasios had himself received the small habit at Kyminas from Michael Maleinos and the great habit on Mount Athos from the hermit Elias, for which see *Vita A*, chaps. 24, 79, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 13, 36, and *Vita B*, chaps. 9, 25, ed. Noret, pp. 135, 151.
15. Note (4) *Stoudios* [B16], [AB21], [AB36], none of which were adopted in (11) *Ath. Rule*; for Athanasios’ use of the Studite *Catecheses*, see *Vita B*, chap. 65, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 200.
16. For Athanasios’ failure to observe his own restrictions, see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 101; for the hagiographic account of the origins of the Tragos affair, see *Vita A*, chap. 114, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 54–55, and *Vita B*, chap. 36, ed. Noret, pp. 168–69; as Papachryssanthou, p. 96, observes, the list of Athonite grievances against Athanasios is a “virtual resume of Athanasios’ [economic] activities.”
17. Cf. (12) *Tzimiskes* [3] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [50] on the length of the novitiate; (12) *Tzimiskes* [10], [18], [20] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [40], [42] on the regulation of solitaries; (12) *Tzimiskes* [13] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [10], [11] on restriction of mercenary pursuits; (12) *Tzimiskes* [14] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [32]

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banning spiritual relationships; (12) *Tzimiskes* [15] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [10], [11], [53] prohibiting sales of wine to laymen; (12) *Tzimiskes* [16] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34], [48] banning youths and eunuchs; (12) *Tzimiskes* [20] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [41] on exemption of solitaries from labor services; and (12) *Tzimiskes* [22] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [53] on the importation of animals.

18. See discussion above in (11) *Ath. Rule*, Institutional History, A 7–8.

19. Cf. the observation of Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 101, on the evolution of Studite monasticism towards a similarly tolerant view of invidual ascetic practice.

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Translation

As noted above, this document employs part of the text of (3) Theodore Studites. In our translation, the borrowings are indicated in boldface type.

Typikon or Canonical Rule of our holy, God-bearing Father Athanasios of Athos

[1.] Those who exert themselves in journeying along the single-minded way of the solitary life and who do not deviate in striving to attain its holy goal, who by purity of mind and soul and body have conditioned themselves for the brilliant enlightenment which comes from the Holy Spirit, end up by suffusing not only themselves with light, or, to put it more correctly, a godlike appearance, but also everyone in the world with whom they converse. They enlighten other people of any rank or calling whatever. They challenge them and incite them on to a like goal, drawing and attracting them as the light of a beacon fire or a magnet.

[2.] An ardent supporter and lover of this solitary life was the revered and great emperor Nikephoros [II Phokas (963–969)], famous for his valor and virtue, to whom God, the master craftsman, granted the reward he merited of subduing the barbarian cities of the foe. He would have sealed his devout intentions with a proper conclusion if he had not been hindered by those who then wielded the scepters of the Roman Empire. Impelled, therefore, by this holy zeal, he founded numerous centers of asceticism about the Mount Kyminas¹ and settled monks in them. He generously provided for their needs partly from his own abundant resources, and partly by intervening

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with successive emperors he provided them with support and assistance in the form of annual subsidies. He enthusiastically endowed them with gifts and donations at regular intervals. Indeed, he displayed the same largess in his benefactions to the monks on Mount Olympus. Even though he did not clothe himself with the monastic habit for the reason we mentioned, he nonetheless surpassed the monks spending their lives on the mountain because of his practice of virtue, his strict control over his mind, his lengthy fasts [p. 103], his strenuous vigils, and his continual sleeping on the ground. He carried on his struggle and controlled his desires to such an extent that we cannot even describe it in words.

[3.] As a matter of fact he came regularly to the lavra of his blessed nephew Michael,² the most holy monk, who was also my superior. This emperor, whose memory is eternal, thus became acquainted with me and placed some confidence in my lowly self, as well as a spiritual affection and an unexpected love. For there was no trace of evasiveness or hypocrisy in that holy and irreproachable soul. Therefore, since this was his disposition toward me, he disclosed his thoughts about how he would have preferred to live a solitary life and how he had been prevented by the emperors.

[4.] Later on, after some time had passed, not long after I had departed from Mount Kyminas and had crossed over to that of Athos, he was commanded by the most blessed emperor Romanos [II (959–963)] to lead an expedition against the godless Cretans,³ and so he encamped in the island. Engaged though he was in combat, several times he sent for me to cross over to the island of the barbarians and join him. When I refused to budge, he simply sent more letters and did not give in at all until I actually made the voyage there.

[5.] During my sojourn with the emperor in this island of the barbarians, he did not let up in his earnest entreaties and his efforts to persuade my lowly self to permit a lavra to be built by my humble cell, so that he might himself come to Mount Athos after he had completed the task assigned to him by imperial decree and had captured the barbarian city.⁴ If things went well he would renounce the world and live the life which had been his choice from way back. I was not easily persuaded to go along with his plans, because I wanted to live by myself and be left alone, to continue in my accustomed fashion, and to avoid being constantly preoccupied and bothered by disturbances and distractions. For I was thinking only of my own salvation, and perhaps I was not solicitous enough for the salvation of others. But, although I stoutly affirmed that I was to return to Mount Kyminas proper and that I would be unable to attend to any further dealings with friends, his eagerness did not abate, nor did his entreaties, as he advised me to take steps to bring his plan to fruition. [p. 104]

[6.] Now then, after all his triumphs and victories, he settled in Constantinople, while I returned to my cell. After some time he sent his servant, the monk Methodios, to me. He found me in the place which had been given to me by the most blessed and revered lord Stephen,⁵ at that time *protos* of Mount Athos, and by the rest of the elder monks, in accord with their custom. For when a person perseveres for two or three years on the holy mount and chooses to lead a solitary life, he is to

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receive, with their approval, a location for himself wherever he likes. This Methodios⁶ handed me a letter from the emperor and some gold, amounting to six *litrai*. He then stayed with me in my cell for about six months. He put a great deal of pressure on me to accommodate myself to the wishes of the emperor, who had not yet assumed that rank, and to have the lavra built, and I finally agreed. While Methodios was still there, we quickly got the building started and completed the cells for the emperor, which are still standing there to this day. The man then happily departed as we were undertaking the construction of the church.

[7.] We kept on with the work, but four months had not elapsed when we heard that Nikephoros had been proclaimed emperor and had taken possession of the palace. I left the work on the church half finished and traveled to the capital city. On coming into his presence, I strongly reproached him, not without reason I believed. “The orders you gave me dealt with one thing,” I said, “but it would seem that you were thinking about and planning something else, as events have proven.” I treated the most revered emperor as though he were at fault, believing that he would bear all that I had to say meekly. But he replied by stubbornly defending himself, and he assured me on oath that he held the diadem in utter contempt, as well as the imperial majesty itself. He assured me, moreover, that he had no relations at all with his wife. When the time was propitious, he would escape from all that is now considered an obstacle and he would travel to the holy mountain and fulfill the compact he had made to the Lord. He concluded with this one remark: “Do not lose heart. Do not leave the church there only half built.” Let everyone, therefore, put aside any thought of disbelief and know for certain that, if the Lord, for reasons which he alone knows, had not decreed that he should conclude his life with a martyr’s death, he would have put a fitting seal on his compact and his promises to God. “All,” however, “that the Lord willed he did in heaven [p. 105] and on the earth” (Ps. 134 [135]:6),” as the prophet says.

[8.] With such assurance, then, and trusting in his words, I returned to my cell and again concentrated on the construction of the church. The emperor indeed contributed money, expenses for supplies, and grants of salaries for the workers who were toiling away at building the church. He certainly made his contribution. Nonetheless, compared to what I was spending, the amount given by the thrice-blessed emperor did not seem nearly enough. Most of the contributions, as if they were donations and requisitions of produce, were given to my lowly self for the completion of the church by other lovers of Christ. But how much hard work, the afflictions I suffered, the trials and hardships I endured, the expenditures I put out for quarrying of stone, excavating, heaping up earth, transporting stones, the rooting up, the cutting down, the removal of branches, bushes, and trees, in order to build the holy church of the most holy Mother of God,⁷ and setting the entire lavra in place, to discuss all this in detail would take longer than the time at my disposal. It is enough that the Lord alone knows exactly what I mean. For he gently guides all things from not being into existence.

[9.] There is another little place about ten miles distant from the Lavra, precipitous and overgrown, which has been named Mylopotamos. By clearing out the woods and rocks and leveling the site, I established a church and some cells there in the name of the holy, great martyr Eustathios

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to serve as a dependency. I also planted a vineyard to provide wine for the Eucharist, and so that the brothers persevering in the name of the Lord in the Lavra and the guests sojourning there might be able to have some wine.

[10.] Mindful of that pertinent and ancient precept of the fathers, I ought to have kept myself undistracted and free of preoccupations. For lack of distraction means fewer anxieties, and being free of anxiety means fewer disturbances, and the confluence of all this results in a better and more perfect state of being. Many reasons, though, led my lowly self to this decision. The seashore along the mountain was precipitous and without any harbors on both sides, to the north, that is, and to the south, for more than eighty miles. The mountain resembles a peninsula which extends toward the sea in the shape of a cross. The islands in the sea, Lemnos, Imbros, Thasos, and the rest are a great distance away. Because of this, when winter comes, [p. 106] a ship is unable to sail from the mountain to the mainland to procure necessary provisions or to sail back from there to the mountain. It cannot find any sort of anchorage because the seashore on both sides provides no shelter. On the other hand, there is absolutely no way for a person to transport his own provisions by dry land, partly because the road is so long, and partly because the mountain is practically impassable for pack animals. From the mainland to the tip of the mountain facing the rising sun, where the sea forms a deep gulf, and where the lavra is built, is a distance, more or less, of a hundred miles. For this reason I was moved to plant a vineyard, for the need had to be met, especially for the church offering. For even if I were to admit that some commercial activity could be carried on, although it is actually impossible, I do regard it as dishonorable and out of place to dispatch monks to sell wine in the villages and cities, to spend a lot of time visiting with secular persons, to intermingle with them, to sojourn in their houses, and in this connection to converse freely with women and to make no effort to run from the filth and harm produced by such encounters.

[11.] It is true that many here on the mountain have busied themselves with cultivating fields and have planted vineyards. Some have purchased ones already prepared and have worked hard to improve them and make them look more flourishing. But we do not look upon them as models, and may we never do so. Still, considering what is beneficial, harmless, and not injurious for the brothers assigned to these services, just as I would do in my own case, I was moved to take these steps. At any rate, enough has been said about these topics.

[12.] The blessed, Christ-loving emperor, whose public life was worthy of the name he bore,⁸ while he was still alive planned ahead for the needs and governance of the brothers who were serving in the newly constructed lavra. He issued a revered chrysobull, and decreed that dominion and ownership⁹ of [the Lavra and] its territory devolved upon my lowly self and my successors, as is clearly expressed in the words of the chrysobull:

“We decree that after us this Lavra is to be under the ownership of the most reverend monk Athanasios, and while my majesty is still alive we want this same most reverend monk Athanasios to be the undisturbed superior of the eighty monks in this Lavra and in the *kellia* round about the lavra. Everything is to be administered by him in accord with what is dear to God and consonant

with the monastic constitution. [p. 107] After his death, if my majesty is still alive, the person who has distinguished himself in that same Lavra and the *kellia* subject to it and in whom that same most reverend monk Athanasios before dying should have placed his trust, that man should be installed in the position of superior. But when God shall call us from this vain life and have us partake of the common chalice of death, we want nobody else at all to be appointed as superior of this Lavra except him whom the monks of the Lavra and the *kellia* subject to it, having gathered together and after careful examination, shall look upon as distinguished in virtue and capable of exercising this office, and they shall establish him as superior. Under no circumstances at all do we permit a person from a different lavra or monastery to become superior of this one. Even after our death we do not want anyone to be allowed to grant this Lavra to any secular or ecclesiastical person or even to a monk or to make it subject to another monastery. It is our will and command, rather, that it remain free and self-governing.”

[13.] This is what that marvelous and irreproachable soul decreed, and it was not far removed from my own views. Let no one think, therefore, that a mere word was included in the chrysobull without my full knowledge and approval, but it was as though I had suggested them to him. Since, then, according to the intent of the chrysobull, while he was still alive, he had referred everything to my judgment, I would be the one to choose how things were to be managed, to make arrangements, and to organize matters concerning this most holy Lavra. I was to exercise dominion and authority as I might wish. To the best of my ability, I was to set the standards, establish a regular order, and give serious thought to the ways in which the monastic enterprise is best served and put it into practice.

[14.] It is easy enough to imagine that after this blessed man departed this life, I would have a great deal more freedom and authority, since I would be in charge, to establish rules and standards. Moreover, on reaching the end of my own life, I would leave behind me the person whom God should have approved and who should appear satisfactory to me and worthy of this pastoral service. For I had been praying that the man would remain alive, not just for my own sake, but that his invincible leadership would serve the common good of the whole world. My prayer was that I could entrust my affairs and those of this Lavra to him so that his profound and prudent mind might better manage and order them. [p. 108] But what I was praying for did not come about as I had hoped, but as seemed good to God’s providence. Beyond any expectation or suspicion of mine, by an incomprehensible judgment known to God his providence took care to have him exchange life here for an untroubled and more perfect life, and granted him the undefiled and unshaken kingdom of heaven as a worthy reward for his many and great labors.¹⁰ Meanwhile, I was left to continue living this laborious and wretched life, filled as it is with countless adversities.

[15.] I enjoin, under threat of condemnation, upon the one to be chosen superior after myself, while at the same time commending and also earnestly entreating him, to be bound by the holy, consubstantial, immaculate, and life-giving Trinity and by my humble self that, when his turn comes to depart this perishable life, which contains nothing lasting or firm, he too may leave

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behind him a successor for the position of superior. He should be fully assured in the sight of God that this man is suitable and capable of assuming that position. He should be a man whom the light of his own virtues clearly places in the forefront and who is recognized as such by the more prominent and more devout brothers.

[16.] In my own case, now, I have absolute dominion, so that not even one person can gainsay my command, and yet I have no intention of leaving my successor behind without consulting the brothers. If, when it comes to choosing a superior, anyone, deceived by demonic thoughts and led astray by his own willfulness, should promote the candidacy of anyone else but the one whom the superior and the whole assemblage of the more preeminent brothers shall judge best and shall elect, and should be detected forming factions, unlawful gatherings, divisions, and schism, ought to be pursued and cut off from the community as a diseased limb, as not living in the community in the manner intended by God, and as not seeking what would aid its progress and would truly benefit it.

[17.] If it might happen, as is surely possible, that the superior should die while away from the Lavra, then the preeminent and more devout brothers, as said, should assemble, investigate matters, and so arrive at a decision and vote. For we do not grant this power of making the decision to everyone indiscriminately. We enjoin and command that the superior must be selected only from this particular community. He should not be a man who has come here from some other monastery, been formed anew in a single day, and right then and there be put in charge. For he brings with him nothing that would aid the brothers in the practice of virtue, except that he wants them to vote for him as their leader, although they know nothing of his manner of life. Let the holy assemblage of the brothers be sure of this [p. 109], that we regard it as essential that a stranger coming from another monastery should not straightaway assume the superiorship.

[18.] In fact, a chapter in the chrysobull expressly forbids this. "We do not want anyone advanced to the position of superior of this Lavra except that person whom the monks of the Lavra after careful investigation shall find to be outstanding in virtue and suitable for the task, and they shall install him as superior." For no other reason had I advised the thrice-blessed emperor to add this clause than to keep the Lavra from becoming subject to some other person. Neither the patriarch nor the [head of] the *sakellion*, nor any other person should arrogate to himself the authority to appoint the superior. The Lavra is to remain sovereign and independent, as I have said.

[19.] For if it were to be permitted that the superior could be appointed by some stranger, then the Lavra would end up under the authority of that person. But it is my judgment and my command that the superior at the time, when he comes to depart this life, ought to have the authority to leave behind him a most competent and suitable man as his successor to be in charge of the brothers. I have accordingly planned for this in advance. But if it should happen that the superior dies without having designated the person he would leave as his successor, then we prescribe that the monks should assemble, deliberate, and come to a decision on naming their superior. He must

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definitely be chosen from this community. He should not be a man who has come here from some other monastery, be formed anew in a single day, and all of a sudden be put in charge. He should not be one who brings with him nothing to aid the brothers in the practice of virtue except that he wants them to vote for him as their leader, although they know nothing of his manner of life. In the event that I find myself at a loss in choosing a successor to leave behind as a shepherd to the brothers as I should wish, I intend to leave the selection of the superior to the judgment and to the vote of the monks.

[20.] This is also included in the chrysobull. By no means at any time at all do we receive a person from a foreign lavra or monastery as superior. I brought this to the attention of the revered emperor and suggested that it be made clear in the chrysobull to avoid any misunderstanding. That person we recognize as a stranger who, as has been clarified above, has not been in attendance here at the Lavra, who has not been conspicuous among the brothers, who has not struggled alongside them in their spiritual battles and meditations. He has given no evidence of the strength of his perseverance in the services, the stations, the prescribed observances, and the recitations of the psalter. Just recently arrived, almost this very day, as in that monstrous fable about the giants,¹¹ is he, on the spur of the moment, to be placed in charge [p. 110] who has been formed by some other sort of leadership, foreign to ours and not to be taken seriously?

[21.] Still, I also thought it might help to add this stipulation. A person who has persevered in our monastery and who has lived together with the brothers for three or even two years, even though he may have come to us from some other monastery, such a person I do not call a stranger, but look on him as a son, a member of the church, and one of my own community. He is no different from those whom I have tonsured but is equal to them. In every way they are honorable and true sons, especially those who have left their own monasteries and assigned all they had to my lowly self. Such men as these I consider sons and heirs and children of my heart and leave them behind together with the entire community. I therefore enjoin upon all future superiors, my successors, to give assurance under bond of punishment and to swear according to the most terrible fear of God, that they will make no distinction at all between these men and those in the Lavra who have received the holy habit from us. Even more so, if they are distinguished in virtue, they should be all the more kindly disposed toward them and offer them fitting encouragement corresponding to their virtue, and in like manner regard them and actually show preference for them because of their piety. This is my command to you.

[22.] If it is observed that one of these monks, I mean one of those who has come here from a different monastery, clearly stands out in the monastery, and is competent, suitable, and should appear deserving of leadership over the brothers, then without hesitation or further ado let him be put in charge. Not only should the superior who is approaching death testify that he wants to leave him behind as his successor, but that monk should also be the choice of all the brothers in the Lavra.

[23.] In no way does the above prescription contradict or weaken the stipulation in the revered

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chrysobull, although its words might convey that impression. Rather, it is in full harmony with it. Shortly before this it was explicitly declared that a person is defined as a stranger who without serious thought and of his own accord has moved from a different monastery in order to become superior of the Lavra or whom the hand of the powerful has brought in with the intention of becoming master of the Lavra. It is our desire that never should such a person be chosen by the brothers, or should they look for one until he has shared their manner of life and remained among them for at least a year, the shortest possible time. I thought I ought to explain these matters so that I could make the intentions of the most revered and most holy emperor very clear to everyone who wishes to read the present testament, and I have [p. 111] clearly set down my own views concerning the object of my efforts, the goal for which I have striven. To tell the truth, both of us share the same zeal and concern that the church too should not become subject to some unsuitable or unqualified person.

[24.] In addition to all these matters I enjoin and I order once more the superior and all the brothers, from the greatest to the least, and I declare subject to penance in the name of the Lord God Ruler of All and of the truly all-holy Mother of God that they must not speak maliciously or act arrogantly on any pretext at all toward those who transfer here to us from various monasteries because of the love of God and of ourselves, and who have been numbered and listed among the brothers of our community. They must not treat them with contempt or insult them as “foreign tonsure.”

[25.] I have heard that in certain communities some insecure men who have no fear of the Lord have often acted in such a manner. They make insulting remarks such as: “This individual was tonsured in a foreign monastery and for that reason is to be held in contempt. This individual is from our monastery and so must be treated with respect.” If anyone in our Lavra should be detected doing such a thing after my death, he should be subject to the punishment we have assigned in the name of the Lord God Ruler of All, and on the day of judgment may he have the most holy Mother of God condemning him, as well as my lowly self. For we look upon this illness of the soul as more injurious than a pestilential disease.

[26.] But why even call this a disease? It is a heresy and the most harmful of heresies. For to split asunder and to regard the habit of some monks as different is worse than heresy. That monk does not belong to a foreign race; he does not profess another doctrine; his soul was not created in a different manner than this one, nor does he have a different divine Lord. Both monks hold to sound doctrine, and both belong to the one Christ and Lord and to his church. “For the earth is the Lord’s and everything in it” (I Cor. 10:26 = Ps. 23:1), under one ruler and lord, as the saint has said. What then makes this monk different from that one except for the place where he made his profession and received the habit? In fact, this one will be no different from the other to justify calling one “tonsured at home” and the other “foreign tonsure.”

[27.] What we strive for is the eradication of our own will, this is our highest goal, and concentrating on virtue and on comprehending the fact that we have been called to sorrow, not to delights.

Each of us must not follow his own desires. Even if some monasteries were established out beyond Cadiz and some monks from those places visited here [p. 112] and then chose to be enlisted among our brothers, we would not call them foreigners. For I am reluctant to designate a monastery as foreign, since that word suggests to me a separation from God.

[28.] If, as some men affirm, the greatest act of righteousness, one which requires no further accomplishment or improvement, is the granting of the tonsure, this would be sufficient for everyone, and there would be absolutely no need for any other labor. Yet, I will not look favorably on the monk whom I myself have tonsured should he become careless, lazy, and mediocre, although I do approve one who has come from another place and been clothed with the monastic habit there, especially if he be adorned with all sorts of excellent virtues. Conversely, this one is my genuine son and heir and a child of the church. But this other here in this place who has been granted the tonsure and the cutting of his hair, but who is without virtues, is an absolute foreigner to me, completely alien, and an enemy of the church. For if we all belong to the one Christ, as by his grace we in fact do, and to one mother, the holy church of God; if we are of the same faith and the one profession, then let there be no quarrels among you, and let not one be called a foreigner and another an undoubted native. Virtue alone is to be held in honor.

[29.] I therefore enjoin upon the superior and those of my brothers who hold leading positions, as well as my sons and fathers, that they be watchful for anyone who is careless enough to utter insults of this sort against the brothers. If such a person, carried away by some misguided impulse or pettiness of spirit, be so boorish as to insult a brother by calling him “foreign tonsure,” let him be cut off from the church, that is, not partaking of the sacred mysteries, for three weeks. He should not come in and join the brothers at their common meals, but should eat by himself, abstaining from wine and oil, and thus do penance. If indeed he should correct himself, so that his tongue is reined in by silence and his hand is over his mouth, then thanks be to God. If, however, he should again be detected thinking such thoughts and uttering more insults, then he should be completely cut off from the Lavra and expelled as an unhealthy, gangrenous limb of the body of the church, so that his disease and corruption may not spread to the others.

[30.] After this, the man who succeeds me in charge of the community must be introduced to those matters which he is obliged to observe and to do. [p. 113] [= (3) *Theodore Studites* [1]]: **Save for grave necessity, you shall not alter at all the constitution and rule which you have received from my lowliness.** [= (3) *Theodore Studites* [2]]: **You shall not possess anything of this world nor store up anything for yourself as your own, not even one piece of silver.** [= (3) *Theodore Studites* [3]]: **You shall not divide your soul and heart by attachments and cares other than for those whom God entrusted to you, your spiritual sons and brothers, not even for those who are yours according to the flesh—either your relatives or friends or associates. Neither in life nor after death shall you use the things of the monastery for the aforementioned people—neither according to the requirements of charity nor the rules of heredity. For you are not of the world so that you have to share with those of the world. But if some should cross over from ordinary life to our order, then you should take thought for them in imitation of the holy fathers.**

[31.] [= (3) *Theodore Studites* [4]]: **You shall not possess a slave either for your use or for the monastery entrusted to you or for the fields since man was created in the image of God. This institution has been allowed only to those in worldly life just as marriage.** [= (3) *Theodore Studites* [5]]: **For necessary duties you shall not have an animal from among those of the female race since you have completely renounced the female sex.**

[32.] [= (3) *Theodore Studites* [7]]: **You shall always be vigilant that all things in the community be held in common and be indivisible and that nothing be owned on the part of any individual, not even a needle. Your body and your soul, nothing else, should be divided up for all your spiritual children, brothers and fathers.** [= (3) *Theodore Studites* [8]]: **As a fugitive from the world and from marriage, you should have no part of adopting those of the world as brothers or engaging in spiritual relationships with them.** [= (3) *Theodore Studites* [22]]: **You shall not take charge of the treasury room nor assume the cares of stewardship, but let your key be the greatest care of souls, of loosing and binding according to the Scriptures. You should entrust the gold and other necessities to the stewards, the cellarers, and, as seems appropriate to each service, all under your manifest authority. Together with the foremost brothers, you can take an account of each administration and transfer the offices to whichever person you decide.**

[33.] [= (3) *Theodore Studites* [19]]: **You shall not possess very distinctive or expensive clothing. Rather, you shall put on humble clothes and shoes in imitation of the fathers.** [= (3) *Theodore Studites* [20]]: **You shall not spend lavishly either for your own lifestyle or for the reception of guests. This will distract you since it belongs to the pleasurable side of the present life.** [= (3) *Theodore Studites* [10]]: **You should not go out frequently or roam about unnecessarily, leaving your own flock.** [p. 114] **For it is desirable that you have time to spend with the flock and be able to save these sheep endowed with reason, but most wily and given to straying.** Without due examination you should not permit the brothers under your charge to go off traveling anywhere at all, especially during the season of winter. During that time, even when they want to, they may not be able to return because of the difficulty of sailing. Be aware that sojourning outside one's cell and spending time with worldly people by its very nature produces, as the great Antony says, eternal death.¹²

[34.] [= (3) *Theodore Studites* [14]]: **You shall not leave your flock and transfer to another one or return to a higher office.** [= (3) *Theodore Studites* [17]]: **You shall not make for yourself a lodging or a secular house for your spiritual children in which there are women and go there frequently. Rather you should choose to attend to your temporary and essential needs at the home of pious men.** [= (3) *Theodore Studites* [18]]: **You shall not have a disciple in your cell out of affection, for this can harm the unstable, but you shall be served by a person above suspicion.** You should not acquire an estate or field in the Lavra, which would be harmful and cause inopportune distraction to the community, except for a dependency in the City to provide a place to stay for our brothers going there. For what has been bequeathed to them by me, by the providence and grace of God, is sufficient for them if they take care of it.

[35.] You will not hinder the provisioning with necessities of those spending the winter in the hospice by the harbor for as many days or months as they may need. You shall not diminish the service offered to guests even if because of economic adversity the resources and needs of the Lavra should be reduced to one *modios*. [= (3) *Theodore Studites* [23]]: **You shall not place the person of any other man, eminent and powerful according to the present age, ahead of that which benefits the community. Nor shall you shrink from laying down your life even to the point of bloodshed in guarding these godly laws and commands.**

[36.] We command that in addition to the eighty monks, as laid down by order of the most blessed emperor lord Nikephoros in his revered chrysobull, that there be added another group of forty monks, so that with both groups the total number of monks will be a hundred and twenty, along with those residing in the dependency. Similar to the grant made by the most blessed emperor lord Nikephoros, the lord John [I Tzimiskes (969–976)], our most revered emperor, has added 244 *nomismata* to the donation made regularly to our Lavra. [p. 115] In his chrysobull emperor John decreed that this sum should be provided in perpetuity for our Lavra from the levy¹³ imposed on Lemnos, and at the same time he confirmed the general arrangement expressed in the chrysobull of the most blessed emperor lord Nikephoros.

[37.] Of these one hundred and twenty monks we desire that five monks, *kelliotai* of the Lavra, should dwell in solitude outside. They are to be accorded an annual stipend of up to three *nomismata* and five *modioi* of grain. We order that they are to be without possessions, exercising abstinence, and observing absolute reverence and humility toward the superior. We stipulate that if any of them are capable on their own to be in charge of a companion, they may have one, and only one, disciple. I do not want anyone to have two disciples, and even more so, no *kelliotas* should think of adding another cell without my knowledge and approval. Rather, if at some time one of these five should depart or should die, then, if another one is found who is suitable and capable of living such a life, let him be brought in to make up for the missing one. But, if not, let them remain as they are. I do not want these [cells] to be allocated to the *kelliotai* simply at random.

[38.] We decree that all the others should be under the obedience, as well as the guidance and care of one shepherd. After close study of the matter over a long period of time, as well as hard work and trial, I have found by experience that it is right and beneficial, in fact, it is my judgment, and I declare it best and less fraught with danger for all the brothers to live in common. All together they are to look to the same goal of salvation. Although the entire fullness of the community is joined together from diverse links, they form one heart in their common life, one will, one desire, and one body, as the apostle prescribes (Rom. 12:4; I Cor. 12:12). Let them show true, perfect, and unfeigned obedience to the superior. True and blameless obedience of subjects toward their superior is shown in this way, by not only refraining from what the superior regards as out of place, but also by not even letting themselves do what is praiseworthy without his knowledge. [p. 116] I would not want to contend that exercising abstinence and afflicting one's body does not have any beneficial effect, but if a person is doing what he thinks better for himself without having first asked about it, he is relying on his own initiative, and he will be making more of an error than

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doing something virtuous. But the reward of obedience is greater than what one achieves by abstinence.

[39.] We exhort all to share their meals in common and to celebrate the entire common service in the holy church of God both at night and during the day, as I have made clear to them by deed and have ordered and transmitted in writing.

[40.] If anyone with the support and cooperation of God should ever desire to exchange the bother of obedience for the solitude and individual residence in a *kellion*, let him inform the superior of his wish. Let him, in turn, carefully examine the man's condition. If indeed he does possess the strength and diligence required of those who reside in the *kellia*, if he has been previously exercised in obedience, if he has learned to stay in a cell with concentration and strict guard over his mind, if he has learned to pray and keep vigil, to control himself, to exercise abstinence, to meditate, to devote himself to the study of the Scriptures with humility, and attach some importance to working with his hands, then let him be permitted to do this. But if a person has no experience of this hard way of life, let him rather be put to work at serving and be instructed to keep himself busy, so that not even what he may appear to possess should be destroyed by his stupid idleness and he be struck down by the spirit of *akedia* and love of pleasure. Let such a man know precisely that he seeks to live apart and by himself for no other reason but to be able to go here and there whenever he wants and wander about outside his *kellion*, while having unlimited food, drink, and sleep, and no end of relaxation for his flesh, with the result, as the saying goes, of making his prison even more harsh for himself.

[41.] Moreover, I enjoin upon him who will be in charge of the brothers after me, having him swear by the living God, that in the course of time those to whom the Lord shall furnish the desire and the strength, I mean among those persevering in obedience within the monastery, shall not be hindered by anyone from living in solitude and serious meditation in their cells. They shall not be prevented or disturbed in a contentious or insulting manner, nor by the imposition of services, nor by murmurings, nor on any other pretext at all. [p. 117] They should, rather, strive and show great eagerness to put them at ease, both in the essential needs and in everything which is due to them. Their solitude and diligent [pursuit of virtue] ought not to be regarded as idleness. For frequently I myself have prayed to God, as I still pray, that all may become like them. They have remained consistently obedient to their father and superior and have not relinquished their solitude. In both respects, surely, they have acquired a twofold reward.

[42.] It was chiefly with this in mind that I saw to it that the most blessed emperor had it written, stated distinctly, and carefully noted in the chrysobull, that the regular donation of grain is to be apportioned between the church and the monks in the *kellia*, that is, the *kelliotai*. I also command and strongly urge that those monks who are persevering in their solitude under the obedience of their father the superior, and who are struggling, as it is said, with humility for the glory of God and for their own benefit and that of the community, as well as for the support of the Lavra, are to be taken care of in every way by both the superior and the brothers, so they need not be concerned

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about their bodily needs and may be completely undisturbed. Just as I, while still alive, have made a special effort to take care of them superabundantly, so I want them to be taken care of by the one who will succeed me after I leave this life.

[43.] If God should grant some of them the strength to carry on greater struggles by withdrawing to a more remote and isolated solitude, they should not be prevented from making trial of this. For the cells of the most blessed and revered emperor¹⁴ are only a short distance from the Lavra, as are those of Saint John Chrysostom, as well as the church of the Holy Trinity with its complex of cells and other properties under the obedience of the Lavra, and these I reserve for the sake of those thus struggling.

[44.] If anyone should ever come forward offering an entrance gift for the purpose of residing in those cells, or like a tenant, giving a sum of money to the Lavra, or to certain individuals, in order to rent them out for a certain number of years, the superior may not be allowed to accede to that person's request. As we have laid down, we reiterate that these cells come under the authority and ownership of the Lavra and are for the benefit and repose of those selected disciples of ours to go out, to struggle, and to prove themselves, and [p. 118] to enter again into obedience.

[45.] I do not want other *kellia*, alleged places of retreat, to be constructed closer to the Lavra or anywhere in the surrounding area. For there are already enough for those who are capable of dwelling alone by themselves. I trust in God that if five such men should be found (cf. Gen. 18:32) the Lavra will be sustained and the brothers make rapid progress because of the prayers, counsel, and spiritual advice of these men. But it is possible that they may grow faint-hearted and subject to *akedia*, for it does happen that solitaries become discouraged and feel compelled to change their way of life for a while and be in need of a little consolation and renewal of spirit, so that they may once more take hold of their labors with greater intensity and stand firm on their own strength. In such a situation, let the superior allow that monk to move to Mylopotamos¹⁵ on the presumption that the very change of locale might provide an appropriate remedy and lead him back to a good frame of mind.

[46.] The monks who find they are not capable of leading such a life ought to stick to submission to the rule and carry on their struggle as athletes and martyrs, so they do not end up falling short of both goals. For before God and the angels I bear witness that those who persevere in genuine obedience and who remain firm in the love of God and in true affection for one another do not take second place to those carrying on the struggle special to solitude. But they shall be found to be superior and deemed worthy of eternal crowns by the good and impartial judge.

[47.] I want the cells of lord John the Iberian to be maintained just as I have set down in the grant I addressed to him. That is to say, his successors ought to preserve the good relationship existing between them and us. They ought to refrain from whatever is forbidden by the laws, especially regarding any extension beyond what has been decreed, either by going beyond the number of eight, or trying to sell them or make a donation of them, or in any other way at all to separate them from the Lavra.

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[48.] I also enjoin that every safeguard be taken to observe the following. I order the superior and the brothers who have positions of leadership after him never to receive a eunuch in our Lavra, even if he be an old man, nor [should they receive] a young boy, even though he should be the son of the man who holds in his hands the imperial scepter. If anyone transgresses this [p. 119] command of mine by receiving such forbidden persons, let him be separated from the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, from the holy, consubstantial, and life-giving Trinity; let him also receive the curse of our holy fathers and be anathematized from the inheritance of the just.

[49.] As far as others are concerned, if a person arrives and chooses to offer an entrance gift and be enrolled in our spiritual community and share the life and sufferings of its members according to the command of Christ, both in the service of the church and in the common fare at table, then he should certainly be received. But his entrance gift should be given to the poor, so he may not be constantly tempted on account of this gift and put on airs before the brothers as though he had done some great deed which serves as a reproach to his brothers, and so causes friction among them. But if he comes with testimonials concerning his good behavior, and his reputation is such that the superior foresees that no harm will result for any such reason, and if the man wishes to make an offering to God from his possessions, this ought not to be rejected. Of course, not even this should be allowed without some testing.

[50.] This now is what we have to advise and prescribe concerning the tonsure of the brothers. The superior is not allowed to tonsure anyone immediately, without any preliminaries, but only after an entire year. An exception might be made in the case of some who are pious and well known and whose religious way of life is well attested. For I regard it as a desirable work of extreme and primary importance to accept such persons and to attend to their special needs.

[51.] Let it also be known that the Peristerai, that is, the monastery of Saint Andrew, the leader of the holy apostles, comes under our authority and ownership, as is included and decreed in the two venerable chrysobulls, that of the revered, thrice-blessed emperor lord Nikephoros and that of our present devout emperor lord John, the one who now holds the scepter of the empire of the Romans. We have, therefore, determined to make the following arrangement. It is our wish that Stephen, the most devout monk and superior, remain absolutely undisturbed in his position of caring for and governing this monastery, and not be accountable to anyone. None of my successors has authority to remove him or to terminate his governance of this monastery of Peristerai for the rest of his life. For he has served us with all his strength [p. 120], as far as possible he has been of great comfort to us, he has accorded proper honor and displayed the submission one would expect. He also seems to have made many and great improvements in the monastery. After I depart this life anyone attempting to remove him from the governance of this monastery or otherwise in any manner at all causing him any sort of trouble shall be cut off from the holy, life-giving, and consubstantial Trinity, and shall fall under my own curse. Indeed now, I order that he be commemorated continuously in the sacred liturgies celebrated by the priests of the Lavra while he is alive, and that after his death a memorial service be held for him every year. After the departure from this life of the monk and most reverend superior Stephen, we want another superior appointed to succeed him by the superior of the Lavra.

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[52.] Since, however, the essentials of monastic life had been totally neglected by previous superiors in this monastery for a long time, and practically all the monks in the monastery had yielded to complete indifference and carelessness, I realize that economy must be employed in having everyone in this monastery look toward one man and serve under one man, namely, the superior of the Lavra. Under the rule of one man they might be drawn together toward more spiritual goals in their prayers, psalmody, and readings, and also in their food and drink, as the service and labor of each, their travel and age, or the illness and health of each shall demand at different times. I therefore order that very competent stewards and priests be dispatched from the Lavra by its superior. They should be thoroughly examined and tested by him, as well as by the monks subject to him. [The stewards] will attend to the proper management of more corporeal needs, while [the priests] will associate the brothers with them and make them perfect in virtuous words and manners and in actions pleasing to God. When this shall have happened, I am convinced that, with God's help, they will benefit and derive great profit from one another and in one another, both as a community and as a single entity. For neither those from the Lavra nor those from the oft-mentioned monastery will differ from one another because of a twofold government, but they will continue to work together toward the unity of love [p. 121] and the union of minds by fixing their gaze on being under one sole and primary rule. If anyone should ever attempt to break up this beneficial and salutary arrangement of ours, let him be cut off from love, inasmuch as love is God (1 John 4: 8).

[53.] Let this too be added to the prescriptions I have set down. If any of our brothers persevering in the Lavra or any who have come here from a different monastery should wish to build additional cells or to dig up a field and cultivate it, by no means is this to be permitted in the entire circumference of the Lavra, I mean from the cape of the storehouses as far as Antiathos.¹⁶ This sort of thing generally gives rise to disturbances and scandals. In particular, such activity nearby will of its very nature eat away bit by bit at the basic elements of isolation and solitude. For this reason I forbid the superior of the Lavra or any other person to allow a cell or a cultivated field. Furthermore, I do not want another vineyard planted, not even to the extent of a flower-bed-sized piece of land,¹⁷ either in the entire circumference of the Lavra or in Mylopotamos. For, as already mentioned, by God's providence, what I have left behind is enough. I thought it superfluous to make special mention of sheep and goats, since I believe it is completely out of place for monks to possess them, especially the monks residing on the mountain.

[54.] You have now received all of this and whatever else I have to pass on, written and unwritten, my father and brother, whoever you may be, who, to put it briefly, as superior have received from God and from my lowly self that power and complete authority over the Lavra which I too had. [= (3) *Theodore Studites* [24]]: **You shall observe and guard** it for the glory of God, for my honor, for the assistance of those wishing to learn and for instilling divine zeal in those who shall see and hear. **May you do well and may you prosper** in the Lord. **Far be it from [me] to say or even to think of the opposite.**

[55.] Behold, therefore, I commit to you, in the presence of God and his chosen angels, the entire community in Christ. Welcome them, take them to yourself, guide and protect them as lambs of Christ, as beloved members, tend each one of them with respect and loving care, with an equal measure of love for each, for each man loves all the members of his body equally. [p. 122]

[56.] [= (3) *Theodore Studites* [25]]: **But now it is time for you, my children, brothers, and fathers, to hear my most pitiful voice. Accept and welcome the lord your superior as I have myself selected him. Looking upon him with respect and honor, embrace him as my successor. Just as you did with me, so with him too observe the lawful rule of obedience and do not think less of him because he has been recently appointed in the Lord. Nor should you expect anything more than the gifts which were given to him by the Holy Spirit. It is sufficient that he maintain that which was laid down by my humility. “If you love me,” my children, and you bear in mind my love, “you will keep my commandments” (John 14:15). Keep peace among yourselves.** Preserve a good disposition, humility, and obedience to your superior until death, not contradicting or annoying him in any respect. **Preserve your angelic profession inviolate.**

[= (3) *Theodore Studites* [26]]: **Hating the world, do not return to the works of the world. Having been loosed from the bonds of physical attachments, do not be bound again to the affections of the flesh. Having denied all pleasures and perishable things of the present life, do not depart from your struggle with obedience through negligence and become the sport of demons.**

[= (3) *Theodore Studites* [27]]: **Stick to the race of obedience until the end so that you will obtain the “unfading crown of righteousness” (cf. I Peter 5:4 and II Tim. 4:8). Led by humility, you should always deny your own will and pattern yourselves only after the judgment of your superior. If you keep these things in mind and if you should guard them to the end, you will be blessed. For the chorus of martyrs will receive you. Wearing your crowns in the kingdom of heaven, you will enjoy the eternal blessings in Christ Jesus our Lord. So farewell now, my children, and remember my lowly self.**

Notes on the Translation

1. On this monastic center in Bithynia, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 116–18.
2. Michael Maleinos, Nikephoros Phokas’ nephew and the founder of the above-mentioned Kyminas monastery, for whom see Louis Petit, “Vie de saint Michel Maléinos,” *ROC* 7 (1902), 543–603.
3. The Arab rulers of Crete, originally refugees from al-Hakam, the Umayyad ruler of Spain, who conquered this Byzantine possession circa 828.
4. Chandax (Candia), capital of the island of Crete under Arab rule.
5. For the *protos* Stephen, see the Athanasian *Vita A*, chap. 44, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 22–23, with Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 129.
6. For Methodios, a monk and future superior of the Kyminas monastery, see Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 34.
7. The Lavra *katholikon*.

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8. That is “Nikephoros,” lit. “bearer of victory.”
9. *Kyriotes* and *despoteia*; for which, see R. Morris, “Legal Terminology in Monastic Documents of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries,” *JÖB* 32.2 (1982), 281–90, at 284–85.
10. Nikephoros Phokas was murdered on December 10, 969, in the course of a coup d’etat engineered by his successor John Tzimiskes.
11. See Hesiod, *Theogony*, 185.
12. Cf. *Apophthegmata patrum* 10, *PG* 65, col. 77BC.
13. *Epeixis* means a pressing need or an emergency, but here it must refer to an “imposition” or tax.
14. Nikephoros Phokas, cf. [6].
15. That is, the dependency of St. Eustathios mentioned in [9]; cf. [53].
16. Mountain top on the Athonite peninsula, between the monasteries of Simonos Petra and St. Paul.
17. For this meaning of the word *plinthion*, see *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia* (Athens, 1932), vol. 20, p. 348, s.v. *plinthion*. It is obvious from the context that Athanasios is not referring to the land measure by the same name which was the equivalent of 3 *modioi* (E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologische Quellen* [Thessalonike, 1982], p. 186).

Document Notes

- [1] Praise of the solitary life. Applicability for most monks limited in [38]; see [37], [40], and [43] below for preservation of a role for solitaries within Lavra’s cenobitic constitution.
- [2] Nikephoros Phokas and his patronage of monasteries. For this emperor, see Morris, “Two Faces of Nikephoros Phokas,” 83–115, esp. 100–11; for his patronage of his uncle Michael Maleinos’ monastery on Kyminas, see the Athanasian *Vita A*, chaps. 28–30, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 15, and *Vita B*, chap. 11, ed. Noret, pp. 136–38.
- [3] Athanasios’ relationship with Nikephoros Phokas. There is a parallel account in *Vita A*, chap. 30, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 15, and *Vita B*, chap. 11, ed. Noret, p. 137.
- [4] Nikephoros Phokas’ conquest of Crete. For a general discussion, see Shepherd, *Byzantine Reconquest of Crete*. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 33, dates the departure of the Byzantine fleet from Constantinople to conquer Crete to the summer of 960. According to the parallel account in *Vita A*, chaps. 60–67, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 30–32, and *Vita B*, chap. 22, ed. Noret, pp. 147–48, Athanasios was successfully pressured to go to Crete by the Athonite elders, who were anxious to obtain the release of some monks who had been taken captive to Crete.
- [5] Discussion of plans for Lavra. These discussions are placed here before the fall of the Cretan capital Chandax, which occurred on March 7, 961, but the parallel account in *Vita A*, chap. 68, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 32, and *Vita B*, chap. 22, ed. Noret, pp. 148–49, has Athanasios arriving in Crete after the fall of the enemy capital; see discussion in Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 33. According to *Vita A*, chap. 70, ed. Noret, p. 33, and *Vita B*, chap. 21, p. 47, Nikephoros Phokas offered money at this time for the construction of Lavra, but Athanasios refused to accept it.
- [6] Athanasios agrees to begin construction. There is a parallel account with many more details in *Vita A*, chaps. 71–83, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 33–38, and *Vita B*, chaps. 23–25, ed. Noret, pp. 149–53. The implied chronology of the account here of Methodios’ visit and the commencement of construction differs from that of the hagiographic tradition; see Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 33–35, who proposes that Methodios’ six-month visit occurred from autumn 962 to spring 963, during which time the first construction work took place.
- [7] Nikephoros Phokas acclaimed emperor; Athanasios journeys to Constantinople to reproach him. This chapter telescopes a series of events after Nikephoros Phokas’ proclamation by his army at Kaisareia, July 3, 963, and his coronation in Constantinople a month later on August 16 (for dates, see Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 33). Here Athanasios suppresses his flight to Cyprus and his return to Lavra, for which see the parallel account in *Vita A*, chaps. 90–100, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 42–48, and *Vita B*, chaps. 31–33, ed. Noret, pp. 161–65. Athanasios is thought to have fled Athos in distress soon after the news

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of the emperor's accession reached Athos, perhaps in September; he was absent in Cyprus for at least four or five months, returning to Lavra by the end of 963 or early 964 (see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 77). Athanasios' audience with Nikephoros Phokas took place sometime in early 964, before May (Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 35).

- [8] Account of Lavra's construction. The hagiographic tradition differs in placing all the construction work, including that for the *katholikon* (see *Vita A*, chap. 81, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 36–37, and *Vita B*, chap. 25, ed. Noret, p. 151), before Nikephoros Phokas' accession. Modern scholars, including Mylonas ("Le plan initial du catholicon de la Grande-Lavra au Mont Athos et la genèse du type du catholicon athonite," *CA* 32 [1984], p. 103), accept the implication that work resumed in 964 after Athanasios' return from Constantinople.
- [9] The dependency of St. Eustathios at Mylopotamos. The church and *kellia* established here were intended to help Lavra control a detached property; see (8) *John Xenos*, Institutional History, (9) *Galesios* [144], and (35) *Skoteine* [10]. There is a cross-reference below in [45] to the use of this dependency by solitaries.
- [10] Lavra's isolated location. According to *Vita A*, chaps. 106–10, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 50–52, and *Vita B*, chap. 35, ed. Noret, pp. 166–67, Athanasios later rectified the lack of an anchorage by building a port for the convenience of Lavra's visitors.
- [11] Condemnation of commercial activity elsewhere. This chapter shows a sensitivity to the condemnation of "mercenary pursuits" in (12) *Tzimiskes* [13].
- [12] First quotation from Nikephoros Phokas' chrysobull. The document is Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 704; see discussion by Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 37–38, and Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 81–83, with reconstruction of probable contents at 82. See the second quotation in [18] below and other references to this chrysobull in [13], [20], [23], [36], and [42]; the surviving fragments are translated in the introduction to Chapter Two.
- [13] Athanasios' role in the formulation of the chrysobull. A novel approach to a traditional problem of monastic organization is implied here, but see above, Analysis, n. 7, for possible precedents.
- [14] Original plans for Lavra's administration. A gradual transformation from a directly administered private monastery to a more genuinely independent foundation was contemplated, perhaps like the arrangements outlined in (10) *Eleousa* [11], [16]. Athanasios discreetly passes over the circumstances of Nikephoros Phokas' violent death at the hands of his successor John Tzimiskes, the reigning emperor.
- [15] Future superiors to designate their successors. The implication, for which see also [16] below, is that the superior was to consult with the "more prominent brothers" in making his choice, as in (10) *Eleousa* [16], though the quotation from Nikephoros Phokas' chrysobull in [12] above hints at a somewhat broader conception of this informal electorate. A formal election, like those that would take place in reform monasteries of the twelfth century (for which see Chapters Five and Six), is not contemplated here except under the circumstances outlined below in [17].
- [16] Assertion of patronal authority to designate a successor; warning against factionalism. Athanasios' rights derive from Nikephoros Phokas' chrysobull as quoted above in [12]; for another such exercise of patronal rights, see (10) *Eleousa* [11]. (22) *Evergetis* [14] provides a discussion of the evil consequences of factionalism from a monastic reform perspective.
- [17] Procedure for election of a new superior if the incumbent dies suddenly. The franchise is restricted to the "preeminent and more devout" monks, cf. [15], [16] above; *xenokouroi* are excluded from consideration, cf. [13] above and [20] below. This procedure is amended later by (14) *Ath. Testament* [12], [13].
- [18] Second quotation from Nikephoros Phokas' chrysobull. This excerpt recognizes Lavra's right to choose its own leader, the key to effective self-government. In rejecting claims to this right by the imperial treasury and the patriarchate, Athanasios likely had in mind the recent award of the monastery of St. Andrew of Peristerai, an imperial monastery listed in the inventory of the treasury (*sakelle*) according to a chrysobull of Constantine X Doukas, ed. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, doc. 33, pp. 195–99, at 197, line 39, under (patriarchal) *epidosis* to Lavra at the bequest of Nikephoros Phokas in 964 (for which see *Vita A*,

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- chap. 103, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 50, and *Vita B*, chap. 34, ed. Noret, p. 166).
- [19] Recapitulation of arrangements for the succession. Summarizes [15], [16], and [17] above.
- [20] Exclusion of *xenokouroi* from the succession in the chrysobull. This is a reference to a provision in the chrysobull as quoted above in [12]; Athanasios has made the same point already in [17].
- [21] Exception for monks resident for two or three years. See discussion above in Analysis, 2. Constitutional Status and Succession to the Superiorship. Circumstances under which such monks could be chosen are discussed below in [22], where the prescribed probationary status is decreased to as little as a year.
- [22] Eligibility of such *xenokouroi* for the superiorship. Athanasios addresses the apparent contradiction with the chrysobull below in [23].
- [23] Exception does not contradict Nikephoros Phokas' chrysobull. There is no quotation here since Athanasios' assertion is based on the intent rather than the letter of the law.
- [24] Injunction not to discriminate against *xenokouroi*. For one such *xenokouros*, Antony, a monk tonsured in the Kyminas monastery, see (14) *Ath. Testament* [18].
- [25] Punishment appropriate for those who so discriminate. Details of the punishment are provided below in [29].
- [26] Such discrimination is heretical. Although Athanasios asserts here the equivalence of monks "tonsured at home" (an *esokouros*) and a monk "foreign tonsure" (a *xenokouros*), a distinction in favor of the former had evidently taken root, perhaps linked to the charisma of tonsure by the holy man himself, for which see [28] below.
- [27] Even monasteries founded beyond Cadiz not "foreign." Cf. the wide geographic appeal of Athanasios as reported in the hagiographic tradition, *Vita A*, chap. 158, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 64–75, and *Vita B*, chap. 43, ed. Noret, p. 176, including monks from Italy, Georgia, and Armenia.
- [28] Monks Athanasios has tonsured not to be preferred to others. See comments in [26] above.
- [29] Specific punishment for those who discriminate against *xenokouroi*. Cf. [25] above. This passage is partly quoted and summarized in *Vita A*, chap. 89, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 41–42, and *Vita B*, chap. 29, ed. Noret, p. 158, an indication of its importance.
- [30] No unnecessary changes in the rule; ban on worldly possessions; prohibition on alienation of monastic property to friends or relatives. These provisions are literal but unattributed quotations from (3) *Theodore Studites* [1], [2], and [3], respectively.
- [31] Prohibition of individual or collective ownership of slaves; ban on female animals. These rules are literal, unattributed quotations from (3) *Theodore Studites* [4] and [5]. A ban on sheep and goats is found below in [53].
- [32] All possessions to be held in common; prohibition of adoptions and spiritual relationships; superior not to administer finances directly. These are literal, unattributed quotations from (3) *Theodore Studites* [1], [7], and [22] respectively. The injunction to hold all possessions in common is discussed also in *Vita A*, chap. 88, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 41, and *Vita B*, chap. 29, ed. Noret, p. 158.
- [33] Guidelines for the superior's life. These are literal quotations from (3) *Theodore Studites* [20], [10], with an additional regulation by the author particular to Lavra.
- [34] Superior is not to seek higher office, lodge in places where women live, nor have a disciple or servant; prohibition on further acquisitions of property. (12) *Tzimiskes* [16] banned youths—who commonly served monks—entirely, but as Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 84, n. 221, observed, this provision was frequently transgressed. The last provision on property acquisitions is original to this document and is reinforced by [45] and [53] below; the others are derived from (3) *Theodore Studites* [14], [17], and [18], respectively. (3) *Theodore Studites* [18] has "adolescent disciple."
- [35] Hospitality for guests enjoined; injunction not to give preference to powerful persons. The last provision is an unattributed quotation from (3) *Theodore Studites* [23].
- [36] Number of monks increased to 120. The reference is to Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 744; see also the account of how this chrysobull was secured in *Vita A*, chap. 116, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 56, and *Vita B*, chap. 36, ed. Noret, p. 169; with discussion by Lemerle, "La vie ancienne de saint Athanase l'Athonite

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- composéé au debut du XI^e siècle par Athanase de Lavra,” *Le millénaire du Mont Athos, 963–1963*, vol. 1 (Chevetogne, 1963), p. 79, and *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 39, 43. According to Athanasios’ account in his donation to John the Iberian in 984, ed. Lefort et al., *Actes de Iviron*, pt. 1, doc. 6, however, it was John who actually obtained this chrysobull from John Tzimiskes.
- [37] Provision for five kelliotic monks. See also [40] below for rules for transfer to the *kellia* and [43] for the identification of some of the sites; cf. the treatment of solitaries in (12) *Tzimiskes* [10], [12], [18], [20].
- [38] Most monks to observe communal living. (11) *Ath. Rule* [28] is more tolerant of self-imposed ascetic observances.
- [39] Common meals and liturgical services. There is an apparent reference to Athanasios’ prior legislation on these matters in (11) *Ath. Rule*, helpful for confirming his authorship of that document.
- [40] Qualifications for transfer from communal to solitary life. Cf. Athanasios’ own promotion by Michael Maleinos to the solitary life at Kyminas as discussed in *Vita A*, chap. 26, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 14, and *Vita B*, chap. 9, ed. Noret, pp. 135–36.
- [41] Solitaries not to be harassed. For the imposition of (labor) services on the solitaries, see (12) *Tzimiskes* [20].
- [42] Apportionment of the imperial grain donation. The reference is to an otherwise unattested benefaction of Nikephoros Phokas, presumably granted to Lavra in 964, for which see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 82.
- [43] Description of cells available for use by kelliotic monks. For the cells of the emperor, see *Vita A*, chap. 73, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 35, and *Vita B*, chap. 23, ed. Noret, p. 149; according to P. Dumont, “Vie cénobitique ou vie hésychaste dans quelques ‘typica’ byzantins,” *L’Église et les Églises*, vol. 2 (Chevetogne, 1955), p. 487, n. 1, an oratory associated with this facility still exists under the name of the *kathisma* of St. John the Forerunner a short distance from Lavra. Among the available cells not mentioned specifically here were those located [9] at the dependency of St. Euthymios at Mylopotamos.
- [44] Rental of cells in exchange for entrance gifts not permitted. Cf. (12) *Tzimiskes* [6], permitting superiors to sell, donate or bequeath personal property, and [2], permissions required for settlement of non-Athonite monks in *kellia*; here Athanasios is determined to bring the residents of these cells under the superior of Lavra’s discipline. The general acceptability of an entrance gift (*apotage*) is indicated in [49] below.
- [45] No other cells to be constructed. This is consonant with Athanasios’ disinclination (in this document at any rate) to permit Lavra’s continued expansion, for which see also [34] above and [53] below. For Mylopotamos, see [9] above and [53] below.
- [46] Unsuccessful solitaries to return to the community. For a compulsory return of solitaries to the *koinobion* see (24) *Christodoulos* [A24].
- [47] Grant of cells to John the Iberian. For this individual, one of Athanasios’ closest collaborators who would be designated in (14) *Ath. Testament* [4] as one of Lavra’s administrators, see Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 42, with n. 151, and Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 83–85. Athanasios’ grant of these cells is discussed in George the Hagiorite’s *Georgian Life* of John and his son Euthymios, trans. Peeters, “Histoires,” *Vie de Jean et d’Euthyme*, chap. 8, p. 19.
- [48] No eunuchs, young or old. Cf. the equivalent provision in (12) *Tzimiskes* [16] and the Studite-derived ban on adolescent disciples in [34] above. In referring to a eunuch son of the emperor, Athanasios may have had in mind the example of Romanos Lekapenos’ son Theophylaktos (933–56), who was the patriarch of Constantinople during the author’s residence as a monk at the Kyminas monastery.
- [49] Disposition of entrance gifts. The concern over the deleterious effects that entrance gifts could have on the discipline of their donors despite their obvious value to the foundations who were their beneficiaries was heightened during the monastic reform; see the discussions in (9) *Galesios* [192] and (22) *Evergetis* [37]. The alternative of banning entrance gifts completely appears only very late in (60) *Charsianeites* [B16]; here Athanasios leaves open the possibility of accepting them under appropriate circumstances.

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- [50] Novitiate of one year. Cf. the equivalent provision in (12) *Tzimiskes* [3]; Athanasios' exception for the "pious and well-known" would be adopted later by the monastic reform movement via (22) *Evergetis* [37].
- [51] Relations with dependency of St. Andrew of Peristerai. For this foundation, an imperial monastery granted by Nikephoros Phokas to Athanasios in 964 under ecclesiastical *epidosis*, see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 35–36.
- [52] Reform of the dependency. The implication is that this monastery, founded as a cenobitic institution by Euthymios the Younger, for whom see L. Petit, "Vie et office de saint Euthyme le Jeune," *BHO* 5 (1904), 39–46, in 871 and given a rule (now lost) by him, had subsequently abandoned cenobiticism for some alternative form of monastic organization.
- [53] No new cells, cultivated fields, or vineyards; sheep and goats banned. In a Studite-derived provision [31] above, Athanasios bans the use of female animals. Earlier, (12) *Tzimiskes* [22] had banned the importation of animals to Mount Athos, with an exception [23] for a yoke permitted to Lavra. See [34] and [45] above for additional provisions foreclosing future growth of the Athonite community.
- [54] Superior obliged to preserve Athanasios' commands. Cf. similar provisions in (3) *Theodore Studites* [24], (5) *Euthymios* [2], (6) *Rila* [5], (8) *John Xenos* [3], (9) *Galesios* [246], and (10) *Eleousa* [22].
- [55] Entire community committed to Athanasios' successor. For the traditional notion of the monastery as a mystical body, also employed by Theodore the Studite, see the pseudo-Basilian *Constitutiones asceticae*, *PG* 31, cols. 1381B, 1396B, 1417BD, 1421A.
- [56] Valedictory message to brothers. This chapter is a direct, unattributed quotation from (3) *Theodore Studites* [25], [26], [27].

14. *Ath. Testament: Testament of Athanasios the Athonite for the Lavra Monastery*

Date: after 993¹

Translator: George Dennis

Edition employed: Ph. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 123–30.

Manuscript: Lavra, unnumbered ms. (1814 A.D.); Codex Iveron 754 (16th c.)²

Other translations: None

Institutional History

For the institutional history of the Lavra Monastery, see (11) *Ath. Rule*, Institutional History.

Analysis

A. Purpose of the Document

Athanasios used his *Testament (diatyposis)*, the third document under his authorship in our collection, to set up a protectorate for his foundation. The last half of the tenth century was an especially unsettled period for Byzantine religious foundations, yet here, as in (13) *Ath. Typikon*, Athanasios demonstrates his keen ability to assess the dangers to his foundation's autonomy and devise appropriate safeguards utilizing the most current administrative stratagems known to his era. The vehicle for the protectorate chosen here, the *ephoreia*, would become more common in the eleventh century and provides the unifying theme for the documents assembled below in Chapter Three of our collection.

Not trusting solely in his foundation's status as one of the first independent and autonomous monasteries, Athanasios here designates two administrators (*epitropoi*) with specific rights of oversight. The local administrator was to be [4] his long-time associate John the Iberian,³ to be succeeded by the latter's son Euthymios, who would in turn designate his successor. Athanasios considered but then rejected [5] naming Emperor Basil II (976–1025) as a second (lay) administrator for the foundation; instead he chose [6] the *patrikios* Nikephoros,⁴ who held a high position at court as *epi tou kanikleiou*, an authenticator of documents. Like John, Nikephoros was to choose [7] the first of his successors, with the result that there would be two self-perpetuating lines of protectors for the foundation. In fact, we know that both lines became extinct well before the second half of the eleventh century, and only the lay protectorate was revived in 1052.⁵

B. Rights and Duties of the Local Administrator

Athanasios authorizes the local administrator, John the Iberian, and, by extension, his successors,

to take up [4] residence in the monastery, appoint [12] a new superior in consultation with [13] no more than 15 of the “more prudent and spiritual brothers,” participate [14] in the installation ceremony for the superior, act [15] as overseer and corrector for the foundation, remove [16] an unfit superior, and provide [17], [18] for various individual ascetics (some possibly solitaries) who had been associated with the monastery over the years.

C. Duties of the Lay Administrator

The lay administrator Nikephoros was to collaborate [6] with John the Iberian and to assist the community “in obtaining the temporary and perishable things of this life.” He and his successors were also to serve [7] as “protectors and advocates” for the monks “for all situations which may arise there,” surely including using their influence (cf. [8]) to assure [5], cf. [3] that the monastery’s independence as guaranteed by several imperial chrysobulls would be preserved.

D. Other Administrative Provisions

The very considerable responsibilities with which the two administrators are entrusted, especially those of the local administrator on Mount Athos, probably derive from the rights of traditional private patrons. Athanasios’ reaffirmation [16] that the monastery’s superior was to have “absolute authority and dominion” over the foundation in both spiritual and material matters, which is consonant with his claim to this authority for himself in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [16], is uneasily balanced by his willingness to see an unfit superior deposed. Also, though Lavra’s monks are enjoined [10] to show “love, peace, humility and proper respect” to the Athonite *protos*, he is given no specific rights over Athanasios’ foundation.

Other noteworthy administrative provisions include the first provisions in the documents in our collection for an electoral college [13] for the selection of the superior, for a ceremony [14] for that official’s installation, and for his removal [16] if he should prove unfit for office. In another new administrative development, the officials chosen to direct the foundation’s dependencies are granted [11] lifetime tenure until “advanced old age.” Provisions similar to all these regulations will figure prominently in documents of the monastic reform era. Also, for the first time we are provided [1] with some information on how written documents like this were preserved: the ecclesiarch was to place this testament in the *katechoumeneion* where its contents would remain secret until after Athanasios’ death.⁶

The relationship of this document to (13) *Ath. Typikon*, if not to (11) *Ath. Rule* (which seems to be explicitly acknowledged in [3]), is problematic. Despite the fact that (14) *Ath. Testament* has been preserved alongside (13) *Ath. Typikon* in at least one early manuscript,⁷ Lemerle’s assertion (*Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 20) that Athanasios did not intend for the former document to supersede the latter is open to question. Leaving aside the novel institution of the protectorate itself, the authority granted here to the local administrator to select and, should circumstances require, depose the superior, surely represents a considerable change from the arrangements for the succession to Lavra’s leadership envisioned by Athanasios in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [15], [17] or by the founder Nikephoros Phokas in his chrysobull. The authority of the “preeminent monks” has also been more sharply delineated, though in the most important matters it was to be shared with the local administrator. Moreover, the anti-expansionist economic prescriptions of (13) *Ath. Typikon* were completely

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outdated by the end of the tenth century, and there is no trace of them in the present document. Therefore, (14) *Ath. Testament* should indeed be considered as a new *typikon* for Lavra, effectively superseding (13) *Ath. Typikon* with a new administrative structure that Athanasios thought appropriate for changed times.

Notes on the Introduction

1. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 20, dates this document to “after December 984,” on the very weak argument, pp. 44–45, that it is “inconceivable” that there would be no allusion to its designation [4] of John the Iberian as Lavra’s administrator in the act of donation that Athanasios issued at that time in John’s favor, ed. J. Lefort et al., *Actes d’Ivion* (Paris, 1985), pt. 1, doc. 6 [= old Dölger, *Schatzkammer*, no. 108]; but as Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae* (Louvain, 1982), p. cxxii, n. 55, rightly reminds us, Athanasios provides [1] that the present document (and presumably its contents also) was to remain secret until his death. Noret proposes that the document be dated after September 993, the date of Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, doc. 10, pp. 122–35, through which Lavra acquired the island of Gymnopelagesion, perhaps the monastery’s second insular possession, thus justifying the reference to the administrators of the “islands” (plural) in [11]; this dating is adopted here.
2. See Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, pp. 270–71, with comments by Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 18. Meyer’s edition is based on the same late manuscripts as its counterpart for (13) *Ath. Typikon*; a new critical edition is needed.
3. For John the Iberian, see Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, with n. 151, and Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 83–85.
4. For Nikephoros, see the chrysobull of Constantine IX Monomachos (1052), ed. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, doc. 31, pp. 189–92, at 191, line 15, with Lemerle’s comments, 20. The individual here mentioned may well have been the military commander and writer Nikephoros Ouranos, who seems to have held the office in 982. He was formerly Domestic of the Schools of the West, in which office Lemerle supposes he must have been an influential official in the general vicinity of Athos.
5. See above, (11) *Ath. Rule*, Institutional History, B 1–2.
6. For other examples of secret testaments, see (28) *Pantokrator* [68], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [1], [116], and (52) *Choumnos* [A3].
7. A Lavriote Ms., reputedly of the 10th–11th century, Panteleemon, “Katalogos,” no. 2059, that he claimed, p. 115, was likely an autograph of Athanasios himself; see Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 14.

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Meyer, Ph., *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 270–71.

See also the bibliography for (11) *Ath. Rule*.

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Translation

Testamentary Disposition of our holy and blessed father Athanasios

[1.] My beloved and venerable fathers and brothers, my dear spiritual children, since I the lowly monk Athanasios, guilty of every sin, by God's permission superior of our Lavra established here on the mountain and which is called *Melana*,¹ fear the uncertain moment of death every day and every hour, and am on the lookout for it in every place, especially while voyaging at sea because of the frequent shipwrecks which occur by God's unsearchable judgment, I deemed it right to leave behind in the Lavra the present memorial, written in the form of a testament or, one could say, a secret, written testamentary disposition, executed and signed. I leave it with the monk Michael, the ecclesiarch, to be kept safely in the *katechoumeneion*. After my death its contents should be made public. As though it were my living voice I want my thoughts made known to everyone and my concerns to be kept in mind forever by means of the present document.

[2.] I have passed all the days of my life in extreme sorrow. I am acutely conscious of the utter inability of my weak soul to assume charge over others, since I can never show proper concern even for my own soul. So I have been praying to God without ceasing to make known to me a man capable, in accord with his divine will, of being put in charge and well able to direct and shepherd the rational sheep of his flock. It was my prayer that this would happen while I was still alive so that I could withdraw by myself and take serious thought for my many sins. But I did not attain this goal either because of my overwhelming stupidity or lack of understanding, seeing that [p. 124] I judged others in the light of my own lowly self, or because God had so disposed matters, rather, permitted them owing to the great abundance of my wickedness.

[3.] For these reasons, then, I wish and I desire to leave behind after my death a superior taken from among those who make up our fellowship in Christ and our community who should be distinguished among the others for his intellect, his way of life, and his deeds. For this is what the chrysobull of the most blessed and revered emperor lord Nikephoros [II Phokas (963–969)] declares. "The superior of the Lavra must not be appointed from anywhere else except from among the brothers persevering in it, and he must be distinguished in intelligence and in virtue." For these reasons I adjure all my fathers, brothers, and my spiritual children and by the love of Christ I exhort all of you and I place you under oath before God and his all-holy Mother² to yield and subject yourself to my successor as superior just as you did to my lowly self. Live together with love for one another, united in spirit. Let the stronger bear the burdens of the weaker brothers. Contending with all their might and purpose, let each one of those who has received grace from God, whether to provide direction for souls by word and deed or to support the brothers with advice, admonition, and teaching, carefully observe the prescriptions, both those recorded in writing as well as those unwritten ones handed down, in the holy church of God, in the refectory, and in all other services. For they are the prescriptions laid down by our holy, God-bearing fathers, and which my unworthy self has received from their writing and in part from tradition. I now hand these on as a canonical rule and standard for our Lavra.

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[4.] As administrator for these matters I leave lord John, who has toiled for a long time and served with great gentleness and humility. He is genuinely spiritual, prudent, and full of love and faith toward my unworthy self and toward the entire community. He has dwelt here on the mountain, persevered, and grown old in his way of life together with me. After I leave this life I want him to come into the Lavra and, if possible, to take up residence there with the brothers, to direct them and prepare them for recognizing and submitting to their superior. But if this is not feasible [p. 125], at least he should visit the community on a more regular basis and get them organized. When he comes to die let him leave behind in his stead as administrator the lord Euthymios, my spiritual son, and his own son according to the flesh and the spirit. When his turn comes to die, let him leave behind to succeed him as administrator a wise and spiritual man, whether he be found in this Lavra or elsewhere on the mountain. Let those who come after him do likewise.

[5.] It had been my desire, nonetheless, to designate the holy emperor [Basil II (976–1025)] himself as administrator of our revered Lavra, but awe restrained me, and I realized that this was rather bold. He is, after all, the emperor, the ruler and lord, the father and provider not only of myself, who am least of all, and of my fathers and brothers, but of all Christians. In a special manner, though, more than to any other persons, secular or monks, he has displayed his good will to our unworthy, lowly selves and to our Lavra. He has taken steps to increase our resources by means of his revered chrysobulls, in which he also confirmed the chrysobulls of the other emperors, lord Nikephoros [II Phokas (963–969)] and lord John [I Tzimiskes (969–976)]. In addition to these he himself issued others in our favor.

[6.] Since, for the reasons already given, I was not bold enough to designate the good emperor for the position of administrator, I do leave my most devout lord, the true lover of Christ and of monks, Nikephoros, the most glorious *patrikos* and *epi tou kanikleiou*, as administrator, protector, and advocate of our assemblage in Christ and our Lavra. In expectation of being rewarded by God and for the sanctification of his own soul, he should associate himself and work together with my lord John the Iberian, my spiritual brother and father, and the entire community in Christ in all the distressing circumstances of their way of life. Let him struggle to assist them in obtaining the temporary and perishable things of this life. But let lord John the Iberian and all the brothers earnestly carry on their struggle to attain the imperishable and eternal goods in the life to come with all eagerness and love, and pray without ceasing on [p. 126] his behalf.

[7.] When his turn comes to depart this life, he should leave behind in his stead an administrator for this revered Lavra, and let each subsequent administrator before his death do the same. In this way, hoping to be rewarded by God and for the sake of their precious souls, there will be protectors and advocates there in the God-guarded city for all situations which may arise there and for the service of the Lavra. But those who are in the ranks of the monks, inasmuch as they are on the mountain and are neighbors, or rather, dwell together with my fathers and brothers, should strive with all their might, because of the reverence and virtue which belongs to them, to take care of our community as if they were different members of one body in every spiritual and corporal respect. May they receive their reward from the great giver, God, in the day of judgment for having main-

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tained faith and love for my lowly, unworthy self, guilty of every sin, not only during my life but also after my death. This is enough concerning the administrators.

[8.] You, my fathers, brothers, and spiritual children, with complete enthusiasm and with a good disposition strive to maintain peace and unshakable unity of mind with each other. May there not be schisms among you, nor factions or quarrels or divisive friendships or groups of companions. But let there be faith and love, a loving disposition toward one another and toward your superior, and an exact observance of my commandments, even the least, and of the prescriptions and rule which have been handed down to you. I believe that God in his goodness will open up the hearts, not only of the administrators, but also of every other person of high rank so they may show compassion for you, support you, and cooperate with you for the benefit of your souls.

[9.] Pay close attention, my brothers, that if anyone should be found among you, which I pray will not be the case, attempting to divide the body of the community by specious arguments, deceit, or wickedness, none of you should have anything at all to do with such a person. You should, rather, quickly expel him and drive him out of your company as a corrupt influence and as yeast which has gone flat. It is he who ought to be divided from the portion of the saved. For it is appropriate to bring imprecations upon a person who attempts such things [p. 127] so that his memory may be utterly removed from the earth, his name be blotted out of the book of the living and not be recorded among the just (cf. Gen. 17:14; Exod. 32:32). But if anyone be found taking his side, let him also share his portion and his lot. I enjoin upon my administrator lord John and the entire community that they immediately drive such people out of the Lavra.

[10.] I command that the same disposition and spiritual love be observed by you toward the Lavra of lord John and the brothers with him which you saw my lowly and sinful self have and observe, and which I frequently taught to you in common during the instructions and individually to each one. You should act in this way not only to lord John and those with him but also to everyone else, not just to those who love and honor you, but at times to those who hate you, harass you, and confront you with trials and injuries. Rather indeed, it is necessary to love and to show mercy according to God's command (Luke 6: 27, 35) to those who assault and attempt to injure you. Actually those men are only harming themselves and are conferring the greatest benefits on you. I know that you have learnt by experience from the events themselves and that you have been convinced by the many things which have happened to us that those trying to injure us have been of the greatest help to us, both for body and soul. Moreover, toward the *protos*, the superiors, and the brothers of our holy mountain observe love, peace, humility, and proper respect just as you used to see my lowly self observing.

[11.] Those who serve well, devoutly, and in a spiritual manner for the benefit of their own souls, whether in the Lavra, in the external or internal dependencies, and on the islands, should be without successors until advanced old age, especially those who strive with divine zeal to maintain unswerving obedience to the superior who succeeds my lowly self, and who have a very strong motivation and desire to gather provisions for the ordinary needs of their spiritual brothers at the

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Lavra and who look upon this sort of service as a means of working out the salvation of their own souls. Let them serve in this capacity for their entire life according to the will of the superior and the administrator, but not on their own authority. [p. 128]

[12.] To my administrator the monk John the Iberian I give this order and command from the Lord God and his all-holy Mother that after my death he conduct himself toward our assemblage in Christ, the Lavra, and to all connected with it both on the mountain and off it, in accordance with the command of God and the teaching of our holy fathers. Let him remain with the brothers in the Lavra for several days and speak with them both in a group and individually. Let them offer prayers and *ekteneis* without any respect of persons, dispassionately, and in complete freedom, for God sees and knows the hidden thoughts in the hearts of each. He should deliberate together with the prominent more educated and spiritual brothers. They should make a long and careful investigation, laying bare their own thoughts and judgments as well as those of the rest. In this way let them proceed to appoint a superior, one who would be approved by God and with whom the administrator and the preeminent brothers are fully satisfied.

[13.] The brothers whose advice the administrator shall seek for the election of a superior should not exceed fifteen, but should more or less make up that number. We are not excluding the others from this council because they are not spiritual or educated, for by the grace of God all of them are spiritual, competent, and prudent, but because in a large number there are many different particular propensities, and each has a different opinion. Some prefer this man, others that one. For this reason I have determined that it is just and reasonable to have a select group rather than a large one, as explained above, take part, with the advice of the administrator, in voting for the superior.

[14.] The installation of the superior should take place as follows. In the evening let the night office service be held in the main church of the most holy Mother of God. After matins the divine liturgy should be celebrated. Following the distribution of the divine consecrated gifts, the prayer behind the ambo should be recited. The *ektenes* should begin, and the “*Kyrie eleison*” should be repeated fifty times. The newly elected superior should make a prostration before the altar. He should then turn to face the assembled monks. The administrator should make a prostration to him first, and then all the others. As mentioned earlier, the administrator should support him and cooperate with him to the best of his ability, and the brothers should [p. 129] offer him pure and genuine submission.

[15.] As time goes on, lord John the Iberian should continue to oversee and to observe the manner in which the superior and the brothers conduct themselves. He shall be sure to note the serious concern, the strong love, and the friendly disposition of soul on the part of the superior toward the brothers, and, on the other hand, the obedience, trust, and love which they shall strive to possess in their souls toward the superior, or even anything contrary to these virtues. Let him strengthen what is conducive to their spiritual condition and let him correct what is not conducive and lead them to the right path. May he receive the reward for his efforts on their behalf from God, the lover of mankind, in the kingdom of heaven.

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[16.] After the superior's promotion and installation I firmly desire that he should have absolute authority and dominion in every respect in both spiritual and corporal matters. He must not be disturbed or impeded by anyone at all, especially as he is carrying out his duties well, in a manner pleasing to God, and in the spirit of God and is shepherding the company in Christ. But if, owing to my sins, the passage of time should make it clear that he is acting in such a way as to bring injury and perversion and utter destruction upon the souls of the community, which we pray may not be the case with the superior, not even in a dream, but if he is found to be such and does not correct himself, then the administrator should consult with the preeminent brothers, relying also on his own judgment and wisdom, and make careful provision for the community by appointing a man capable of bringing stability to the Lavra and all the brothers, and he should be able to do so until the end of his life.

[17.] I also desire and I order the superior and the administrator and all my spiritual brothers that they provide a resting place for my lord Antony until the end of his life and honor him appropriately and look upon him as a spiritual father. In like manner, they shall treat those brothers with him as their own members, likewise the monk John the calligrapher, according to the prescribed order and custom which I established and which those serving him have been observing. After my death the superior, the officials and all the brothers shall continue to observe it, as they did during the lifetime of my lowly self. Rather, let [p. 130] them give evidence by their deeds of even greater honor and love to him.

[18.] In like manner they should deal with the monk George the Iberian, the monk Gregory the *magistros*, the monk Dorotheos, the monk Antony from Mount Kyminas, and *abba* Sergios. Honor the priest lord Theophanes, minister to him, and serve him even more kindly than my lowly self did. For he is getting old and has very little strength left in his body. At the same time make a real effort to provide for the regular needs of the other old monks, the lord Sophronios and the rest of them. Do this without grumbling, but eagerly with a spiritual disposition, so that you may receive an abundant reward for your service to them from God in the day of judgment.

[19.] Be extremely attentive to hospitality and do not neglect the rule I gave to you regarding travelers and visitors who come to you either by sea or by land.

[20.] All of you together, young and old, first and last, must strive to observe genuine submission to your superior, yielding to his word in everything, for whoever resists his orders takes a stand against the command of God.

[21.] Finally, remember me, a poor sinner, in all your prayers, so I may obtain mercy and forgiveness for my many sins in the day of judgment.

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Notes on the Translation

1. An attribute of Lavra recalling Athanasios' original settlement at the future site of the monastery in 960, for which see *Vita A*, chap. 57, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 28, and *Vita B*, chap. 21, ed. Noret, p. 146.
2. The dedicatee and patroness of Lavra's *katholikon*.

Document Notes

- [1] Safekeeping and storage of the document. Cf. later security provisions in (19) *Attaleiates* [40] and (32) *Mamas*, Addition, Second *Semeioma*.
- [2] Athanasios' failure to decide on his successor. His fear that he might die without naming one may account for the regulation in [12], [13] below.
- [3] Citation of Nikephoros Phokas' chrysobull on the succession; admonition of obedience to the next superior; canon and rule for Lavra. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 18, n. 27, considered the citation to be an inexact quotation of the same passage from this source found in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [18]; he also identifies, p. 19, n. 28, the reference to the canon and rule as an allusion to (11) *Ath. Rule*. The admonition to obedience is quoted in *Vita A*, chap. 214, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, p. 105, and in *Vita B*, chap. 29, ed. Noret, p. 159.
- [4] Designation of John the Iberian as the local administrator. According to the Georgian *Life* of John and his son Euthymios, John continued to govern his own monastery of Iveron until illness forced him to hand its administration over to Euthymios, who ruled for 14 years until his own accidental death in 1028; see summary in Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 42, n. 151.
- [5] Intent to designate Basil II as lay administrator. For Athanasios' relations with this emperor, see Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 46–48. Basil II's confirmation is Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 758, speculatively dated to 976; only one of the other chrysobulls alluded to here is preserved, Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 760, ed. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, doc. 7, pp. 111–14, dated to July 978, which increased Lavra's imperial subsidy to ten talents of silver. According to his Georgian *Life*, John the Iberian actually did designate Basil II and his brother Constantine VIII as the administrators of his Iveron monastery; see Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 42, n. 151.
- [6] Designation of Nikephoros *epi tou kanikleiou* as lay administrator. Athanasios here bestows on Nikephoros the titles of administrator (*epitropos*), protector (*prostates*), and advocate (*antileptor*).
- [7] Nikephoros to choose his own successor. We learn from the chrysobull of Constantine IX Monomachos (1052), ed. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, doc. 31, p. 191, line 22 ff., that this did not happen, and that the lay protectorate expired at his death, to Lavra's considerable detriment.
- [8] Injunction to avoid dissension. The Lavriote monks seem to have ignored Athanasios' advice, quarreling subsequently with the local administrator and, according to the aforementioned chrysobull of Constantine IX (p. 191, lines 26–27) holding their superiors in contempt and behaving in disorderly fashion; see Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 49–50.
- [9] Expulsion prescribed for troublemakers. So also (2) *Pantelleria* [20], (22) *Evergetis* [9], and (23) *Pakourianos* [13].
- [10] Maintenance of good relations with the Iveron monastery. See Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 45, for a discussion of these relations.
- [11] Tenure of office for officials. This chapter testifies to Lavra's territorial expansion in spite of the earlier provisions to the contrary found in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34], [45], [53]. Noret, *Duae vitae*, p. cxxii, n. 55 identifies Lavra's island possessions as Neoi and Gymnopelagesion. Later, the monastic reform document (22) *Evergetis* [32] will adopt the principle of indefinite tenure of office for officials unless they should be guilty of neglect or dishonesty.
- [12] Rights and duties of John the Iberian. See also [15] below. The latter's role in the election of Lavra's superior constitutes an important amendment to the procedures laid down earlier in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [17]; cf. (17) *Nikon Metanoete* [13] and the much more circumscribed roles allowed to later admin-

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- istrators with various titles in (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], (32) *Mamas* [1], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1].
- [13] Consultation with a small group of brothers for the election. Cf. the electoral role of the “more prominent brothers” in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [16], [17]; the 15 “notables” are among the signatories of Athanasios’ act of donation to John the Iberian in 984, ed. Lefort et al., *Iviron*, pt. 1, doc. 6 [= old Dölger, *Schatzkammer*, no. 108], for which see Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 44.
- [14] Installation service for the superior. This, the first prescription for this service in our collection of documents, should be compared to those in such later documents of the monastic reform such as (22) *Evergetis* [13], (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], (32) *Mamas* [1], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1].
- [15] Other responsibilities of the local administrator. Supplements [12] above. Here John the Iberian effectively substitutes for the local bishop for the provision of “spiritual correction.”
- [16] Superior’s absolute authority and lordship; procedure for his removal from office. Cf. Athanasios’ view of his own authority in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [16]. The procedure for the removal of the superior, another novel but influential usage in our collection of documents, employs here the administrator and “prominent monks,” presumably those who play a role above in [12], [13] in choosing the superior with him. Later, the reform tradition would resolve the paradox of the superior’s absolute authority coexisting with his removability by de-emphasizing the former and preserving the latter, either through the agency of the “prominent monks” alone, as in (22) *Evergetis* [14], the administrators, as in (27) *Kecharitomene* [13], cf. (18) *Nea Gephyra* [3], or both, as in (32) *Mamas* [2].
- [17] Maintenance for Antony and the calligrapher John. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, p. 48, identifies the former as Athanasios’ successor; in 984 he signed Athanasios’ act of donation to John the Iberian at the head of the list of 15 “leading monks.”
- [18] Maintenance for certain other monks. These monks, the first five of whom may have been the solitaries assigned to the *kellia* discussed in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [37], are not otherwise known. Antony, a *xenokouros* from the Kyminas monastery, may well have been one of those Athanasios had in mind in when he vigorously defended *xenokouroi* from discrimination in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [24].
- [19] Provision for hospitality. See (13) *Ath. Typikon* [35] and discussion of Athanasios’ provisions for pilgrims in *Vita A*, chaps. 106–8, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. 50–51, and *Vita B*, chap. 35, ed. Noret, pp. 166–67.
- [20] Necessity of obedience of all to the superior. Cf. Studite-derived parallel treatment in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [56].
- [21] Founder’s request for prayers. For earlier examples, see (1) *Apa Abraham* [7], (5) *Euthymios* [2], and (6) *Rila* [20]; subject of much more extensive and elaborate provisions in twelfth-century documents such as (27) *Kecharitomene* [71], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [89], etc.

15. *Constantine IX: Typikon* of Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos

Date: September 1045

Translator: Timothy Miller

Edition employed: Denise Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton* (= Archives de l'Athos 7) (Paris, 1975), pp. 216–32, with text at 224–32.

Manuscript: Codex Iveron (1096)¹

Other translations: Russian, by Porfirii Uspensky, *Vostok kristianskii. Athon. Istoriia Athona*, vol. 3, pt. 1 (Kiev, 1877), pp. 169–81.

Analysis

Like the earlier (12) *Tzimiskes* and the much later (59) *Manuel II*, this document illustrates an emperor exercising his prerogative to legislate for the Athonite monastic communities under his patronage. The actual author of this document, however, was the monk Kosmas Tzintziloukes,² dispatched by Constantine IX much as his predecessor Euthymios had been some 73 years earlier by John Tzimiskes to settle a series of disciplinary problems among the various monastic communities on Mount Athos. This time the emperor provided general instructions that the settlement should adhere to the provisions of the prior *typikon*, (12) *Tzimiskes*, and the relevant imperial chrysobulls. In the same spirit, the emperor ordered that the election of the *protos* should take place “according to the ancient rule” (confirming (12) *Tzimiskes* [28]). Yet in fact the Athonite monks persuaded Kosmas Tzintziloukes to endorse a considerable number of changes, which the emperor himself subsequently ratified a year later in a chrysobull that confirms this *typikon*.³

The immediate cause of the controversy is not identifiable, though as Papachryssanthou (*Prôtaton*, p. 104) suggests, based no doubt on the concluding injunction of the emperor’s instructions, it may have concerned a disputed election of the *protos*. In any event, as (9) *Galesios*, a roughly contemporaneous document, makes clear, the mid-eleventh century was a time of considerable ideological ferment in Byzantine monasticism. On Mount Athos, the older and more experienced ascetics who made the appeal to the emperor that led to Tzintziloukes’ inquest were advocates of fundamentalist reform.⁴ They insisted on a return to the conditions of monastic life in the previous century as regulated by earlier governing documents, especially (12) *Tzimiskes*, but also a now lost *typikon* of Emperor Basil II (976–1025) and imperial chrysobulls of unspecified authorship. The reformers contended with others, evidently including most of the superiors, who maintained that the considerably increased size of the monastic communities justified—and indeed could not be sustained without—a more permissive attitude towards a whole range of profitable economic activities.⁵

Prior to this imperial inquiry, the factions had battled out the issues in secular courts, which had not hesitated to depose and install superiors to carry out their judgments. We are told that the outcome was usually contrary to the *typika* and chrysobulls, implying that the advocates of le-

niency and economic expansion were getting the better of the fundamentalists. The latter, however, evidently gained a significant advantage by succeeding in framing the terms of the imperial inquiry, namely that it should be based on documentary sources, and with a presumptive mandate of returning the monastic communities to the observances set down in the previous century. These guidelines are contained in a letter from the emperor himself that is quoted near the beginning of the document.

Neither side won a complete victory on the mountain in 1045. Kosmas Tzintziloukes, true to the emperor's orders to permit no innovations, structured the debate around the constitutive documents. Exploiting their tactical advantage, the reformers first got Kosmas to agree to the expulsion [1] of beardless youths and eunuchs who had been tonsured in violation of (12) *Tzimiskes* [16]. Returning to this topic later in the inquiry, the reformers denounced superiors and monks who ordained teenage boys as priests and deacons [15]. Motivated by kinship ties or "some unsuitable attachment," some superiors even designated such youths as their successors in their wills.

The reformers' hostility to manifestations of aristocratic privilege is clear in their attempt [13] to revive the legislation of (12) *Tzimiskes* restricting the large number of servants who traditionally accompanied the superiors to the Athonite assemblies and frequently caused disturbances. The reformers failed to get the strict limitations of the earlier *typikon* revived and had to settle for more lenient restrictions. It is worth noting that even the reformers did not propose that the superiors should give up their servants. The controversy was limited to whether servants should accompany their masters to the assemblies, and what role they should play there.

The reformers generally failed in their attempts to return Mount Athos to the more austere economic regime endorsed by *Tzimiskes'* *typikon*. They argued vigorously and convincingly that current economic activities,⁶ many of them straightforwardly oriented towards profitable production for external markets, were clearly in violation of provisions in earlier *typika*. Yet their opponents who argued for leniency won most of the arguments by demonstrating the impracticality of these provisions, particularly in view of the mountain's greatly increased population.⁷

In a protest against one of the ancient abuses of the traditional Byzantine system of private patronage, the reformers decried [9] the propensity of some patron-superiors to cancel the benefactions they had made to their foundations. Upheld by Kosmas on this point, their protest would in another generation's time harden into an assertion of the absolute inalienability of all donations made to the benefit of ecclesiastical institutions. The reformers who, given their restrictive economic program, tended to come from the smaller foundations, are also found here successfully championing [10], [11] the interests of these lesser institutions against the *protos* and the heads of the larger monasteries, particularly when the latter authorities sought to infringe on the former's traditional rights in common lands.

A provision [8] of uncertain reference condemns those who dared to introduce and expel superiors as well as to cancel and amend the testaments of departed superiors, e.g., documents analogous to (14) *Ath. Testament*. These may be either the officers of the courts referred to in the preface or perhaps *charistikarioi*, the lay beneficiaries of the public program for the management of ecclesiastical institutions that was by this time encompassing an ever greater number of the

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private religious foundations of the empire. If so, this is another presage of a theme that would be central to the program of a later generation of ecclesiastical reformers.

It is also significant that the reformers did not limit themselves to citing relatively recent constitutive documents in support of their positions, but also brought [7] to Kosmas' attention the ruling of Basil of Caesarea condemning the reception of wandering monks without the permission of their previous superiors. This foreshadows the time when reformers would prefer patristic precedent to any number of imperial decrees or private *typika*.

Finally, the provision [14] for deciding "every important issue" concerning the Athonite community in a general assembly under the presidency of the *protos*, the superiors of Lavra and the other principal monasteries, and also "other most devout elders" would appear to represent a defeat (contra Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 107) for the Lavra and the great cenobitical monasteries that since Athanasios' time had sought institutional autonomy without accountability to either the *protos* or their neighbors. Indeed, even the imperial representative Tzintziloukes felt constrained to declare [15] that the provisions of the *typikon* itself had not been imposed "in an authoritarian or imperious manner, nor without consultation and review," but rather "with the consent and approval of all of the most devout monks of the Mountain and their superiors."

Notes on the Introduction

1. This is an official copy of the lost original, validated by Theodoulos, metropolitan of Thessalonike. For details, see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 216–17, with illustrations of the Iveron ms. in Album, pls. XXI–XXIII.
2. Tzintziloukes, a confidant of and likely spiritual father to the earlier emperor Michael IV the Paphlagonian (1034–1041); he was probably the superior of the Constantinopolitan monastery of the Anargyroi. See Psellos, *Chronographia* 4.52, ed. E. Renauld, vol. 1 (Paris, 1926–28), pp. 83–84; John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn (Berlin, 1973), p. 415; and Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 221–22.
3. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 879, ed. Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, doc. 9, pp. 233–38, dated to June 1046.
4. For the identification of the reform party that led the protest to Constantine IX, see the latter's confirming chrysobull, ed. Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, doc. 9, p. 236, line 7; cf. (15) *Constantine IX* [13], [15].
5. For the identification of the opposing party, see (15) *Constantine IX* [1], [2], [3], [4], [5], [11], [12], [13].
6. (15) *Constantine IX* [2], [3], [4], [5], [6], [12].
7. (15) *Constantine IX* [2], [3], [4], [5].

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Translation

The copy of the *typikon* issued for the Holy Mountain by the monk Kosmas Tzintziloukes by order of the renowned emperor, Lord Constantine [IX] Monomachos.

[Introduction]

The thoughts of a truly lordly and sacred emperor are deeply concerned not only with political matters and plans for the army, with turning back hostile peoples and enslaving enemies, with subjugating populous cities beneath his hand, but also with upholding especially the divine ordinances and the sacred canons. [Such an emperor] takes great care of those dedicated to God, who have fled the world and dwell in the mountains, who hold fast to God alone and strive after virtue, who know nothing more than this. He tries not only to guard them from abuses and every other sort of evil and to reward them with truly imperial and lavish munificence, but also to [p. 225] correct those errors of theirs which have their origin in Satan's envy of men, to stabilize their wavering, to join together the sundered pieces, and to lead the chosen and "peculiar people" of the Lord to peace and harmony (Ex. 19:5).

Now, it is possible to see such actions under our lord, the Christ-loving and pious emperor Constantine Monomachos. For, more than any others, the monks of the celebrated Mount Athos have always waged a hard fight against the one who has been the common enemy and opponent of the human race from the beginning. They did not, however, have an enemy who carelessly neglected to fight back against them in battle. When they had become lazy and sluggish, he secretly sowed the tares of conflict, strife, and division in their good seed of peace, love, and harmony (cf. Matt. 13:24–30). After such evil had advanced far, the monks came to his imperial majesty and sought to find a release from the threatening evils and from the spiritual danger born of these evils through the emperor's agency. They requested that this be done by dispatching some monk from among those who had experience concerning the solitary life, the sacred laws, and the correction and treatment of those scandals which take their origin from the evil one.

The aforementioned Christ-loving ruler received them, saw and heard them kindly, hearing what they had to say; and he approved their request. He promised to send such a monk as they had requested so that he could correct whatever evils had arisen among them, and establish order on the Mountain and true harmony among the monks practicing asceticism there. On account of this, he sent an honorable and august letter of his imperial majesty to us, humble as we are, which detailed clearly the situation in these words:

"The monks of the monastery of the Holy Mountain some time ago came to my imperial majesty to seek aid since they were being dragged before secular courts contrary to their *typikon*¹ and the chrysobulls which were kept on the mountain. By the power of these courts superiors were being chosen and all sorts of other things were taking place so that the force of the *typikon* and the orders of the chrysobulls remained only in writing. Now since certain questions had sprung up among the monks, both concerning the superior and concerning certain accusations dealing with spiritual matters, my imperial majesty decided that it was necessary to entrust the discernment of these questions to a man who has lived according to God's way and has experience in correcting spiritual ills so that the flock of Christ would not long remain divided against one another. Since there will be no one better suited to take these matters in hand than you [the monk Kosmas], my

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imperial majesty commands you to submit to this rewarding task and depart thither to study the *typikon* and the order of the chrysobulls. You are also to examine all the innovations of the monks and are to introduce a fitting remedy. In no case is the action of the judge to prevail against you. You should, however, make known in detail what your piety has established in order that my majesty might have full knowledge and can answer those who hereafter might wish to oppose [these measures]. For my majesty does not wish that anything novel should be undertaken on this Holy Mountain, but rather that the ancient laws and rules be observed and that all be done according to the orders of the emperors of blessed memory. My majesty wishes that, with knowledge and scrutiny, you fairly resolve all the accusations concerning spiritual matters, and moreover, [I wish] the election of the *protos* to be carried out according to the ancient rule² and that [the results] be dispatched to my majesty.”

This, then, [p. 226] was the text of the imperial and sacred letter of command. When I, the very least of monks, Kosmas Tzintziloukes, arrived on this holy mountain, following the stipulation of the imperial and sacred decree—a fair and just stipulation pleasing to God—I assembled all the most pious monks and superiors who were on this mountain. They numbered more than one hundred and eighty. [I summoned them] to meet with us in the Lavra of the Karyes as was the custom.³ As soon as this was announced, they were all assembled and gave great thanks to God. They also prayed fervently on behalf of the ruler because indeed he had brought their desire to completion and had fulfilled in deeds what he had promised in words. When we had sat down together with the aforementioned superiors and the *Protos* of the Mountain⁴ and had listened to what had gone on between the opposing sides, we discovered that what they presented was nothing else than the harassment of demons and senseless strife. As we asked for the gold-sealed *typikon* and the [other] chrysobulls issued by the blessed emperors, all of these documents were brought forth and read for all to hear. We asked which were the clauses which demanded correction from the imperial majesty.

[1.] Before all else they said that some [of the monks] showed no respect for the provisions laid down in the *typikon*, namely, that the monks should not accept and tonsure either eunuchs or beardless youths, nor have these in the fields or the monastery. The monks said that such evil demanded correction. Therefore, we together with the monks were immediately roused to condemn this and correct what pertained to it and we found that all [the monks] from the great down to the small were convinced and were ready to offer fervent promises that they would expel all such persons from the Mountain. Their expulsion, then, was carried out by the most devout monks—the superiors, the overseers, and the elders who were dispatched with these men—in accord with the collective will and the wish of the most devout *Protos* Theophylaktos, of Neophytos the most devout monk and superior of the Great Lavra, of Athanasios the most devout monk and superior of the Vatopedi monastery,⁵ and of George the most devout monk and superior of the Iveron monastery⁶ and [in accord] with our examination and judgment.

[2.] After this, they raised as their second point that some of the monks and superiors had fitted out boats to sell wine and some other products and had gone to the Queen of Cities [Constantinople] and to other cities and had sold these goods commercially. We, therefore, studied this matter—

whether it had been specified in some document after the *typikon* had been drawn up that they could possess boats—and we found a written and signed *typikon* of the blessed lord, the emperor Basil [II (976–1025)], which had been issued with the common knowledge of the *protos* at that time and of all the monks resident on Athos. This *typikon* not only did not allow this, but it even banned such demeaning trade and established expulsion from the Mountain as the punishment for those who dared do such a thing. On the other hand, it allowed the monks to own small boats and permitted them to sell excess wine as far as Thessalonike and the settlements within that region, if in fact no ships from outside were at hand. They should not, however, buy from some and sell to others, for such activity is proper to greed and to disgraceful gain.

We, too, wanted to require that the monks submit to this same canon, but it seemed to everyone that this was too difficult and burdensome. For they demonstrated that, if they [p. 227] owned no boats to supply the very needs of the monastery and to sell its fruits and surplus wine to people, they could not remain a single day on the Mountain. After this had been extensively studied, therefore, all were agreed that the monasteries would own small boats having a capacity of 200 to 300 *modioi*,⁷ sufficient only to meet their needs and to labor in their service. The monks were to go as far as Thessalonike and Ainos, and offering their excess produce to these people, they would take in exchange whatever they needed.

It would not be possible, however, for any monk to journey forth and leave the Mountain with the boats during the revered days of the holy and great Lent. Rather, they remain in their own monasteries and attend constantly upon God and on one another. Neither from the Mountain nor from outside were they to buy any sort of goods (I mean wheat or barley, wine or olive oil, or any other commodity of whatever kind) nor would they conduct commercial business by going hither and thither as people of the world do. This has been legislated as a compromise solution.

Clearly, those who are going to own such boats are to be certified before the *protos* and the assembly so that, if they should disregard the present ruling, their boats can be sold by the *protos* and the community and the price of the boats given to the steward of the Mountain so that it can be spent for the common needs. Moreover, it will not be permitted for someone who has done this to own another boat or to leave the Mountain in order that “the rest may stand in fear” (I Tim. 5:20) in the words of the Apostle.

It was also ordered that the large boats be totally decommissioned, except for the [monasteries] which have been granted the right to have them by gold-sealed *sigillia* of our emperors of blessed memory and except for the monastery of Vatopedi which a long time ago received the right to own such a boat by the written approval and wish of the man who was *protos* at the time and of the other superiors on the Mountain.

[3.] Proposing their third point, they said that all the *typika* and imperial decrees alike ordered that it would not be permitted for any of the monks to own cattle or teams of oxen, nor indeed to introduce them to the Mountain from alien land for grazing, unless of course this had been done with the approval of the monks. Nevertheless, now many of the monasteries own sheep and goats, while the Lavra of lord Athanasios even owns cattle. We agreed with them that it was right and proper to take action concerning this matter, and we ordered that they all rapidly divest themselves of whatever they could not legally own.

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All the rest, indeed, accepted this and were eager to divest themselves of such things. The most devout monk Neophytos, on the other hand, objected that it was impossible to support the large number of monks at his lavra together with the incapacitated old men without these cattle. As a reasonable defense he brought out that indeed these animals had not been introduced by him onto the Mountain, but it was now fifty years since this had been done by those who had been superiors before him and that the superiors of the Mountain had accepted this as an accomplished fact. When we again objected strongly, on the one hand, he accepted by banning the sheep, but on the other hand, he asked that he keep possession of the herd of cattle in a special and separate place for the consolation of the sick and those suffering from wretched old age. Therefore, all the superiors of the Mountain together with their oft-mentioned *protos*, the most devout monk Theophylaktos, consented to this.

They, then, clearly won us over concerning this matter. Indeed, since we realized ourselves that it was not possible for 700 monks to nourish themselves from [p. 228] fish alone, we compromised by yielding to the request of the superior and to the pleasure of the elders and the [other] superiors. It was then ordered that the aforementioned cattle stay far from all the monasteries (more than twelve miles) and that they be pastured by monks and never approach the monasteries.

[4.] Moreover, since it was stipulated long ago that the Lavra of lord Athanasios could own one team to work at kneading the bread for the brothers and since the number of brothers had increased from 100 to 700, all the monks of the Mountain were content to add three more teams to this one. We, too, agreed with the desire of all and ordered that the monastery could own such teams for kneading [bread] for the monks as has been said. On the other hand, no one at all was to plow or spread seed on the land with these teams. A compromise was made also with the monastery of Vatopedi because it had become so populous. It was acceptable to the *protos* and to all the other elders that this monastery have one team to knead the brothers' bread.

[5.] All agreed to another compromise which allowed the monastery of the Amalfitans to own a large boat since they were unable to survive by any other means. They were not to make use of this boat for commercial purposes, but they were to travel with it to the Queen of Cities if they wanted to import anything they needed for their monastery or to be supplied from those who love Christ.

[6.] Concerning this matter, however, certain ones raised the issue that some monks were exporting by boat lumber for building, thin planks, firewood, and pitch outside the Mountain and were selling these commodities to men of the world, and moreover, they suggested that such activity had been banned by the ancient *typikon*. Thereupon, we laid down that hereafter no one ought to do such a thing, but should sell these items to those on the Mountain for the private needs of the monasteries themselves. If, however, anyone is caught in such activity, he shall suffer the loss of the boat itself in a manner we have mentioned above.

[7.] The divine Basil, who reveals heavenly things, decreed in a rather detailed fashion that it was not right for a monk to leave one monastery and be received by others.⁸ So, too, the *typikon* of the

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Mountain prevented such things, for it states clearly that it is not permitted for another community to receive a brother who has left his monastery without the knowledge and approval of the superiors, except where the head of the monastery hands him over to this community in accordance with [the superior's] own will and the assent of the community under him.

[8.] This matter, too, came to my attention and we have found it to a greater degree in actions themselves. Namely, that some dare to overturn and cancel the decrees of departed superiors and make additions to what these men have determined, that they introduce and expel superiors and do all other things rashly. Acting in harmony with the ancient *typikon*, therefore, we decree regarding this matter that the ordinances of those departed be preserved secure and unaltered and that everything be done and executed in accordance with the tenor of the testaments of these men. If, however, some try to do anything contrary to this, let everything which those people do remain null and ineffective, and let them submit to the penalties of the canons.

[9.] Our humility has learned as well that some have made gifts of fields and monasteries as well as purchases of these and exchanges. In these, they have inscribed the venerable cross with their own hands. They also summoned many other witnesses to these deeds, witnesses who [p. 229] [signed] by affixing the sign of the cross with their own hands in the same way as [those who summoned them had]. Thereafter, these men change their minds and cancel [the agreements] they made. Alas, rashly and recklessly, they show no respect for such an important matter, and thus they, first, set at naught the trust which belongs to Christians, and, second, they deceive their own consciences. On account of this, with the approval of the most devout *protos* and all the other superiors, we have legislated that hereafter whoever would dare do such a thing must resign from the office of superior, and another from his monastery will be appointed in his place. Moreover, all his previous agreements will remain valid.

[10.] Concerning cutting wood, some of the monks on the Mountain charged that they were prevented by the more powerful monasteries from cutting wood for the purpose of heating and for their kitchens and bakeries as well as for the needs of those engaged in construction. We, therefore, legislated regarding this that they could take up wood wherever they wished for heating requirements. For construction, on the other hand, they could cut wood freely and unhindered in the common [areas of the] mountain, but in the territories of the monasteries it was necessary that they do this with the knowledge of the monks of each monastery and the permission of its superior. They could cut and take up as much as the monks would permit.

[11.] Many of the monks charged that in former times there was much common land and that it was sufficient to meet their needs. Subsequently, those who served as *protoi* through the years granted this out to whomever they wished because of certain special friendships with a few, or even many, monks and superiors and other [reasons]. The common land was thereby decreased, and therefore the monasteries were in difficult straits. With the judgment and approval of all, it was ordered that hereafter it would not be possible for anyone of those who were going to be promoted to such an office to give away anything from the common lands to anyone or to sell any part of it.

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[12.] They also said that the Lavra of Karyes had become an emporium instead of a lavra so that even things forbidden to monks are sold in it. With the approval of all, we judged and legislated that the lavra remain in accord with the ancient rule and that if these sorts of forbidden items (for I am ashamed to mention them by name) are found on any of the monks, these monks are to be driven out once and for all from this very lavra.

[13.] Almost all murmured against the superiors of the great lavras, saying that they attended the convocations with many servants and that they caused many difficulties for the meeting of elders and superiors and for their assembly because [bringing these many servants] gave rise, on the one hand, to fears within the assembly and, on the other, to fights outside it. Moreover, this caused no small impediment for those who were to examine and render judgment concerning what should be done for the proper order of the community since each one of the servants would boldly and arrogantly speak out whatever he wished and would argue with those who were to make decisions.

They assigned [the blame] for all this to the superior of the Lavra. This most devout monk, Neophytos, however, the superior of the very Lavra of lord Athanasios, just as he has seemed obedient with regard to all other matters on account of his benign disposition toward our humility, so in this matter as well he appeared more obedient than all the others. Therefore, he said that it was agreeable to him to return to the arrangement of the ancient *typikon*. He would attend with two servants, the *protos* with three, and all the rest without any servants. For thus the *typikon* of the gold seal commanded since the Mountain was so thinly populated at that time. [p. 230]

When the superiors of the remaining monasteries heard this, however, they took it ill and maintained that it was not possible for them to attend the convocations without servants who had to serve their old age and infirmity. On account of this, with the assent of all, we made it the rule that whoever was *protos* at any time would attend with three servants, the superior of the most pious Lavra of lord Athanasios with six, the superior of the Vatopedi with four, the superior of the Iveron monastery with the same number, while all the others would attend with one. Moreover, these servants were to stay in the cells of their monasteries and not enter the assembly at all nor mingle with the elders who render judgment nor disturb and interrupt them. If, however, the superior of the renowned Lavra of lord Athanasios wants one or two present with him, and if likewise the *protos*, the superior of the Vatopedi, and the superior of the Iveron each want one with them, let them be present, but let them speak not a word. If one should not wish to remain silent, let him be expelled from the council of the fathers—even by force.

[14.] In addition to these other matters, it pleased all to legislate that every important issue be decided in a general assembly under the presidency of the *protos* himself together with the most devout monk and superior of the Lavra of lord Athanasios and with the remaining principal superiors, if in fact these are present on the Mountain and are attending the assembly. All the other most devout elders should be present and participate in the decision with the fear of God and with truth, free from all favoritism and bribe-taking, from party feeling, from partiality, and from any other [human] passion: from envy, strife, and vengefulness. Let these examine everything and let them carry out whatever has been initiated. If, on the other hand, some have minor and insignificant issues to present to the *protos*, let him select as advisors fifteen superiors, and let them go together with the *protos* and correct whatever has slipped. It should not be possible for the *protos*

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always to choose the same superiors, but regarding one issue he should select certain ones, and regarding another issue others so that suspicions and scandals do not crop up in the community.

[15.] All of the most honorable elders in the assembly at the very end exclaimed that there was something which should have been placed ahead of all the other rules since it was more important than all of these. [They said that], led by stupidity, silliness, or ignorance of the canons, some monks and superiors had ordained boys who had not entered their twentieth year not only to the office of deacon, but also to that of priest. On account of some family relationship or some unsuitable attachment, others leave wills in which they designate young men of such an age as superiors—an unlawful act. Therefore, we, tearing up by the roots this unlawful and unreasonable practice (not to say an outrage, a desolation, and an overturning of the holy and sacred canons), we ordain and decree that, according to the sacred canons,⁹ a person could be ordained a deacon at the age of twenty-five, a priest at the age of thirty, and could be designated as a superior in a will at this same age [of thirty].

These lawful and salutary rules were ordained not in an authoritarian or imperious manner, nor without consultation and review. Rather, they were passed with the consent and approval of all of the most devout monks of the Mountain and their superiors. The signatures below will reveal their names. These laws were drawn up and enacted [p. 231] by me, Kosmas Tzintziloukes, the lowly monk, in accordance with the sacred and imperial order, and they have been signed by the more renowned elders of Mount Athos and have been handed over to the monks with the assistance of our sovereign and holy emperor.

All the monks on this Holy Mountain must observe these regulations and laws set forth by our humility in our capacity as imperial emissary. Whoever shall transgress these rules and fall under the judgment of the sacred canons, he will experience the censure of the ruler. Moreover, they must show the present *typikon* to our sovereign and holy emperor so that his Christ-loving and pious majesty can confer authority and validity upon it as was done with the *typikon* issued by Euthymios, the most devout monk and superior of the most pious monastery of Stoudios, who had previously been dispatched by imperial decree to establish order on the Mountain. This *typikon* was confirmed by Lord John [I Tzimiskes (969–976)], the blessed emperor who had dispatched him. These very rules we ourselves confirm and authenticate with the wish that they be maintained unshaken for ever.

This has been set forth, written, and signed by Theophylaktos the monk and *protos* of the Mountain, by Neophytos the monk and superior of the famous monastery of lord Athanasios, by Athanasios monk and superior of the Vatopedi monastery, by George monk and superior of the Iveron monastery, by John monk and superior of the Zygos monastery, and by the other preeminent monks and superiors of Mount Athos in the month of September, in the fourteenth indiction, in the year 6554 [= 1045 A.D.].

This document was confirmed by the imperial secretary and sealed with the imperial seal and signed by those who were superiors at the time whose names follow:

Theophylaktos, monk and *protos*

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Neophytos, monk and superior of the Great Lavra
Athanasios, monk and superior of the Vatopedi monastery
George, monk of Iveron
John, monk, priest, and superior of the Zygou monastery
Hilarion, monk of the monastery of Saint Nikephoros
John, monk and superior of the Kaspakos monastery
Elias, monk and superior of the Xeropotamou monastery
Peter, the humble monk and superior of the monastery of lord Athanasios
Theodoulos, monk and superior of the Docheiariou monastery
Luke, monk and superior of the monastery of the all-holy Mother of God
Athanasios, monk and superior of the monastery of lord Sisoos
Symeon, monk and superior of the Galiagra [monastery] [p. 232]
Jeremiah, monk and priest
Mark, monk and superior
Kyrillos, monk and superior of the Esphigmenou monastery
Antony, monk and superior of the monastery of Saint Eustratios
Nikephoros, monk and superior of the Berroiotou monastery
Leontios, monk and superior of the Phalakrou monastery
Bartholomew, monk and superior of the monastery of the Savior
Iakobos, monk of the monastery of the all-holy Mother of God
John, monk and superior of the Phakenou monastery
Theodore, monk and superior of the Kaletze monastery
Nikephoros, monk of the Xerokastrou monastery
Michael, monk of the monastery of the *Archistrategos*
Kosmas, monk and superior of the Philadelphou monastery
Gerasimos, monk and superior of the Loutrakiou monastery
Germanos, monk and superior of the monastery of the *Anargyroi*
Dorotheos, monk and superior of the monastery of Saint Nicholas
Nikephoros, monk and superior of the monastery of Saint Ephraem
Jonah, monk and priest of Saint Onouphrios' [monastery]
Michael, monk and superior of Saint Peter's [monastery]

The present copy was compiled and compared with the original *typika* of the Holy Mountain by Ioannikios, the devout monk and *protos* of the Holy Mountain. When it was found to be identical, it was sent to our ruler the Emperor¹⁰ by Niphon the devout monk of the Great Lavra, the solitary, in the month of September, the fifth indiction in the year 6605 [= 1096 A.D.].

Notes on the Translation

1. (12) *Tzimiskes*.
2. Cf. (12) *Tzimiskes* [28], with discussion by Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 124.
3. The reference is to the Prôtaton monastery, for which see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 111–23, and Alexander Kazhdan, "Protos," *ODB*, pp. 1146–47.

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4. Theophylaktos; see [1] and signatures below, with Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 131. His tenure in this office is attested in other documents through 1051.
5. For the Vatopedi monastery, founded sometime before 985, see Alexander Kazhdan, Alice-Mary Talbot, and Anthony Cutler, “Vatopedi Monastery,” *ODB*, pp. 2155–56, and Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 91.
6. For the Iveron monastery, founded ca. 979/80, see Alice-Mary Talbot and Antony Cutler, “Iveron Monastery,” *ODB*, pp. 1025–26, and Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 83–85, 88.
7. The capacity of these boats is here measured in *thalassioi modioi* (one *thalassios modios* equals 17.084 liters). See E. Schilbach and A. Kazhdan, “Modios,” *ODB*, p. 1388. Boats of 200 to 300 [*thalassioi modioi*] would hold from 3416.8 to 5125.2 dry liters. [TM]
8. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 36 ([LR 36]), *PG* 31, cols. 1108–9; with discussion by E. Herman, “La ‘Stabilitas loci’ nel monachesimo bizantino,” *OCP* 21 (1955), 116.
9. Cf. *C. Trull.*, c. 14 (R&P 2.337).
10. Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118).

Document Notes

- [1] Youths and eunuchs banned. The reference is to (12) *Tzimiskes* [7], whose ban is herein reinstated; see also (13) *Ath. Typikon* [48] and [34], quoting (3) *Theodore Studites* [18]. Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 84, n. 221, records the frequent transgressions of the ban; see [15] below for a suggestion of some of the consequences. Lavra, Vatopedi, and Iveron were the three great cenobitic monasteries of Athos, all founded in the second half of the tenth century.
- [2] Restriction on the ownership of boats. See discussion by Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 105–6. Cf. [5] below. The reference to the *typikon* of Basil II is to Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 821, which is not preserved. The control of boats was a key to the control of the commercial activities their ownership made possible; see [6] below. In [5] below, the Amalfitans are excepted from the restriction on sailing beyond Thessaloniki and Ainos, a city in eastern Thrace.
- [3] Ownership of animals discussed. Perhaps the reformers have in mind (12) *Tzimiskes* [22] as well as (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31], [53] and other documents no longer preserved (so Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 223); Lavra’s superior Neophytos alludes to a judgment of the Athonite community ca. 995 that is no longer preserved, but cf. (12) *Tzimiskes* [23], which permits Lavra to own a yoke of oxen. See also [4] below.
- [4] Increase in Lavra’s allotment of cattle; Vatopedi permitted a yoke; restrictions on use. According to Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 104, in 1082, Vatopedi was allowed to double its holdings of cattle from the level permitted here.
- [5] Amalfitans permitted to own a large boat. For their monastery, see Paul Lemerle, “Les archives du monastère des Amalfitains au Mont Athos,” *EEBS* 23 (1953), 548–66, and Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 86. The Athanasian *Vita A*, chap. 158, ed. J. Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae* (Louvain, 1982), p. 74, and *Vita B*, chap. 43, ed. Noret, p. 176, credits Athanasios with attracting Amalfitains to Athos.
- [6] Restrictions on the sale of timber and other building supplies. The reformers’ reference is to (12) *Tzimiskes* [24].
- [7] Previous superior’s permission required to transfer to another monastery. The reference to the *typikon* is to (12) *Tzimiskes* [5], cf. [4], [8], [18]. The allusion to a genuine work of Basil is unusual.
- [8] Departed superiors’ decrees may not be overturned. There is no clear support for this position in (12) *Tzimiskes*, but see the traditional concern of founders on this subject in (3) *Theodore Studites* [24], (5) *Euthymios* [2], (6) *Rila* [5], (8) *John Xenos* [3], (9) *Galesios* [246], and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [54].
- [9] Irrevocability of consecrated offerings. The objection here is not to the transactions per se, clearly permitted by (12) *Tzimiskes* [6] and very much a part of the traditions of private patronage in Byzantium,

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- but rather their revocation, long condemned as uncanonical, as in *C. Const. I et II* (861), c. 1 (R&P 2.648–49): see discussion in my *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987), pp. 134–35, cf. 37–38, 114–15. Later this principle would become well established under the auspices of the monastic reform movement, with a classic formulation in (22) *Evergetis* [19].
- [10] Regulation of cutting wood for firewood and building construction. Earlier, (12) *Tzimiskes* [24] had restricted the sale of firewood to laymen; see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 104, on the exploitation of the Athonite forests in the interim between the two imperial *typika*.
- [11] *Protos* no longer to make grants of common land. This abrogates his implied right to do so in (12) *Tzimiskes* [2]; note that Athanasios had been a beneficiary of this practice when he first settled at Melana in 960.
- [12] Lavra of Karyes to end sale of forbidden items. There is no hint of what these might be (meat and other animal by-products?), but presumably the Protaton's steward (for whom see also [2] above) was responsible.
- [13] Restriction on the number of servants accompanying superiors. In a clever tactical maneuver, Lavra's superior Neophytos tactfully agrees to return to the standards set in the preface to (12) *Tzimiskes*, aware, no doubt, that the superiors of other great monasteries would never agree to attend without any servants.
- [14] The assembly's jurisdiction and membership; resolution of minor issues. The two basic principles of (12) *Tzimiskes* [1], the subordination of the superiors to the *protos* in matters of disciplinary correction and the obligation of the latter to act in consultation with the former, are implicitly reaffirmed here; the Athonite elders (i.e., the reform element) gain a recognized legislative role.
- [15] Reaffirmation of canonical age requirements for clerical and monastic offices. At issue here are not "beardless" youths (for which see [1] above and (12) *Tzimiskes* [16]) but, formally speaking, young men below the age requirements for these appointments. Note evidence of continued hereditary transmission of the superiorship in traditional private religious foundations on Athos as in (41) *Docheiariou* [4] (early 12th c.).

Signatures. For the prosopography of individuals who can be otherwise identified, see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, pp. 221–23.

CHAPTER THREE

The Protectorate

“Whatever the emperor, the judge and general do regarding the church, let [their actions] find [favor] with God.” (18) *Nea Gephyra* [3]

“I do not want my son, the *mystographos* lord Theodore, to be badly treated or scorned by any of the monks, or annoyed to an unreasonable degree, but I want everyone to love and be in awe of him, to respect and fear him, after God and the Virgin, as the irrevocable heir and lord . . .” (19) *Attaleiates* [33]

“None of the monks or the superiors should take any of the money, but once the expenses prescribed by the *typikon* have been paid, one-third of the surplus should be deposited in the treasury, and two-thirds should belong to my true and dearly beloved son, the *mystographos* lord Theodore . . . who does not have to render an account or submit to an inquiry.” (19) *Attaleiates* [24]

There are six documents in this third group of Byzantine monastic foundation documents, which date from the last quarter of the tenth century to the first decade of the twelfth century. They are particularly valuable for the light they shed on the historical development of one of the most important institutions of Byzantine monasticism, the protectorate (*ephoreia*).¹

A. Typology of the Documents

The first three documents, (16) *Mount Tmolos*, (17) *Nikon Metanoeite*, and (18) *Nea Gephyra*, are clustered at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. The remaining three documents, (19) *Attaleiates*, (20) *Black Mountain*, and (21) *Roidion*, date from the last quarter of the eleventh century and the early years of the twelfth century.

Alone among the Byzantine monastic foundation documents, two of the texts discussed in this chapter were preserved as monumental inscriptions, (16) *Mount Tmolos* and (18) *Nea Gephyra*,

¹ For *ephoreia* in this era, see Alexander Kazhdan and Alice-Mary Talbot, “Ephoros,” *ODB*, pp. 707–8; E. Herman, “Ricerche sulle istituzioni monastiche bizantine. Typika kletorika, caristicari e monasteri ‘liberi,’” *OCP* 6 (1940), 335–39; Rosemary Morris, “Legal Terminology in Monastic Documents of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries,” *JÖB* 32.2 (1982), 281–90, esp. 284–88, 290; Catia Galatariotou, “Byzantine Ktetorika typika: A Comparative Study,” *REB* 45 (1987), 101–6; and my own *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987), pp. 218–20.

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although the latter, transcribed by Michel Fourmont in 1730, has now disappeared. Of necessity, these are brief texts, and in the case of (16) *Mount Tmolos*, also very incomplete. The medium of transmission chosen allowed for the presentation of only the most important information relevant to these respective foundations, the first a monastery with an attached old age home near Philadelphia in Lydia and the second a monastery and church established to protect a bridge over the river Eurotas in the Peloponnesos. The authors of both of these documents evidently followed an epigraphic formula which required the identification of the donor and the foundation, designation of the officials chosen for the protectorate, and a curse on transgressors.

From the last quarter of the tenth century comes (17) *Nikon Metanoeite*, an example of a monastic foundation document both influenced and preserved by the hagiographic tradition of its author. As such, it is closely related to other tenth-century documents in our collection including (5) *Euthymios*, (6) *Rila*, and (7) *Latros* as well as eleventh-century documents such as (8) *John Xenos* and (9) *Galesios*. Like (5) *Euthymios* and even (13) *Ath. Typikon*, this text's hagiographic component contains a foundation history that provides especially valuable information on the sources of patronage for the monastery described therein. The foundation history would become a standard part of many later Byzantine monastic foundation documents, long after they had freed themselves from their early hagiographic associations. As all of the texts cited above do to some extent, (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* distinguishes itself from purely hagiographic works by virtue of its containing an embryonic *typikon*. In this case, this is really no more than a basic, testamentary statement of how the foundation is to be governed after the founder's death, thus linking it in content to the two inscriptions described above, (16) *Mount Tmolos* and (18) *Nea Gephyra*.

There is a striking increase in the sophistication of the group of documents clustered at towards the end of the eleventh century in comparison to those originating nearer its beginning. (19) *Attaleiates* is actually an old-fashioned testament. Like the authors of (8) *John Xenos* and (18) *Nea Gephyra* earlier in this same century, the author's overriding concern was the transmission of his property and the determination of the foundation's future mode of governance. Yet the catastrophic changes (see below, Historical Context) that befell Byzantine religious foundations during the fifty-year interval between the date of the last of the earlier group of documents in this chapter (1027) and that of (19) *Attaleiates* in 1077 forced the latter's author to address these common objectives with considerably greater trenchancy, gained from bitter experience of like-minded, conscientious patrons in his era. No other testament in this collection is as long or as exhaustive in its provisions for the various problems that might befall a foundation after the death of its founder.

The last two documents, (20) *Black Mountain* and (21) *Roidion*, share an author, Nikon of the Black Mountain, but little else. The former is a hybrid *typikon*, like (4) *Stoudios* and (11) *Ath. Rule*, treating chiefly the canonical hours, liturgy, and diet in the manner of purely liturgical *typika* but with a fair amount of disciplinary legislation appended. Unlike all the other documents in this chapter, the subject of institutional governance is ignored entirely. (21) *Roidion* is a remarkable document composed of two parts. The first, labeled as a *typikon*, is in fact a letter of instruction from Nikon to the institution's protector, explaining the author's conception of how the foundation should be governed and what the protector's responsibilities towards it should be. The second part is Nikon's address to the foundation's residents which might be considered a kind of founder's

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typikon were it not for the author's extraordinarily weak position vis-à-vis the residents. Therefore, the usual authoritative tone of a *typikon* breaks down in this instance into a series of appeals to and threats against the residents, backed up by contingency plans in the event that their cooperation could not be obtained. As such, it is truly *sui generis* among the Byzantine monastic foundation documents.

B. Terminology of the Protectorate

In attempting to understand institutions like the protectorate, it is to our advantage that the Byzantine use of technical terminology was generally very precise and consistent.² *Ephoreia*, the concept that ties together the documents in this chapter, can be translated as "protectorate," and the institution it designates was analogous to the "advocacy," a similar kind of protective patronage of religious institutions, especially monasteries, found in the medieval West.³ The Byzantines, with their love of archaisms, could fancifully trace the title protector (*ephoros*) back to the *ephoroi*, the powerful senior magistrates who superintended the morals of the citizenry of ancient Sparta.⁴

Judging from the testimony of the documents in this chapter, the institution of the protectorate considerably predated its name. According to the current state of research, the use of the term *ephoreia* to designate the protectorate of a monastery dates only from 1060, when a chrysobull⁵ of the emperor Constantine X Doukas (1059–1067) uses the title in referring to the protectorate that the incumbent of the office of *epi tou kanikleiou* exercised over the Lavra monastery on Mount Athos, an authority first conceded by (14) *Ath. Testament* [6], which itself dates from after 993. As noted above in Chapter Two, on Concerns of the Authors, Athanasios, the author of this last-named document, was a shrewd assessor of the requirements for preserving the autonomy of his foundation, and, faced with worsening threats towards the end of the tenth century, he decided to designate two administrators (*epitropoi*), one local and one at the court in Constantinople, the incumbent of the office of the *epi tou kanikleiou*, to serve this function among others. Although this would appear to be the earliest use of the protectorate, Athanasios does not claim credit for its innovation as he comes close to doing in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [13] for the somewhat earlier and ultimately more influential concept of the "independent and self-governing" monastery.

All of the documents in this chapter except (20) *Black Mountain* adopt the protectorate as an essential part of the governance of the institutions for which they were written, but only (19) *Attaleiates*, a late document, actually uses the term *ephoreia*. (16) *Mount Tmolos*, for instance, designates curators (*kouratores*) and, like (14) *Ath. Testament* [4], [6], administrators (*epitropoi*) to look after the monastery and old age home for which that document was written. Both (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* [2] and (18) *Nea Gephyra* [2] designate the local judge (*krites*) and military

² Morris, "Terminology," p. 281.

³ For the advocacy in the medieval West, see F. Senn, *L'institution des avoueries ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1903), with a general discussion in Friedrich Kempf, "Prelacies and the Secular Powers," in *Handbook of Church History*, vol. 3: *The Church in the Age of Feudalism*, trans. Anselm Biggs (Montreal, 1969), pp. 269–79

⁴ For the ephors of ancient Sparta, see A. M. Woodward and W. G. Forrest, "Ephors," *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford, 1970), p. 388.

⁵ P. Lemerle et al., *Actes de Lavra*, pts. 1–4 (Paris, 1970–82), vol. 1, doc. 33, p. 198.

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governor (*strategos*) as caretakers for the respective foundations, although neither document uses the term *ephoreia* or assigns any other titles to these officers.

In (19) *Attaleiates* [10], the founder's son and designated successor Theodore is explicitly awarded the protectorate; he was also to bear the specific title of *ptochotrophos* [12] as director of the foundation's almshouse at Rhaidestos. In (21) *Roidion*, the author Nikon is more circumspect. He does not provide a title for the anonymous lay benefactor charged with looking out for the physical needs of the foundation, who is the addressee of the first part of this document [A], but Nikon himself, who was responsible [A2] for spiritual guardianship and management, may have borne the title of guardian (*phrontistes*), so perhaps his lay counterpart bore the same or a similar title. It cannot be determined whether the monastery for which (20) *Black Mountain* was written had a protectorate since that document is silent about administrative matters, but its author Nikon is known to have been given a special commission by the patriarchate of Antioch to institute a spiritual reform of the monasteries of North Syria, of which this foundation was one.

C. Institutional Development of the Protectorate

1. Reasons for Its Development

Why did founders of the late tenth century think it necessary to create the protectorate? Basically, the institution seems to have grown out of the ever-increasing needs of private religious foundations of that era for protection from predators and for dependable sources of financial assistance. These basic needs, which to all appearances had once been handled reasonably adequately within the confines of traditional private patronage, were by this time considerably more difficult to meet due to the impact (both intentional and otherwise) of imperial agrarian legislation and the development of the *charistike* (for which see above, Chapter Two, Historical Context) in the tenth century. The former apparently made it more difficult for lay founders to provide traditional means of support to their private religious foundations, while the latter made it more difficult to assure their independence. Even aside from these important considerations, the increasing role of celibate monks in founding monasteries during the tenth and eleventh centuries (seen in all of the documents in this chapter except (19) *Attaleiates*) as a practical matter meant that some serviceable, self-replenishing substitute for the founder's family bloodline would have to be found to assure these two basic needs of financial support and protection from predators.

2. Benefactors' Hostility towards the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

What might seem to have been a logical source of the needed support, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, was apparently not even considered. The author of (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* portrays himself boldly usurping episcopal prerogatives in the dedication of his foundation. Nikodemos, the author of (18) *Nea Gephyra* [2], states explicitly that the local bishop and his clergy are "not to be allowed to exercise any authority in this church, not even to set foot in it." At the same time, the author of (8) *John Xenos* [2] curses any patriarch or metropolitan who might hold designs on the properties of his foundation. Relations between Lazarus of (9) *Galesios* [141] with the metropolitans of Ephesos were frequently strained if not in fact hostile. The author of (19) *Attaleiates* [7], [8] joins his predecessors in warnings to ecclesiastical officials to leave his foundation unmolested. Only Nikon, author of (20) *Black Mountain* and (21) *Roidion* [1], is known to have enjoyed good rela-

tions with ecclesiastical officials, the patriarchs of Antioch, but under very different circumstances (see below, Chapter Four, Historical Context) from those prevailing during most of the period under consideration here in Chapter Three.

The traditional hostility and opposed interests of private benefactors and the ecclesiastical hierarchy explain much of this antagonism.⁶ Another possible factor contributing to the distrust benefactors felt towards the ecclesiastical hierarchy was the latter's use of *epidosis* (see above, Chapter Two, Historical Context), a management program even older than the *charistike* under which ecclesiastical officials reassigned monasteries—many of them doubtless of private origins—to compensate for differences in the endowments of episcopal, archiepiscopal and metropolitan sees. Indeed, in a crucial court case that took place sometime during the patriarchate of Nicholas II Chrysoberges (980–992), the private owners of the monastery of Piperatos had successfully asserted their private property rights in this foundation to block a patriarchal seizure.⁷

3. Shortcomings in Imperial Patronage

Given this background, imperial patronage seemed like an attractive alternative for well-connected founders such as Athanasios, author of (13) *Ath. Typikon* [2], who gained support from Nikephoros Phokas, John Tzimiskes, and Basil II in succession, or as even earlier, the author of (5) *Euthymios*, gained support from Leo VI. Even as late as 993, Athanasios in (14) *Ath. Testament* [5] considered naming Basil II as the administrator (*epitropos*) of his foundation, but the emperor was far away and could not be assumed to be always ready to take a particular interest in an individual religious foundation given his other responsibilities. Still later in 1027, Nikodemos, the author of (18) *Nea Gephyra* [2], placed his foundation under the protection of Emperor Constantine VIII (1025–1028), but like Athanasios, he thought that local protection was essential, so he set up a local protectorate for this purpose.

4. Date of the Protectorate's Development

The turning point can be dated with some precision. At a more optimistic time when he drew up (13) *Ath. Typikon* [12] circa 973–975, Athanasios had reason to hope that his foundation's status as an independent and self-governing monastery, coupled with guaranteed imperial subventions, would be sufficient for establishing Lavra's autonomy and financial well-being. But before the end of his life and the close of the tenth century, as (14) *Ath. Testament* illustrates, he and his contemporaries felt differently. Therefore the protectorate came into being just when, naturally enough, the need for it became readily apparent, in the last quarter of the tenth century.

5. Reliance on Officials of the Imperial Government

Seeking external patronage and support, founders like the author of (17) *Nikon Metanoeite*, the son of a provincial landowner, Nikodemos, author of (18) *Nea Gephyra*, and probably also the imperial *protospatharios* Nikephoros Erotikos, author of (16) *Mount Tmolos*, turned to local officials as the most effective source of patronage when each chose the protectorate as the vehicle for the posthumous administration of his foundation. In all cases, two protectors were appointed.

⁶ See my *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 37–44, 112, 119–20, 122, 130–32, 134–38, etc.

⁷ Eustathios Rhomaios, *Peira*, 15.4 (*JGR* 1.43 = *Zepos, Jus*), vol. 4. 49–50.

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Perhaps, as (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* [4] implies, some individuals subsequently appointed as protectors and honored with liturgical commemorations had previously played important roles in the construction or endowment of a foundation. Only Athanasios in (14) *Ath. Testament* [4] saw fit to choose someone in religious life, his friend John the Iberian, as one of his administrators. Shrewd as always, Athanasios chose as his other administrator the *epi tou kanikleiou* at the court in Constantinople, in preference to some presumably less influential local figure. It is from (14) *Ath. Testament* [7] that we learn that a protector was expected to designate his own successor; this is surely why (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* [2] and (18) *Nea Gephyra* [2] thought it necessary to identify only the offices whose incumbents would hold the protectorate rather than naming specific individuals. By attaching the rights to the protectorate to an office rather than to specific individuals, a presumably perpetual line of protectors could be secured that would provide protection and financial support just as the families of traditional benefactors had done in ages past.⁸

6. Consequences of Reliance on Public Authorities

With the benefit of hindsight, we can see that this reliance on public authorities was naive. Contemporary benefactors of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, however, would have been motivated negatively by their age-old rivalry with the ecclesiastical hierarchy and affirmatively by their traditionally good relations (with a few exceptions) with the emperors as well as with their local representatives—whose interests and social class they themselves frequently shared. As the *charistike* claimed an ever-increasing share of the private religious foundations of the empire during the course of the eleventh century, later generations saw the light and abandoned their predecessors' reliance on public officials for their protectorates.

7. Subsequent Privatization of the Protectorate

For instance, in 1077, the author of (19) *Attaleiates* prohibits [8] the establishment of either a *charistike* or an *ephoreia* over his foundation, yet later in this same document he titles his son and heir Theodore as protector [10]. Michael Attaleiates then was fundamentally altering the protectorate by rejecting its historical status as a public institution generally attached to a particular office and reclaiming it instead as a hereditary private institution linked to the founder's family. In (19) *Attaleiates* [10], [37], [46] he announces his willingness to see even a female relative succeed to the protectorate in default of suitable male candidates, though he expected that a husband, son or male servant would actually carry out the functions of the office.

8. Rights of Protectors

The documents collected here in this chapter indicate that very considerable rights were attached to the protectorate. (18) *Nea Gephyra* [3] concedes to the protectors the right to choose the foundation's superior. Earlier, we have seen how (14) *Ath. Testament* [12] provides for the local protector to choose Lavra's superior, in consultation with "the more wise and spiritual brothers." In (19) *Attaleiates* [29], cf. [26], the protector presides over the election of both the superior and

⁸ For a late but still instructive example of how traditional family patronage worked, see (19) *Attaleiates*, esp. [10] through [13].

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the steward, and has the authority to grant (and possibly also withhold) recognition to the chosen candidates. Attaleiates' first protector Theodore was granted [26] the special privilege of not appointing a superior and governing the foundation directly instead. (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* [2], [7], [9] apparently allows the protectors to make all the appointments of priests and monks in the foundation. Some documents also allow the protectors to remove unfit superiors: (14) *Ath. Testament* [16] (local administrator only); (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* [9] (can also remove other appointees); (18) *Nea Gephyra* [3]; and (19) *Attaleiates* [26]. However, Nikon of the Black Mountain, author of (21) *Roidion* [A3], [A4], [B20] would have liked to have removed the superior and steward of that foundation, whom he regarded as superfluous and "spiritually destroyed," but apparently neither he nor his lay counterpart had the power to do this.

(16) *Mount Tmolos* [4] and (19) *Attaleiates* [23] both speak of the protector's authority to review the financial accounts of their respective foundations. Both (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* [12] and (21) *Roidion* [B18], as well as (14) *Ath. Testament* [15] (local administrator only) earlier, envision the incumbent protectors providing moral supervision for the residents of their respective foundations. According to (19) *Attaleiates* [29], that foundation's protectors were to preside over community reconciliations and issue binding resolutions from which there would be no appeals. Some protectors received financial compensation for the discharge of their responsibilities. This ranged from the nominal and honorific gifts of wine and fruit accorded the protectors by (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* [2] to the possibly substantial income accorded Theodore and his successors as protector in (19) *Attaleiates* [24].

9. Responsibilities of Protectors

Late in the eleventh century, by which time the protectorate had become something of a tainted institution (note the hostility of (19) *Attaleiates* [8]), the emphasis shifted from an protector's rights to his responsibilities. In (21) *Roidion*, Nikon of the Black Mountain implies that the protector who is most likely the addressee of the first part of this document should provide financial support [A1], cf. [A5] for the foundation and perhaps even supply a replacement facility [B20] should that prove necessary. But even much earlier, the unusual "off-site" administrator linked to the office of *epi tou kanikleiou* in (14) *Ath. Testament* [6] was expected to provide material assistance to Lavra and act as the foundation's protector and advocate at court.

10. The Dual Protectorate

In the early documents, typically two protectors were appointed. In (14) *Ath. Testament*, only one of these protectors, John the Iberian, was resident locally, but his Constantinopolitan counterpart is instructed [6] to work together with him for the welfare of the monastic community at Lavra. In (18) *Nea Gephyra* [3], the author Nikodemos instructs the two protectors to govern his foundation either jointly or individually if only one of them happened to be in the area when his services were needed. In the later documents towards the end of the eleventh century, the protectorate is divided between two persons who were responsible for the foundation's physical needs and its spiritual guardianship, respectively, as (apparently) in (21) *Roidion* [A1], [A2], or else is replaced by a single, powerful family protector as in (19) *Attaleiates* [10].

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D. Concerns of the Authors

To a considerable extent, the concerns of the authors of these documents anticipate many of the themes of the monastic reform movement that was to invigorate Byzantine monasticism later in the eleventh century (for which see below, Chapter Four).

1. Distrust of Monks Tonsured Outside the Foundation

Although their trust in the protectorate may have ultimately proved imprudent, many of these founders were aware of other threats to the well-being and autonomy of their foundations. Nikodemos, author of (18) *Nea Gephyra*, orders [3] his protectors to choose a superior for his foundation from among the monks already in the monastery rather than appointing an outsider. Earlier, Athanasios in (13) *Ath. Typikon* had gotten the Emperor Nikephoros Phokas to endorse [12] his own ban on the choice of an outsider (a *xenokourites*) which he rightly identified [20] as a considerable threat to institutional autonomy. The author of (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* shows a particularly keen awareness of potential threats, and accordingly prohibits [5] the forced imposition of outsiders (possibly *esomonitai*) at his foundation, as well as the simoniacal appointment of priests or monks [9] through gifts (*kaniskia*) and requests (*parakalenseis*). Also, while conceding [5], [7] rights of appointment to his protectors, Nikon Metanoieite balances these concessions with security of tenure to those priests and monks currently serving [6], [8] in his foundation and orders [3] that any future bequests should be given directly to them rather than the protectors or other public officials.

2. Continuity with Traditional Private Religious Foundations

Composed as it was for a traditional private religious foundation, (19) *Attaleiates* shows little in the way of reform sympathies but a great deal of tolerance for patronal privileges, financial prerequisites, and various fund-raising devices. In this foundation the protector enjoyed virtually unchecked authority [29] and was allowed [24] to profit financially from the foundation. He was subject to deposition only for outright theft [37] of the foundation's income, and even then not without having an opportunity to make restitution. The eunuch monks [30] had servants [42] and drew regular incomes [33], [35] akin to monastic benefices from the foundation's assets, as Nikon of the Black Mountain's recalcitrant monks did in (21) *Roidion* [A2]. Like earlier founders, Attaleiates is hostile [30] to the appointment of outsiders as monks in his foundation, though typically he was quick to make an exception for his own blood relatives or personal favorites. He welcomes [30] donations of landed property in exchange for living allowances (*siteresia*) from the foundation's treasury and was also glad to accept contributions (*prosenexeis*) for liturgical commemorations. Some later reform-minded founders would shun these financial entanglements with the lay world. Also, in a telling detail, Attaleiates did not scruple [19] to subordinate a convent and a monastery which he held in *charistike* to the foundation even though he was unwilling [8] to allow the foundation itself to be subordinated to a *charistikarios*.

3. Foreshadowing of the Monastic Reform Movement

In a few ways, however, (19) *Attaleiates* clearly foreshadows the imminent triumph of the reform movement at the close of the eleventh century. Monks seeking tonsure were generally not to be required to pay an entrance gift (*apotage*) [28], though as usual Attaleiates was willing to suspend the principle if that would be financially advantageous to the foundation. The document has an

inventory (*brevion*) of both movable [INV 1] ff. and landed properties [INV 9] attached, perhaps as a deterrent to theft. A chrysobull of Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–1081) included in the inventory [INV 11] goes so far as to declare that the deconsecration of property used to endow the foundation would be sacrilege (*hierosylia*). Attaleiates did not himself endorse this view, however (see [10], [37]). Finally, the foundation was provisionally [14] to become independent and autonomous in the event of the cessation of Attaleiates' family line.

4. Participation in the Monastic Reform Movement

The documents authored by Nikon of the Black Mountain, himself an active if idiosyncratic participant in the monastic reform, quite naturally reflect the concerns and approaches of that movement. In (20) *Black Mountain*, we find endorsements of manual labor [82], simple, practical clothing as recommended by Basil of Caesarea [75], and the traditional features of cenobitic life [24], [70], [71]. Unlike the situation portrayed in (9) *Galesios* [129], (20) *Black Mountain* [86] seeks to keep the monks sexually segregated, and therefore, like (3) *Theodore Studites* [5] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31], bans women and female animals from the vicinity of the foundation. In (21) *Roidion* [B16], Nikon went so far as to ban all animals of any sort, except for a cat spared to track down mice! Unlike (19) *Attaleiates* [30], (20) *Black Mountain* [85] rejects monetary and other donations from outsiders “except as the divine fathers allow.”

Naturally (21) *Roidion*, a document which Nikon of the Black Mountain utilized to aid in his reform of that foundation, is ideologically firmly in the reformers' camp even if the author seems to have lacked the authority to overcome entrenched private property rights [B20] that were obstructing this reform. In this spirit, Nikon declares [B5] that monks should have no personal possessions at all while simultaneously tolerating the status quo in which kelliotic monks used their private incomes to entertain guests.

5. Sponsorship of Philanthropic Institutions

Several of these documents testify to a renewed interest in philanthropic institutions that had once been more common in Byzantium in late antiquity. Nikephoros Phokas' controversial law of 964 restricting new private religious foundations included philanthropic institutions in its regulatory scope.⁹ Later, presumably after the granting of landed endowments to foundations of this sort became legal again (perhaps in 988), Nikephoros Erotikos composed (16) *Mount Tmolos* for his old age home *Ta Derma*. The almshouse at Rhaidestos described in (19) *Attaleiates* [4] is another outstanding example of this interest. Even the bridge over the river Eurotas in the Peloponnesos which Nikodemos, author of (18) *Nea Gephyra*, insists [1] was the *raison d'être* of his foundation could be interpreted, thanks to its public utility, as a kind of philanthropic foundation. There was also already an existing—though perhaps almost entirely secularized—hospice operating on the site when Nikon of the Black Mountain composed (21) *Roidion*, probably at the very beginning of the twelfth century.

6. Concern for the Welfare of the Dependent Peasantry

Just possibly this increased interest in philanthropy also explains a slight but still noticeable inter-

⁹ Nikephoros Phokas, *Novella de monasteriis* (964) (*JGR* 3.292–96, esp. 295–96 = Zepos, *Jus*, 1.249–52, esp. 251–52).

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est in the well-being of peasants, tenants, and other dependents of some of these foundations. In line with this trend, (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* [13] orders that villagers are to be left “untouched and undisturbed,” while (19) *Attaleiates* [39] guarantees such dependents freedom from increases in payments and services. Another document of this era, (9) *Galesios* [246], instructs that peasants should not be oppressed in the event that a foundation’s estates failed to yield a surplus.

7. Protection against Predators

The founders portrayed in these documents relied chiefly on the protectorate for the protection and financial support of their foundations, but they were also eager to utilize other means of protection and attempted to keep income and expenses in balance. Curses against would-be malefactors would become a standard “boilerplate” feature of Byzantine monastic foundation documents by the mid-eleventh century (see (9) *Galesios* [246]; cf. (8) *John Xenos* [2]). They appear in the documents in this chapter in (16) *Mount Tmolos* [5], (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* [5], (18) *Nea Gephyra* [4], and (19) *Attaleiates* [8], [23], [46].

In an affirmative sense, some of our authors also sought to enlist the support of the patron saint for the sake of heavenly protection. Thus (19) *Attaleiates* [7], cf. [45] makes an impassioned address to the deity for assistance against the many possible predators who might harm his foundation. The author of (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* provides a triple dedication for his foundation, while the author of (16) *Mount Tmolos* [1] seeks to associate the Mother of God with the old age home *Ta Derma*. Neither goes as far as Nikon of the Black Mountain, who in (21) *Roidion* [B20] expresses confidence that the Mother of God herself could be relied upon to manage the foundation, even without any “earthly revenues.”

8. Limitations on Numbers of Monks to be Supported

Founders in this era seem generally to have endorsed the “smaller is better” philosophy (see above, Chapter Two, Concerns of the Authors) with respect to the size of their foundations, thereby anticipating or (subsequently) endorsing the views of those monks who in 1045 opposed the ever-expanding economic activities of the larger Athonite monasteries as described in (15) *Constantine IX* [10], [11], [13]. Thus we see the author of (16) *Mount Tmolos* limiting the number of monks [1] to twelve (plus the superior) and assistants in the old age home [2] to four. (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* does not set precise limits for the residents in that foundation, but seems to have envisioned [7] a one-for-one replacement scheme. The author of (19) *Attaleiates* indicates [27] that his endowment would at present allow the appointment of only five monks although he hoped additional donations would allow up to seven to be supported eventually. Bishop Manuel of Stroumitza, the author of (10) *Eleousa* [5], a contemporary document, similarly limited the number of monks in his foundation to ten, though he too hoped for an increase, provided circumstances permitted.

Thus most founders in this era wanted to keep the number of residents carefully matched to the available income. Even in (21) *Roidion*, where the resident kelliotic monks appear to have divided up [A2] the foundation’s income into individual hereditary shares [B11], the author Nikon of the Black Mountain agonizes [A3], [B13] over who was truly entitled to financial support. Unlike Attaleiates and Manuel, however, Nikon was actively opposed [B17] to additional acquisitions of landed property, considering them harmful to souls and displeasing to God.

9. Preservation of Foundation Documents

Finally, the precautions of the founders for the physical preservation of their foundation documents are noteworthy. The length to which the authors of the monumental inscriptions (16) *Mount Tmolos* and (18) *Nea Gephyra* went to secure the permanence of their regulations is self-evident. The author of (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* [Conclusion] instructs two members of the local nobility to seal and preserve his testament. (19) *Attaleiates* [40] provides the first detailed instructions for the safekeeping, use, and preservation of monastic foundation documents. The mandate to use an authentic copy instead of the original for ordinary purposes seems particularly prudent. Ironically, it is an isotype which is the surviving basis for the text of this document.

E. Historical Context

1. Coincidence with the Era of the *Charistike*

The era represented by the documents in this chapter happens to coincide with nearly the entire history of the *charistike*, that controversial public program for the donation of mostly private religious institutions to concessionaires unrelated to the original founders.¹⁰ For the *charistike* was originated by the imperial government and the ecclesiastical hierarchy probably sometime in the last quarter of the tenth century, grew to encompass most of the empire's religious foundations during the course of the next hundred years, and yet was completely discredited by the beginning of the twelfth century.

2. Immediate Impact on our Early Authors

Of the two clusters of documents in this chapter, the earlier group from the late tenth through the early eleventh centuries coincides with the origins of the *charistike*, the outbreak of the first opposition to its use, and its relatively rapid degeneration into an abuse-prone program remarkably resistant to reform (see above, Chapter Two, Historical Context). Almost from the beginning our authors recognized the potential peril that the *charistike* posed for their foundations, and it surely was an important reason why, sometime after 993, Athanasios set aside his earlier commitment to monastic autonomy and self-governance and instead saw fit to embrace the protectorate in (14) *Ath. Testament* [4] ff. Other founders represented by the authors in our first group of documents did likewise.

3. Resistance of the *Charistike* to Reform

With the advantage of hindsight, it is easy to be as critical of the fateful decision of Patriarch Alexios Studites to attempt to reform rather than abolish the *charistike* in 1027–28 as it is to mock the naive disposition of contemporary founders to trust to the protectorate for protection from it. Even if we did not have the rather startling claim of John V the Oxite, Patriarch of Antioch, more commonly known as John of Antioch, that the *charistike* had been imposed on virtually all

¹⁰ For the *charistike*, see the works cited in the General Bibliography, XXIV: Monasticism and the *Charistike*.

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of the empire's monasteries by the late eleventh century,¹¹ the extreme difficulty and ultimate futility of Alexios Studites' attempt at reform can be demonstrated by comparing some of his regulations with information from the documents in this chapter.

Particularly useful in this connection is (19) *Attaleiates*, the only one of the documents in this chapter to mention the *charistike* specifically. Despite Alexios Studites' requirement that men were not to be granted a *charistike* over a convent of nuns,¹² (19) *Attaleiates* [19] records the author's son Theodore's status as second *charistikarios* of a convent of St. Prokopios at Rhaidestos which had been destroyed in a civil insurrection and rebuilt by the author. Alexios Studites had also instructed bishops to withhold monasteries that served as their own residences (i.e., *episkopeia*) from concession under the *charistike*,¹³ yet in (19) *Attaleiates* [19] we find the author is the owner of a church of the Archangel Michael in which the see of the bishop of Rhaidestos had once been located. In another regulation, the patriarch condemned local magnates who usurped the rights of public churches (*katholikai ekklesiai*) for their own private foundations,¹⁴ yet virtually simultaneously we find Nikodemos, the author of (18) *Nea Gephyra* [2], banning the local bishop and his clergy from this Peloponnesian foundation.

In one respect Alexios Studites' legislation appears to have had some success: (19) *Attaleiates* [19] carefully distinguishes the author's son Theodore's position as secondary beneficiary of the two institutions subordinated to and supported by his foundation. This suggests that a perpetual hereditary *charistike* had not succeeded in taking root some fifty years after Alexios forbade the original recipients to transfer their rights under the program to parties not named in the original grants of donation.¹⁵

4. Progress of the *Charistike* Discredits the Protectorate

The evidence suggests then that the fifty-year gap between the first and the second group of documents in this chapter saw not only a great expansion in the comprehensiveness of the *charistike* coupled with increasing unscrupulousness on the part of its beneficiaries but also a discrediting of the protectorate, as is evident in (24) *Christodoulos* [A16]. Indeed, the institution's ineffectiveness became manifest, and it has been suggested that the title of protector may have eventually become simply a euphemism for *charistikarios*.¹⁶ During this nightmarish interval, traditional patrons seeking to shield their foundations from the *charistike* had few options. As (18) *Nea Gephyra* [2] anticipates, a founder could appeal to the emperor as a guarantor of institutional independence, a stratagem actually employed by the stylite monk Lazarus in (9) *Galesios* [223],

¹¹ John of Antioch, *De monasteriis*, chap. 9, ed. P. Gautier, "Réquisitoire du patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat," *REB* 33 (1975), 109.

¹² Alexios Studites, *Hypomnema A'* (R&P 5.22); for another example of this, see Eustathios Rhomaios, *Peira* 15.16 (*JGR* 1.48 = Zepos, *Jus*, 4.54).

¹³ *Hypomnema B'* (R&P 5.30–31).

¹⁴ *Hypomnema B'* (R&P 5.31–32).

¹⁵ *Hypomnema A'* (R&P 5.22).

¹⁶ See Hélène Ahrweiler, "Charisticariat et autres formes d'attribution de fondations pieuses aux Xe–XIe siècles," *ZRVI* 10 (1967), 1–27, at 3; repr. *Études sur les structures administratives et sociales de Byzance* (London, 1971), art. VII.

or else the founder might seek to obtain imperial assistance in extricating a foundation from a mass of entangling legal appeals in secular courts as the Athonite monks did in (15) *Constantine IX*. Yet appeals to the emperors in this period were surely perilous, for they were the co-sponsors of the *charistike*, and, as time went on, increasingly liable to treat ecclesiastical property cavalierly, as the extensive confiscation of ecclesiastical revenues by Emperor Isaac I Komnenos (1057–1059) demonstrates.¹⁷

5. First Influences of the Monastic Reform Movement

The first document in the second group, (19) *Attaleiates*, not only shows some of the end results of a half-century of officially sanctioned depredations against the empire's traditional private religious foundations but also reflects some of the ideological ferment that was going on in contemporary reform circles. Although he himself was a traditionalist by instinct rather than a reformist ideologue, Attaleiates had observed and recorded the confiscations by Isaac I Komnenos some twenty years earlier.¹⁸ Like the contemporary authors of more reform-oriented documents such as (22) *Evergetis* [19], (23) *Pakourianos* [32], and (10) *Eleousa* [21], Attaleiates was sufficiently affected to assert [10] the irrevocability of the grants he had made to his foundation. He even uses the phrase “for that which has once been consecrated to God cannot be shared” which would become part of the credo of the monastic reform party: cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37]’s very similar “for what has once been consecrated to God must not be taken away.”

6. The Affair of Leo of Chalcedon

In 1077 this notion of inalienability was still a very controversial opinion, as the reformer Leo, metropolitan of Chalcedon, would discover some years later in 1086 when he provoked outrage by flatly condemning all alienations of consecrated property (except for those transferred under *epidosis*) in the course of his trial by Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) that then promptly led to the prelate's temporary deposition from office.¹⁹

The triggering incident that ultimately brought Leo to trial before the emperor was a clumsy expropriation of consecrated ecclesiastical property in Constantinople carried out by Alexios Komnenos' brother the *sebastokrator* Isaac in 1081.²⁰ In the course of a long struggle to get the imperial government to repudiate this action and perhaps make restitutions, Leo wrote to the emperor during the summer of 1082 urging an investigation based on the inventories (*brevia*) of

¹⁷ For Isaac Komnenos' requisitions, see Michael Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1853), pp. 60–62; Michael Psellos, *Chronographia* 7.60, ed. E. Renauld (Paris, 1926–28); and John Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum*, ed. M. Pinder, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1897), 18.5, along with the critical discussion of these sources by Ahrweiler, “Charisticariat,” pp. 20–21.

¹⁸ See Alexander Kazhdan and Simon Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1984), chap. 2: The Social Views of Michael Attaleiates, pp. 23–86, esp. 73–76.

¹⁹ See *Semeioma epi te kathairesei tou Chalkedonos*, ed. I. Sakkélion, “Décret d'Alexis Comnène portant déposition de Léon, Métropolitain de Chalcédoine,” *BCH* 2 (1878), 102–28, at 123–24.

²⁰ See especially Apostolos Glavinias, *He epi Alexiou Komnenou (1081–1118) peri hieron skeuon, keimelion kai hagion eikonon eris* (Thessaloniki, 1972), for a narrative of the controversy.

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the affected institutions.²¹ During the winter of 1083–84, the emperor agreed to this demand and announced plans for making good any losses detected in the course of this inquest. The existence of inventories like that included as part of (19) *Attaleiates* made such a demand possible; but not all private benefactors were willing to be bound in such an obvious way to the irrevocability of their donations even if, like Bishop Manuel of Stroumitza, the contemporary author of (10) *Eleousa*, they were willing [18] to endorse the concept in principle.

7. Revival of the Study of Canon Law

A renewed interest in canon law was another feature of the monastic reform towards the end of the eleventh century. Even an opponent of the reform movement like the Komnenian princess and historian Anna Komnene professed to respect canon law, and she for one could not resist criticizing (accurately) Leo of Chalcedon for his insufficient understanding of the canons.²² Therefore it is not entirely surprising to find even Attaleiates, who as a traditionalist private benefactor is hardly notable for his adherence to the letter of canon law, nevertheless appealing to it in (19) *Attaleiates* [9], wholly inaccurately maintaining that “no canon could be found which would sanction changing or transgressing the commandments of the founders.”

8. Recognition of the Sacral Character of Ecclesiastical Property

At about this same time in the 1070s, the enormously influential reform *typikon* (22) *Evergetis* was making bold to assert [37] that alienations of consecrated property were sacrilegious. As noted above, the use of the term “sacrilege” in this connection also turns up, of all places, in the imperial chrysobull of Nikephoros III Botaneiates dated to 1079 and included in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 11]. It would appear then that despite the indignant reception that Alexios Komnenos gave Leo of Chalcedon’s assertion at his trial that all alienations of consecrated property to laymen were “impious,” reform ideas had already penetrated into some seemingly unlikely places. This may be one of the factors which helps to explain the relatively rapid triumph of the reform party after the restoration of Leo to official favor in 1094 (see below, Chapter Four, Historical Context).

9. The Reformers’ Campaign against the *Charistike*

Until the triumph of the reform (which Attaleiates did not himself live to see), the *charistike* continued to pose a very serious threat to the autonomy of private religious foundations. In the meantime, by the 1070s founders of various ideological stripes had united in condemnation of that beleaguered program, including the traditionalist authors of (19) *Attaleiates* [8] and (10) *Eleousa* [18], both of whom gave only a reluctant endorsement to the independent and self-governing form of monastic organization that would dominate during the next century, and of course the reformers like the authors of (22) *Evergetis* [12] and (23) *Pakourianos* [3], who embraced it enthusiastically.

Simultaneously, the patriarchate of Constantinople was waging its own long, determined campaign to curtail abuses in the *charistike*, beginning with a few gestures under Patriarch Eustratios

²¹ Leo of Chalcedon, *Epistole pros ton basilea Alexion ton Komnenon*, ed. Alexandros Lavriotes, “Historikon zetema ekklesiastikon epi tes basileias Alexiou Komnenou,” *EA* 20 (1900), 403–4.

²² Anna Komnena, *Alexiad* 7.4, cf. 5.2, ed. B. Leib (Paris, 1937–76), vol. 2, pp. 101–2, 11–13; *Semeioma*, ed. Sakkélion, “Décret,” 102–28, at 123, n. 3 and 127, n. 2.

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Garidas (1081–1084), gathering considerable force under Nicholas III Grammatikos (1184–1111), and continuing under John IX Agapetus (1111–1134), backed by the support of Emperor Alexios Komnenos throughout.²³ A more cautious approach than that desired by ideologically motivated partisans like John of Antioch, it sought at first the reform rather than the overthrow of the *charistike*, though in the end that notorious program's demise was inevitable.

10. Revival of the Protectorate by the Reformers

The fairly sudden triumph of the reform party left its partisans with a colossal task of reconstituting a huge number of institutions wrecked by the *charistike* over the course of the previous century or longer. Just as Attaleiates found a use for a very different kind of protectorate to direct his private foundation in the declining years of the *charistike*, some reformers also began to experiment with a revival of the protectorate for their own purposes.

John of Antioch was one of Nikon of the Black Mountain's superiors as patriarch of Antioch (1089–1100). Perhaps it was under a mandate from him that Nikon served as spiritual corrector for the monastery and hospice represented by (21) *Roidion*. John had taken up the campaign of Leo of Chalcedon against imperial requisitions of ecclesiastical property, and was the author of the landmark reformist tract *De monasteriis*, a scathing critique of the *charistike*.²⁴ A layman, with the role if not also the title of protector, had been appointed by an unnamed local ruler to assist Nikon and provide for the physical needs of the foundation. Despite this assistance, Nikon experienced considerable difficulty in instituting a reform at *Roidion*, a foundation that he judged to have been practically ruined by "spiritually destroyed" officials, worldly monks, and their lay relatives. The foundation's monks appear to have abandoned cenobiticism for a kelliotic or idiorhythmic lifestyle in which they neither prayed together nor shared meals. They did divide up the foundation's assets into individual, hereditary shares like monastic "fellowships" or benefices, which the Byzantines knew as *adelphata*.²⁵ How this foundation had come upon this state of affairs cannot be determined from (21) *Roidion*, but one possibility is that a recently removed *charistikarios* had joined with the monks and other residents in splitting up the hospice's assets into individual benefices.

As this document indicates, the protectorate, which had had a most unpromising beginning as a generally ineffective defense against the *charistike*, was to have a second life as a useful adjunct to the independent and self-governing monasteries of the twelfth and later centuries (see below, Chapters Five and Six).

²³ For the patriarchal reform, see the documents assembled by Jean Darrouzès, "Dossier sur le charisticariat," in *Polychronion: Festschrift Franz Dölger* (Heidelberg, 1966), pp. 150–65, and my own *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 199–213.

²⁴ John of Antioch, *De monasteriis*, ed. Gautier, "Réquisitoire," 77–132.

²⁵ For the *adelphata* and other analogues to ecclesiastical benefices, see Emil Herman, "Bénéfices dans l'église orientale," *DDC*, vol. 2, cols. 706–35, and "Zum kirchlichen Benefizialwesen im byzantinischen Reich," *SBN* 5 (1939), 657–71.

16. *Mount Tmolos: Typikon* of Nikephoros Erotikos
for the Monastery of the Mother of God and the Old Age Home
called *Ta Derma* on Mount Tmolos

Date: 975–1000¹

Translator: John Thomas

Edition employed: Thomas Drew-Bear and Johannes Koder, “Ein byzantinisches Kloster am Berg Tmolos,” *JÖB* 38 (1988), 197–215 at 203–4, 209–10.

Source: Two original inscriptions found *in situ*.²

Other translations: German, by Koder, in Drew-Bear and Koder, “Berg Tmolos,” pp. 213–14.

Institutional History

The foundation was located to the west of Lydian Philadelphia (modern Alasehir) on Mount Tmolos (modern Boz Däg), where the ruins are to be found.³ Aside from the testimony of the document itself, nothing else is known about the history of this foundation.

Analysis

Despite its very incomplete state, in most respects this is very much a typical monastic foundation document of its era. Like most of the other documents in this chapter, its author Nikephoros Erotikos resorts to the use of the *ephoreia* to assure the protection and preservation of the foundation. The officials are titled as curators [4] (*kouratores*) and administrators (*epitropoi*), the latter being the same title chosen by Athanasios the Athonite in (14) *Ath. Testament*. [4], [6], a contemporary document of the late tenth century, to honor his protectors (*ephoroi*). As in (19) *Attaleiates* [23], the foundation’s officers are obliged [4] to render financial accounts to the protectors. The context of a reference to an assembly of the monks cannot be determined, though in (14) *Ath. Testament* [12], [14] the monks were assembled for the determination of a new superior by Lavra’s local administrator and the leading monks. The popularity of the Mother of God as a dedicatee finds parallels in contemporary documents like (7) *Latros*, (8) *John Xenos*, and (18) *Nea Gephyra* and will become very much more common by the end of the next century, e.g., (10) *Eleousa*, (21) *Roidion*, (22) *Evergetis*, (23) *Pakourianos*, etc. Like some of his contemporaries and many later patrons, Nikephoros thought it prudent to set [2] limits on the number of residents: not more than 12 monks (excluding the superior), 12 elderly patients, and 4 assistants for the old age home. Finally, the document concludes with a curse [5] against transgressors of the regulations, a common feature of documents composed in the late tenth and the early eleventh centuries when the peril posed to religious foundations from the *charistike* and other public management programs was especially great.

In some respects, however, Nikephoros’ *typikon* is relatively idiosyncratic. Unlike all of our

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other documents except for (18) *Nea Gephyra*, (16) *Mount Tmolos* has been preserved as a monumental inscription. This practice, possibly a holdover from late antiquity, fades away in the course of the eleventh century when the emphasis changed to assuring the preservation of foundation documents in manuscript through such practices as making both working and reference copies, depositing additional copies at other secure sites, etc.

Also, unlike all of its contemporary documents, this text is associated with a philanthropic foundation as well as a monastery, and the first of the Byzantine monastic foundation documents with this claim to fame. As such it deserves to be seen as an early forerunner of (19) *Attaleiates*, written for a Constantinopolitan foundation that included an almshouse at Rhaidestos in 1077, with (23) *Pakourianos* that includes provisions for three hostels in 1083, and with (21) *Roidion*, written for an admittedly unregenerate foundation that included a hospice, also towards the end of the eleventh century. Among our twelfth-century documents will be found provisions for two more old age homes, in (28) *Pantokrator* [58] ff. and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [70].

Notes on the Introduction

1. So Drew-Bear and Koder, "Berg Tmolos," p. 207, based on the prosopographical evidence.
2. Drew-Bear and Koder, "Berg Tmolos," p. 214, surmise that the block on which the first inscription was carved served as a lintel for the gate of the *katholikon* of the monastery's church, while the block on which the second inscription was carved was set to the right. They speculate that there was once also a third inscribed block, perhaps containing the date of the foundation; this would presumably have been located on the left side of the gate.
3. See Drew-Bear and Koder, "Berg Tmolos," p. 197.

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No additional bibliography has appeared since the publication of the document in 1988.

Translation

Inscription 1

[1.] + Nikephoros Erotikos, imperial *protospatharios epi ton oikeiakon*.¹ + In the name of Jesus Christ our Lord I have built this spiritual fold of the all-holy and ever Virgin Mary Mother of God from the foundations out of God-provided gifts and also the old age home in it called thus *Ta Derma*. I enjoin those of my own time and those (who will come) after me sharing in their protection and authority, that not more than twelve monks will be chosen and tonsured aside from the superior. Not to be exceeded . . .

Inscription 2

[2.] [. . . in the old age home] the number of the [sick]
[and needy] elderly [will be] twelve (?); and the number of those [stationed as assistants] in service of them [will be] four. [This number (will not be exceeded?) except] on account of some necessity having occurred.

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[3.] [. on the one hand,] the assembly of the monks
[. without] certainly the superior. On the other
[the elderly . . . internally] to rejuvenate [themselves] and at the same time to renew . . .
[p. 204]
[.] you will preserve.

[4.] + To this (end)
[I will impose upon all² the] curators³ and lay ad[ministrators⁴] [in my time and after me]
[. . . to take care] of the administration and [
[.] and you will render accounts to the *eph[oroi]* (?)⁵

[5.] [If anyone should dare] to transgress [the commands] and [hold in contempt the canons of the monastery,] let [this one] be accursed and cut off [from the community of all] the worshippers of the [Father and the] Son and the Holy Spirit [and placed among those who shouted] “Away, away, crucify [him]!” (John 19: 15) +

Notes on the Translation

1. Drew-Bear and Koder, “Berg Tmolos,” pp. 206–7, suggest this individual is identical to an individual of the same name who was the brother-in-law of the eparch Theophilos and a teacher of geometry during the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos (944–959); in 969, this Nikephoros Erotikos served as an ambassador to Bulgaria for Nikephoros Phokas, for which see Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 718.
2. Koder translates here: “darüber hinaus [trage] ich allen.”
3. *kouratores*; cf. Ihor Ševčenko, “Inscription Commemorating Sisinnios, ‘Curator’ of Tzurulon (A.D. 813),” *Byzantion* 35 (1965), 564–74.
4. *epitropoi*; cf. (14) *Ath. Testament* [4]–[7], [10], [12]–[17].
5. Koder translates: “und sie zu betrachten als ihre Aufseher(?)”

Document Notes

- [1] Limitation on the number of monks. Cf. (9) *Galesios* [246], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [37], (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [6], (19) *Attaleiates* [27], (27) *Kecharitomene* [5], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [48], (30) *Phoberos* [42], (32) *Mamas* [5], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5], but cf. (22) *Evergetis* [23].
- [2] Limitation on the number of patients and their assistants. Cf. (28) *Pantokrator* [36], [38]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [61], [70]; (39) *Lips* [50], [51].
- [3] Responsibilities of the monastic assembly. Cf. (12) *Tzimiskes* [Preface], [27]; (14) *Ath. Testament* [12], [14]; (15) *Constantine IX* [13], [14], [15].
- [4] Governance of the foundation. In (19) *Attaleiates* [4], [23] the protector likewise has ultimate authority over the foundation’s financial affairs, but note the superior’s exemption from financial accountability to his monks in (22) *Evergetis* [18], as well as the denial to lay protectors of the right to demand financial accounts in (27) *Kecharitomene* [3], (32) *Mamas* [3], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [3] during the monastic reform era.
- [5] Curse on transgressors. Cf. (8) *John Xenos* [2]; (9) *Galesios* [246]; (10) *Eleousa* [19]; (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [5]; (18) *Nea Gephyra* [4]; (19) *Attaleiates* [8], [23], [46]; (22) *Evergetis* [12]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [B14].

17. *Nikon Metanoeite: Testament of Nikon the Metanoeite
for the Church and Monastery of the Savior, the Mother of God,
and St. Kyriake in Lakedaimon*

Date: after 997¹

Translator: Anastasius Bandy

Edition employed: Od. Lampsidis, *Ho ek Pontou hosios Nikon ho Metanoeite* (Athens, 1982) (= *Archeion Pontou*, Supplement 13), pp. 252–56, with commentary, 452–65.

Manuscript: Lost ms. of uncertain date, once at the Monastery of the Forty Martyrs in Lakedaimon.²

Other translations: None

Institutional History

A *Life* of Nikon the Metanoeite, “You Should Repent,” is preserved in two somewhat different manuscripts.³ Sullivan (*Life*, p. 7) concludes that the anonymous author, who claims to have been a later superior of the monastery of Nikon, wrote the *Life* from which both of these versions are descended in the middle of the eleventh century, possibly in the year 1042, and that he may have known the founder personally. The *Life* notes Nikon’s place of birth as Pontian Polemoniake, i.e., in the Armeniakon theme; Sullivan (*Life*, p. 18) reckons that he was born circa 930–935. While still a boy, he became a monk at the monastery of Chryse Petra (between the ancient provinces of Pontus and Paphlagonia), where he lived for twelve years. After Nikephoros Phokas’ reconquest of Crete in 961, he went to that island to assist in the reconversion of its population,⁴ spending seven years there. He arrived in Greece circa 968 (so Sullivan, *Life*, p. 19). After visiting several cities, including Athens, Thebes, Corinth, Argos, and Naupaktos, he arrived in Lakedaimon (Sparta), “probably about 970,” according to Sullivan.

The account of the construction of Nikon’s foundation at Sparta in the hagiographic *Life* is somewhat different from that found in (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* below. The presumed dependency of the former on the latter remains to be demonstrated. The *Life* mentions one of the anonymous author’s predecessors as superior, a certain Gregory, who is said to have obtained chrysobulls and other documents from an unnamed emperor guaranteeing Nikon’s foundation “total security” and freedom from “evil designs.”⁵ The vague wording nevertheless suggests Gregory obtained an independent and self-governing charter for the foundation along with immunity from taxation. Using money donated by a repentant imperial tax collector who earlier had abused the foundation’s monks, Gregory also purchased sacred vessels for the church and undertook interior and exterior renovations. Later, the imperial official Antiochos is said to have attempted to secularize a dependency of the monastery, converting it into an inn, for which outrage he paid with his life.⁶ Perhaps the official actually wished to put the dependency under the *charistike*. Finally, the *Life* records how Nikon posthumously avenged the assault of the local landowner Michael Choirosphaktes on

the monastery's embattled dependency, then under the supervision of a certain Zosimos.⁷ These episodes are all thought to have occurred in the first half of the eleventh century during the lifetime of Nikon's anonymous hagiographer.

The holy man became the object of a healing cult at this time too, and there are numerous representations of him in Greek churches, including at Hosios Loukas.⁸ The subsequent history of the foundation is unknown, however. Some seventy years ago, the British School at Athens discovered the ruins of a large church dated to the end of the tenth century and various other structures from the eleventh century on the Spartan acropolis within the Romano-Byzantine retaining wall, but their identification with Nikon's foundation has been contested.⁹

Analysis

This document was composed at a crucial turning point in the history of Byzantine monasticism just as the use of the *charistike* by the public authorities was becoming widespread. It shows that the founder Nikon had an awareness of potential patronal abuses and that he also showed sympathy with what one might term "pre-reform" sentiments, e.g., his condemnation of resident lay appointees (*esomonitai*) [5] and gratuities (*kaniskia*) [9] for clerical appointments. Nevertheless, Nikon was essentially complacent about entrusting his foundation's welfare to public officials in a protectorate.

A. Foundation History

Nikon's *Testament* begins with an extended foundation history full of hagiographic elements and folklore (cf. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [75]). This section provides some valuable insights into how a holy man, local benefactors, and imperial officials negotiated their interests in the erection and governance of a private religious foundation towards the end of the tenth century. Here, Nikon, actively solicited by the "leading men" (*archontes*) of Lakedaimon for his presumed powers of soliciting divine intervention to end a devastating plague, drove a bargain with them that required the expulsion of the local Jewish community and the demolition of slaughterhouses in the vicinity of a local church.¹⁰ After the plague passed, Nikon announced plans to build a church in honor of the Savior, the Mother of God and St. Kyriake in thanksgiving for the divine deliverance. In this *Testament*, Nikon appears to usurp the role long reserved by both canon and imperial law for the local bishop by leading a procession from the cathedral church (*katholikon*) to the site of the church where a cross stood.¹¹ In the *Life*, however, the participation of the local bishop Theopemptos in the inaugural procession and the church's consecration is acknowledged.¹² The erection of the church is presented in both sources as a collaborative enterprise to which villagers, soldiers, local aristocrats and imperial officials contributed. There was also opposition, both serious and trivial.¹³ Spolia were utilized for building materials for the church as well as for other secular dwellings.

B. Lives of the Monks

A short list of regulatory provisions follows the foundation history. Given the need to reward the diverse patronage of this foundation, it is not surprising that the performance of memorial services for all associated in the building of the church assumes [1] first place among Nikon's regulations. Later, Nikon specifically mentions [4] the emperor, the local military governor (*strategos*) and

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judge (*krites*), and lord Basil Apokaukos—perhaps the most important individual benefactor—as deserving liturgical commemoration. The foundation’s superior was responsible [13] for celebrating the dominical feast days and for providing illumination of the church. Nikon limits [13] the number of resident monks to five, of which two [6] were priests, though there were evidently other personnel [11] stationed at the foundation’s dependencies.

C. Administrative Matters

After Nikon’s death, a protectorate (*ephoreia*) was to be instituted [2] for the governance of the foundation. The governor and the judge would serve in the capacity of protectors although the term *ephoros* itself is not used here. This service entitled them to nominal honorary gifts of wine and fruit. Nikon concedes [8] lifetime tenure specifically to two of his colleagues as well as to the resident monks [6] generally; after their deaths, however, the protectors along with unspecified local magistrates were to appoint [6] the resident priests and monks who would likewise serve for life unless they proved [9] to be of bad character. The protectors would also appoint the superior [13]. There is no mention of a role for the local ecclesiastical hierarchy in these matters.

The protectors were responsible [12] for preserving Nikon’s arrangements and for upholding the moral character of the foundation’s residents, a matter of special concern since it was located in the midst of a marketplace. The protectors were also not to make [9] appointments to the foundation for the sake of gratuities (*kaniskia* and *parakaleseis*), and outsiders (*esomonitai* are meant here) were not to be imposed [5] upon the foundation as unwanted lodgers. These provisions demonstrate that Nikon already had some awareness of abuses that would become more troublesome and commonplace during the next century.

Nikon chose to subordinate [10] two earlier churches he had founded along with their revenues to this new foundation, making them dependencies (*metochia*). The five resident priests and monks were to be responsible [11] for governing and caring for the staff of these dependent institutions.

D. Financial Matters

This was a somewhat atypical foundation, at least within the context of those described in the documents in our collection, in that no one great patron was responsible for its erection and financing its endowment. Future donations [3] were also welcomed. One of the foundation’s protectors, the governor, had probably earned his position by donating [13] the village of Perissos, along with its inhabitants, to the foundation. Despite his generally trusting attitude towards the imperial authorities, Nikon was careful to note [3] that any future bequests should go directly to the resident priests and monks, not through the protectors or other public officials. The implication is that the foundation’s officials are to handle their own financial affairs (cf. [10], [11]).

E. External Relations

Nikon urges [14] that the foundation’s peasant dependents be left “undisturbed.” He entrusts [Conclusion] some local noblemen rather than the protectors with the safekeeping of his *Testament*. In keeping with contemporary usage, there is a curse [5] on transgressors.

TENTH CENTURY

Notes on the Introduction

1. The document is presumed to date from shortly before Nikon's death, which is itself reckoned to have taken place towards the end of the tenth century (see *Vita S. Niconis*, chap. 44, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, p. 150) a "sufficient time" after events that can be dated to 996 and 997; see Sullivan, *Life*, p. 19.
2. See the discussion in Lampsides, *Nikon ho Metanoëite*, pp. 246–49.
3. These are Halkin, *BHG* 1366, based on codex Koutloumousiacus 210 (1630 A.D.) (= K), ed. Lampsides, *Nikon ho Metanoëite*, pp. 161–240, and *BHG* 1367, based on Vaticanus Barberini graecus 583 (15th c.) (= B), ed. Lampsides, pp. 14–159, with a reprint of the sixteenth-century Latin translation by J. Sirmond. Summary of *Vita B* in Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Grèce," pp. 350–65. Sullivan, *Life*, has produced a text based on a collation of K and B along with an English translation. For the interrelationships of K and B and their use of the *Vita Lucae Junioris* (Halkin, *BHG* 994), see Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 1–23, and "Versions," pp. 161–73.
4. See Voulgarakis, "Rechristianisierung," pp. 192–98.
5. *Vita*, chap. 58, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 184–90.
6. *Vita*, chap. 59, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 190–94.
7. *Vita*, chaps. 60–61, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 194–202.
8. See Drandakes, "Eikonographika," pp. 306–19, and Maguire, "Healing," pp. 8–9.
9. See Bon, *Péloponnèse byzantin*, p. 70, with references in n. 1, cf. 140.
10. See also *Vita*, chaps. 33–34, 35, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 110–14, 118–24; for the local Jewish community, see Bowman, "Jewish Settlement," pp. 131–46, and Starr, *Jews*, pp. 167–68.
11. For *stauropēgia*, see G. Oesterle, "De monasterio stauropēgiaco," *Il diritto ecclesiastico* 64 (1953), 450–60.
12. *Vita*, chaps. 35, 38, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 116, 132.
13. See also *Vita*, chap. 39, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 134–40.

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17. NIKON METANOEITE

Translation

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen.

[Foundation History]

As God and the all-holy Mother of God wished, they did bring me to Peloponnesos, where I taught for two years,¹ during the time of lord Nicholas the Judge. When I came to Amykleion, I proclaimed the divine words.² At that time the leading men of Lakedaimon assembled in the church of St. Barbara and told me that such a plague had fallen upon Lakedaimon that “we are unable to bury the dead. Therefore, make every effort to come yourself, [and be] with us, otherwise even we ourselves are going to depart from there.” I answered them that, “since, in fact, the anger is from God, you cannot escape because God, who dwells in the heavens, holds sway over both the East and the West and to whatever place you wish to go he will find you. However, on your part, make an agreement with me written by your own hand to the effect that you will obey me in those things that I am about to do, which is this: I [will] expel the Jews from the area³ so that they [will] depart and tear down the slaughter houses which are in the vicinity of St. Epiphany and that they slaughter on Saturday and observe the feast of Sunday. Then I, too, will make an agreement with you written by my own hand to the effect that no one will die.”

The people heeded me and loved me as incense and I remained at the church of St. Barbara along with the sacristan and the rest of the people for fifteen days and nights. God covered my sins and all were set free from the plague. After this we made a religious procession to the marketplace,⁴ there where the cross was standing. And I set up a small seat on which I ascended and proclaimed the divine words and not my own. I preached words like these: “Since God heeded me and all of you have been set free from the plague, you should know that here a church is going to be built in the name of the Savior, of the Mother of God, and of St. Kyriake.” Again on another day we held a religious procession from the cathedral church, and as I was going out, I took a rock on my back which [p. 252] I carried and placed on the cross.⁵ At that time I preached to all the people who were present at the religious procession to the effect that “let everyone who loves the Savior, the Mother of God, and St. Kyriake do whatever I do in order that this church may be built.” God then rendered his assistance and all, young and old, heeded me and all brought rocks so that I buried the cross up to the middle with light rock. All the able women filled it up to the top.

One man,⁶ however, was found at that time who wanted to hinder the church from being built at that place which I had indicated. God knows that I neither cursed that man nor held anything against him, yet he happened to die. The leading men, however, in order that they might play *tzounganion*, did not let me build the church.⁷ I implored them, saying to them that “I do not want anything else from you but merely five beams in order that I may build arches and that you may go under [the arches] without being impeded from playing *tzounganion* and that the church stand above.” These leading men gave me five beams. Just as soon as I went from the cathedral church to the designated place where the church was going to be built, I found twenty-five beams and rocks that were large and suitable.⁸ Some of the leading men, however, attempted to take the stone for their own use and they were unable. It was God’s will and all [stones] found their way into the church, and through a dream almighty God, whenever a stone pleased him, disclosed it to the men and they brought it.

TENTH CENTURY

At the base of the cross there were demons, as many as a bushel, resembling wasps.⁹ These demons struck two men and threw them to the ground, but by God's help they were healed and the demons fled. By the time that the church was built up to the ground floor, the feast day of St. Kyriake had arrived. Then I implored the senior priest to perform the liturgy. He came and performed the liturgy. While he was performing the liturgy, the wasps came and fell in front of the senior priest and me. When, however, the time came for the senior priest to read the gospel, all the wasps fled [p. 253] and went to the bank of the river.

When the builders were ready to build, it was necessary for me to remain close to the building, who, sinner though I am, nevertheless knew beforehand up to where the church was going to extend and thus, taking bricks, I began to build. Some people from the villages were telling me that a star had descended from the sky and was standing over the church, which I did not believe. Consequently, I went to the venerable cross and stopped there and saw the star just as the villagers had been telling me and I became fully convinced. The church was built, and when we had set up the dome, I went to the cathedral church where I stayed for two evenings. It was so dark that no one could see anyone. I saw three stars which came and fell upon the church. From their falling there appeared such a great light that even the villages became visible from the light of the stars. I summoned also the sacristan and he saw the light which had appeared. I too saw the signs which God was making, and I marveled and worked hard with my whole soul for the church.

At Sampson there were two columns, one of which lord Malakenos¹⁰ took so that he might take it to his house. I implored him and he gave it to me. Lord Rhontakios also attempted [to take] the other column with the aid of a hundred men and he was unable, but I took fifteen [men] and went and brought it there where the other one was. All marveled that, whereas one hundred [men] were unable to bring it, fifteen [men] with the help of the Savior were able to take it. Even I often used one beam for construction and the next day I would find two. Again I used two and I would find four.

Lime ran short and a man from Sthlavochorion¹¹ came and promised me four bushels. That night the Savior came down to him who had the lime and said to him, "This night I am taking your soul." The man who had the lime said to the Savior, "Sir, who are you?" He answered and said to him, "I am the Savior, [p. 254] whose divine structure [Nikon, surnamed] 'Repent' is building in the marketplace of Lakedaimon. You promised him only four bushels of lime, but you promised a small amount since you have a house full. If, however, you do what is good for you, bring as much lime as you have and fire up still two more [lime] kilns." That man, just as soon as he woke up, said, "Pity me, Master, and I shall give as much lime as I have and fire up two more kilns." The Savior again came to me and says to me, "Arise, start building because I have taken care of your concern for lime and do not grieve. Arise then and see at daybreak how much lime is coming and clear out a house so that you may put it [there]." I put it in the house and I built. I fired up fifty more kilns.

Believe me that God did not let me procure wood in order to fire up the [lime] kiln, for a man was found and he gave me wood. Then I got workmen and began building with what God had sent and what was given to the church, which I was eager to turn over to the Savior so that I might not have him as an opponent on the Day of Judgment.

17. NIKON METANOEITE

[Testamentary Provisions]

[1.] May God remember all those who associated together with me for the building of the church, and let the priest who performs liturgy in this church, should this priest perhaps not commemorate them, give an account on the Day of Judgment before the fearful Judge.

[2.] Further, it is my wish that after my death the *strategos*¹² and the judge who are going to be appointed exercise authority over this church, getting from it five measures of wine and one basket of apples, because I built this church with the help of the *strategoï*, the soldiers, and the judges.

[3.] If, however, anyone should perhaps wish to make a bequest to the church or to its houses, let neither the *protonotarios* nor the tax collector nor any public official nor *strategos* nor the judge accept this, but let this [bequest] be accepted by those who are in the church, that is, the fathers and priests, in order that they may remain undisturbed and may live in peace and love.

[4.] Let them also commemorate the [p. 255] emperor and the *strategos* and the judge who have dealings with the church, and much more, lord Basil Apokaukos.

[5.] Whoever should violate this word of mine or this injunction of mine, the sinner, and should lodge at the church or at its houses and should bother the monks who inhabit this church or the priests, let him be anathematized by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.

[6.] Further, it is my wish that there be in the church two priests and that the resident monks and the priests in this church not be bothered but be allowed to bear fruit for their souls just as they were doing during my lifetime.

[7.] Whenever, however, either a monk or a priest should be gone from the church, let them not appoint to it a man who is useless, but let them install one who has moral excellence and piety.

[8.] Further, it is my wish and my order that the priest Gabriel and the monk Hilarion, who are together with me and served me, remain in the church undisturbed and unimpeded by anyone throughout their lifetimes. After their deaths, however, let the *strategos* and the judge together with the local magistrates appoint any able men, priests and monks they may find.

[9.] Let the aforesaid not install in the church, through gifts and requests, either priests or monks. But should perhaps even those who have been appointed prove to be bad, let others who are good be appointed.

[10.] Let all the revenues of the churches of Sthlavochorion and Parorion, which I built, that is, the dependencies along with their incomes, be stored up and collected in the church of the Savior, not only the yield of the vineyards and small farms and olive trees, but also the yield of fruit-bearing and non-fruit-bearing trees.

TENTH CENTURY

[11.] Let the monks and the priests who are at the Savior do the governing and have the care of those who are settled in the dependencies.

[12.] Let the *strategos* and the judge at the time be bound by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by me, the sinner, to keep all those things such as I have defined and preserve them accurately. I mean that they see to it that the monks and priests be men who are able and unimpeachable, attested by good men, since my church is located [p. 256] in the middle of the market-place.

[13.] Further, I order that the superior who would be appointed by the *strategos* and judge celebrate all the feast days of the Savior and do the illumination [of the church]. From the surplus, however, of the revenue let only five brothers be nourished, Father Theodore Xylanthropos and four others.

[14.] Those who work in the church, that is, the [inhabitants] of the village of Perissos, which the saintly *strategos* gave me, I wish to be untouched and undisturbed by anyone.

[Conclusion]

Whatever, however, the *strategos* and the judge should do after the death of me, the sinner, let God too do to them at the Day of Judgment.

Whoever should ignore these words of mine, the sinner, let the Savior and the all-holy Mother of God repay him for this.

I adjure by God the imperial *protospatharios* and lord Demetrios, the *protospatharios*, that these two keep possession of my testament, which they are to seal with a leaden seal and guard it so that God may guide them in order that all these things which I have sketched in the quire may be preserved.

Notes on the Translation

1. Probably 968–70.
2. Cf. account in the *Vita*, chap. 33, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 110–12.
3. See the discussion in Bowman, “Jewish Settlement,” pp. 132–33, and Starr, “Jews,” pp. 167–68; the *Vita*, chap. 35, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 118–24, notes the objection of John Aratos, a member of the local nobility, to the expulsion.
4. Cf. the rather different account in the *Vita*, chap. 35, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 114–18, in which Theopemptos the local bishop takes part.
5. In the parallel account in the *Vita*, chap. 38, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, p. 132, the local bishop once again takes part.
6. Perhaps an allusion to John Aratos and his fate, for which see the *Vita*, chap. 35, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 122–24.
7. Cf. the more elaborate and confrontational story in the *Vita*, chap. 39, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 134–40.
8. Cf. the account in the *Vita*, chap. 36, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, p. 124.
9. In the *Vita*, chap. 36, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 124–26, the wasps come from underneath a large stone after its removal for use in construction of the church.
10. John Malakenos, said in the *Vita*, chap. 43, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 148–50, to have been denounced for

17. NIKON METANOEITE

disloyalty to Basil II but encouraged by Nikon to go to accept his summons to Constantinople where Nikon predicted his loyalty would be vindicated.

11. Location of one of the foundation's two dependencies; see [10] below.
12. Perhaps the *strategos* Gregory mentioned in the *Vita*, chaps. 39 and 40, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 136, 140, to whom Nikon predicted the fate of Bardas Skleros, probably in 987 (so Sullivan, p. 19).

Document Notes

- [1] Memorial services for builders of church not to be neglected. See also [4] and [7] below. Cf. the modest request in the contemporary (14) *Ath. Testament* [21]; later documents, e.g., (29) *Kosmosoteira* [64], [68], [72], echo the urgency seen here as engagements for memorial services became more important as a founder's right and as a funding device.
- [2] Designation of the protectors; their honoraria. For their commemorations and appointment rights, see [4] and [8] below. Nikodemos, author of (18) *Nea Gephyra* [2], likewise names the incumbents of these offices as the protectors of his foundation.
- [3] Entitlement of resident priests and monks to future bequests. That is to say, the protectors are not to handle the foundation's finances or retain any of the income for themselves, both of which the protector was to do in (19) *Attaleiates* [24], [33].
- [4] Commemorations of the emperor, the protectors, and lord Apokauchos. See also [1] above. The emperor is Basil II. The last-named individual is presumably the foundation's primary benefactor, a Byzantine governor at Corinth, mentioned in the *Vita*, chap. 40, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 140–42, to whose side Nikon rushed in 996 when he fell ill at the time of a threatened Bulgarian raid on the Peloponnesos.
- [5] Imposition of residents prohibited. The reference is to *esomonitai*, sometimes also known as *katapemptoi* or "imposed guests," individuals whom a monastery was obliged to support. These were adamantly rejected in most *typika* written for reform monasteries such as (27) *Kecharitomene* [53], (32) *Mamas* [26], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26], and (34) *Machairas* [11]; but see their toleration in (24) *Christodoulos* [B15], (28) *Pantokrator* [28], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [107], [117].
- [6] Number of priests; lifetime tenure for all residents. See also [8] and [13] below. For tenure of office for officials in a contemporary document, see (14) *Ath. Testament* [11].
- [7] Monks and priests to designate replacements during their absences. Perhaps this is intended to keep the performance of commemorative services from lapsing; see [1] above.
- [8] Priest Gabriel and monk Hilarion to have lifetime tenure; protectors' and local magistrates' rights of appointment. See [6] above for general concession of lifetime tenure. Later protectors were disallowed such appointment rights under the influence of the monastic reform: see (27) *Kecharitomene* [3], (32) *Mamas* [3], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [3].
- [9] Protectors and magistrates not to make simoniacal appointments. Priests and monks are not to be installed in exchange for gifts (*kaniskia*) or in response to requests (*parakaleseis*). Later, independent monasteries in the reform tradition would face the difficult question of the acceptability of entrance gifts given directly to the institution: see (22) *Evergetis* [37] and related documents.
- [10] Revenues of the dependencies to be stored in the main church. Cf. the discussion of the agricultural enterprise supporting one of these dependencies in the *Vita*, chap. 60, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 194–200. The economic subordination of dependencies to the principal monastery is the usual administrative procedure; see (28) *Pantokrator* [64].
- [11] Officials of the main church to administer the dependencies. That is to say, the administrators should not be laymen; see treatment of this issue in (22) *Evergetis* [34] and related documents. The *Vita*, chap. 60, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, p. 198, mentions the old monk Zosimos, the resident administrator of one of these dependencies.
- [12] Protectors obliged to preserve the founder's arrangements, guard the community's morality. Generally protectors were not allowed to change administrative procedures, but see (32) *Mamas* [15], cf. [3]. For

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a similar fear of proximity to a marketplace as is shown here, see (19) *Attaleiates* [30].

[13] Use of the foundation's revenues by the superior. For celebration of feasts, see (22) *Evergetis* [11]; for fixed illumination requirements, see (28) *Pantokrator* [29], [34]. For the maintenance of a fixed number of brothers, see [6], [7], and [8] above and (16) *Mount Tmolos* [2]. Note allusion to the protectors' right to appoint the superior; cf. (13) *Ath. Testament* [12] and (19) *Attaleiates* [26], [29].

[14] Villagers working for the church to be undisturbed. The implication is that the peasants should not be treated like chattel or have new burdens placed on them; cf. (9) *Galesios* [246] and, for the most extensive treatment of this issue, (29) *Kosmosoteira* [71], [76], [103]. See also the considerable sympathy for the sufferings of the peasants at one of the monastery's dependencies in the *Vita*, chap. 60, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 194–200.

18. *Nea Gephyra*: Testament of Nikodemos for the Monastery of *Nea Gephyra* near Lakedaimon

Date: May 1, 1027

Translator: Stephen Reinert

Edition employed: D. Feissel and A. Philippidis-Braat, “Inventaires en vue d’un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance. III. Inscriptions du Péloponnèse (à l’exception de Mistra),” *T&M* 9 (1985), 267–396, at 301–2.

Manuscript: Parisinus, supplément grec 855, fol. 10, a transcription made by Michel Fourmont in 1730 of an inscription on a now lost column found *in situ*.¹

Other translations: French, by A. Philippidis-Braat, in Feissel and Philippidis-Braat, “Inscriptions,” 302–3.

Institutional History

The foundation was dedicated to Jesus Christ (see [1]), perhaps with the appellation *Nea Gephyra* or “New Bridge.” (29) *Kosmosoteira* [67] provides an illustration of other bridges associated with a monastery, including one dedicated to the Mother of God and marked with her image. There is also another example of a Greek monastery in southern Italy acquiring a bridge in 1125.² Aside from the testimony of this document, nothing else is known about the history of this foundation.

Analysis

The author of this unique document, an inscription defining the status of a monastery church established to protect a newly erected bridge built over the Eurotas River, followed contemporary fashion of the early eleventh century in setting up [3] a protectorate (an *ephoreia*) to govern his foundation, though the term itself is not used. Nikodemos sought to secure [2] imperial protection for his foundation by obtaining for it a recognition of its independence (*autexousion*). Like the author of (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* [2] a generation earlier, of whose example he may have been aware, he relied more directly on the good will of the local judge (*krites*) and the military governor (*strategos*). These officials were entitled either jointly or acting individually to appoint [3] a superior for the monastery from among the monks and, if necessary, remove him from office as well. Nikodemos required only that an outsider (i.e., a *xenokourites*)³ not be chosen as superior, which even at this early date was recognized as a potential danger to an institution’s independence. Generally speaking, however, our author was unsophisticated about contemporary perils to private religious foundations, as when he declares [3], with quaint naiveté, that “Whatever the emperor, judge and general do regarding the church, let [their actions] find [favor] with God.” Nikodemos’ confidence placed in the good will of the emperor and his local representatives did not extend to others, however. In defiance (or more likely, ignorance) of canon law, Nikodemos denies [2] the local bishop and his clergy any rights at all in the church. In an attitude typical of

ELEVENTH CENTURY

private benefactors, they are told “not even to set foot in it.” The document concludes [4] with the traditional curse on anyone who might dare to subvert the founder’s prescriptions.

Notes on the Introduction

1. See Curtius, *CIG*, vol. 4, no. 8704, pp. 327–28, and Philippidis-Braat, in Feissel and Philippidis-Braat, “Inscriptions,” p. 302.
2. Francisco Trinchera, *Syllabus graecarum membranarum* (Naples, 1865), no. 98, p. 126; see discussion in Millet, “Église et pont,” p. 105.
3. See (13) *Ath. Typikon* [21]–[29] and (19) *Attaleiates* [30].

Bibliography

- Curtius, Johann Wilhelm, and Kirchhoff, Adolph, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1877), pp. 327–28.
- Millet, G., “Église et pont à Byzance,” *Byzantina-Metabyzantina* 1.2 (1949), 103–11.
- Zakythinos, D. A., “Kastron Lakedaimonos,” *Hellenika* 15 (1957), 97–111.

Translation

[1.] Through the mercy and abundant compassion of Almighty God, and at his command, a divinely protected edifice—the all-holy new bridge over the river called Iris [Eurotas], near the fort¹ of Lakedaimon—was built by me, the monk Nikodemos. This edifice worthy of God having been completed by my humble self, I resolved at God’s command to raise up from the foundations a holy and beautiful church to our Lord Jesus Christ on the left part of the bridge, so that a church might exist [there] for the safe-keeping of this little bridge. This church was built in the reign of the most pious emperor Constantine [VIII (1025–1028)].

[2.] Bearing in mind the untimely advent of death, I resolved to strengthen this church of God in my own lifetime, above all [by ensuring that it enjoy] independence [through the protection] of the emperor; that it be inspected by and cared for by the judge and *strategos*, who govern the theme; and that the bishop of this same city, with his clergy, not be allowed to exercise any authority in this church, not even to set foot in it.

[3.] After my death, let the monastery be governed and rightly guided by the aforementioned [officials]. Let either both of them, or only one (the one of them who happens to be in the area), select someone good and useful from among the monks in the monastery and appoint him superior. Let them not appoint someone subject to another [monastery] as superior. Thus the superior should lovingly take care of the church and the bridge and the brothers. Should he be negligent, let him be removed and suffer the penalties of disgrace, and let another of the brothers be appointed [in his stead]. Whatever the emperor, judge and *strategos* do regarding the church, let [their actions] find [favor] with God.

[4.] Let him who does not obey, but rather subverts, my prescriptions have the anathema of the

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Holy Apostles and the three hundred and eighteen Fathers, and the curse of Judas. Let him be heir to eternal punishment along with those who said “Away with him, away with him, crucify the Son of God” (John 15:19). Let him have no part with the Christians, and let him be excommunicated from the gift of Christ. The present *Testament* was written at the behest of me, the monk Nikodemos, [p. 302] on the first [day] of the month of May, in the tenth indiction, in the year 6535 [= 1027 A.D.]. Remember, O Lord, those who conform with [this *Rule*] and absolve them of all [their] debts.

Note on the Translation

1. *kastron*.

Document Notes

- [1] Foundation history. Cf. (6) *Rila* [1], (9) *Galesios* [246], (10) *Eleousa* [3], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [2] ff., (17) *Nikon Metanoieite*, (19) *Attaleiates* [3] ff., (22) *Evergetis* [2], [3].
- [2] Definition of the foundation’s status. See discussion in Zakythinos, “Kastron,” pp. 102–4. The text hints at an imperial recognition of the foundation’s independence, perhaps even a formal charter of “independent and self-governing” status; cf. (8) *John Xenos*, Institutional History; (9) *Galesios* [247], cf. [223]; (10) *Eleousa* [18]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [12]; (19) *Attaleiates* [14]. The protectorate set up here is very similar to that found in (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [2] and may have been modeled on it. The *Vita S. Niconis*, chaps. 35, 38, ed. Sullivan, *Life*, pp. 116, 132, shows Nikon Metanoieite recognizing some episcopal rights denied here; cf. (10) *Eleousa* [16], [18]. For the exclusion of the bishop from the premises, see also (31) *Areia* [M12].
- [3] Rights of the protectors; responsibilities of the superior. See discussion in Zakythinos, “Kastron,” pp. 104–8. For the protector’s right to appoint a superior, see (13) *Ath. Testament* [12], (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [13], and (19) *Attaleiates* [26], [29]. For the distrust of *xenokouritai*, see the long discussion in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [17] ff. For the protector’s right to remove a superior, see (14) *Ath. Testament* [16]. The author of (29) *Kosmosoteira* [67] likewise enjoins his superior to care for bridges on monastic property.
- [4] Curse on transgressors. See similar curses in (8) *John Xenos* [2]; (9) *Galesios* [246]; (10) *Eleousa* [19]; (16) *Mount Tmolos* [5], (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [5]; (19) *Attaleiates* [8], [23]; (22) *Evergetis* [12]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [B14].

19. *Attaleiates: Rule of Michael Attaleiates for his Almshouse in Rhaidestos and for the Monastery of Christ Panoiktirmon in Constantinople*

Date: March 1077

Translator: Alice-Mary Talbot

Edition employed: Paul Gautier, “La diataxis de Michel Attaliate,” *REB* 39 (1981), 5–143, with text at 17–130.

Manuscripts: Codex Constantinopolitanus Metochii Sancti Sepulchri 375, now in the National Library, Athens (March 1077), an isotype of the original document, supplemented by Codex 85, nunc 79, Theological School, Halki, now in the Patriarchal Library, Istanbul (1761).¹

Other translations: French, by Gautier, “Diataxis,” pp. 16–128.

Institutional History

The founder Michael Attaleiates, judging from his name, was a native of Attaleia, where he was born ca. 1020–1030.² A self-made man, he became a senator and a judge. He is best known as the author of a *History* which covers the years 1034–1079/80.³ According to the *Rule* below, he acquired various properties at Rhaidestos on the north coast of the Sea of Marmara and at Constantinople, chiefly from the estate of his first wife Sophia and her relatives.⁴ Attaleiates chose to dedicate most [3], [16] but not all [17] of these properties to a unified charitable foundation with facilities in both locations, specifically an almshouse at Rhaidestos [4] and a church of Christ *Panoiktirmon*, “All-Merciful,” at Constantinople. Originally Attaleiates intended [11] for the church to be staffed by regular clergy, but fearing perhaps that this might lead to its being taken over by the ecclesiastical authorities, he changed his mind and decided to employ monks instead.

Fundamentally, Attaleiates conceived of this as a private foundation, but to arm it against predators he set [10] a protectorate (*ephoreia*) over it, to commence with his son Theodore and to continue first in the direct and thereafter in the collateral lines of his descendants. It is unclear how long Attaleiates lived after the issuance of his *Rule* in 1077. He was still alive to receive a chrysobull from Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–1081) in 1079.⁵

Little can be surmised about the foundation’s fate after Attaleiates’ death. The books listed in [INV 14], cf. [INV 17] were acquired after both Attaleiates and Theodore had died, and those in [INV 13] were given to the foundation from their estate. Lemerle (*Cinq études*, p. 112) assumes the foundation became independent under the provisions of [14], perhaps because the superior Michael appears as a donor of books in his own right in [INV 7] and [INV 12]. This bequest likely took place in 1085. The record of an unnamed superior of “the monastery of Attaleiates” having participated in the Synod of Blachernai at which the reformer Leo of Chalcedon was rehabilitated in late 1094 is the last mention of the foundation in our historical sources.⁶ A donor, Manuel Boutoumites, mentioned in [INV 17] was one of Alexios Komnenos’ generals and later served

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him on a diplomatic mission to the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1111/12. The foundation's fate, however, is unknown, though Lemerle speculates that it may have been absorbed by one of the capital's powerful monasteries or by the patriarchate.

Analysis

This document, which is prefaced by an extended autobiographical introduction [1] composed in the rhetorical style, was drawn up by its author, Michael Attaleiates, in 1077, at what was perhaps the time of greatest peril to private foundations from the *charistike* and other forms of government intervention and confiscation of assets. It is not surprising then that Attaleiates should have been extremely concerned (one might say almost paranoid) about future threats to his foundation (see esp. [38], [43]). He was certainly aware of the relatively new independent form of government for monastic foundations, yet like Manuel of Stroumitza, author of (10) *Eleousa*, he found it difficult to make the radical break with the traditional patronal customs required for utilizing this type of organization from the beginning for his own foundation. Essentially, Attaleiates was unwilling to put trust in anyone but his son Theodore and his expected descendants to protect the foundation, despite the risks he knew this entailed, that it might fall [25] into the hands of an unworthy descendant or that his entire family line might eventually die out [38]. Therefore, the contemporary overlays of a protectorate [10] and conditional institutional self-governance [14] notwithstanding, Attaleiates' *Rule* is exceptionally valuable for its illustration of the mores and governance of traditional private religious foundations typical in preceding centuries.

A. Lives of the Monks

Constrained by his old-fashioned patronal preoccupations as well as his choice of a testamentary format, Attaleiates offers [29] very little in the way of legislation on the observances of monastic life and liturgical observances such as are commonly found in contemporary *typika*. These matters were presumably treated in detail in a now lost *typikon* that Attaleiates claims [32], to have authored personally. This *typikon* evidently prescribed a doxology of day and night offices, conducted under the supervision of Attaleiates' personally chosen ecclesiarch Antony, who is said [30] to be "familiar with the monastic rules of the church."

Although Attaleiates himself was not a magnate of the highest social class, this was an aristocratic monastery. The limit on the number of monks was fixed [27] at seven though at the time he drew up the *Rule* Attaleiates was able to support only five. They were to receive [33], [35] annual allowances (*rogai*) and were allowed to have [42] servants who were entitled to be pensioned off if they survived their monastic masters. Unlike Athanasios the Athonite, who in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [48] bans eunuchs from Lavra, Attaleiates actually requires [30] that his monks be eunuchs, though in practice he was willing to allow for such exceptions as his own relatives and donors of real property. Following conservative practice, Attaleiates was unwilling [30] to accept monks tonsured in other institutions (*xenokouritai*) except, again, for some personal favorites.

B. Administrative Matters

1. Private Administration by the Founder's Heirs

This document is profoundly old-fashioned in the sense of being primarily concerned with the transmission of the foundation as family property. Attaleiates appoints [10] his son Theodore, a layman, as director of the almshouse (*ptochotrophos*)—as any private founder might—in the capacity of a protector, and sets up a hereditary line of succession to this office. As had been the case since the time of (1) *Apa Abraham* [5], precautions needed to be taken, therefore, to assure that the foundation was not subsequently secularized by the founder's descendants. Although Byzantine canon law had sought to maintain the irrevocability of endowments for private ecclesiastical foundations since the fifth century, the principle is acknowledged [10] here by a private benefactor for the first time in the documents in our collection.

2. Patronal Privileges

Theodore and his heirs had the right [26], cf. [29] to preside over the election of and grant recognition to the superior and the steward. Theodore could also rule [26] the foundation directly without any obligation to allow the election of a superior. With respect to Theodore, Attaleiates declares [33] “I want everyone to love and be in awe of him, to respect and fear him.” A superior could be removed [26] for showing a haughty attitude towards or causing difficulties for Theodore or another of Attaleiates' heirs. All officials were admonished [12] to show “respect and submission and honor and obedience” to the heirs, and the foundation's property manager was obliged [23] to render an account of receipts and expenditures to them too. Attaleiates' heirs were also to preside [29] over community reconciliations and resolve all disputes; their judgment was to be “binding and irrevocable” with no appeals allowed to external authorities.

So strong was Attaleiates' personal confidence in Theodore that he was willing to allow [33], cf. [10] the monks to hold him accountable only for alienating donated properties, holding back funds for specified pious donations (*psychika*), and altering the terms of the *Rule* itself. Yet even under these circumstances Theodore was to merit only a “mild reprimand.”

3. Provisional Institutional Independence

Like Manuel of Stroumitza, author of (10) *Eleousa* [18], Attaleiates gives [14] a conditional endorsement to the increasingly popular idea of the “independent and self-governing” institution reluctantly, almost as an afterthought to his own elaborate provisions for the governance of his foundation along traditional lines of private management.⁷ He was willing to allow the foundation institutional self-governance only once his entire line of descendants had come to an end. Interestingly, the availability of any suitable collateral relatives [13] or even female descendants [10] would serve to postpone this event.

4. Precautions against External Interference

As the author of (8) *John Xenos* [2] did earlier in the eleventh century, Attaleiates judged (rightly) that even emperors, patriarchs and other ecclesiastical officials should not be exempt from his admonitions [7], [8] to leave the foundation undisturbed. He specifically forbids [8] the appointment of a *charistikarios* or an (outside) protector. He also makes [9] a sophisticated (if desperate) appeal to canon and secular law as support for upholding the inviolability of a testator's will. Also,

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like Manuel of Stroumitza in (10) *Eleousa* [18], Attaleiates makes an attempt to attribute institutional ownership to a heavenly patron, here the deity himself, which can be seen as another attempt to gain some measure of institutional security from greedy but perhaps God-fearing predators.

5. Preservation of the *Rule* and Other Important Documents

From the late eleventh century onwards, patrons like the author of (23) *Pakourianos* [33] begin to show an increasing appreciation of the value of preserving *typika*, property deeds, imperial privileges and other important papers for the well-being and security of their foundations. There are some especially detailed precautions [40] to this end here in this document, ultimately successful, it would seem, given the *Rule*'s preservation to our own day in a contemporary isotype long after the disappearance of the foundation itself. The *Rule* also contains an inventory (*brevion*), the earliest one preserved along with a monastic *typikon*. Attaleiates expectantly announces [44] his reservation of several blank pages in the document for the transcription of another expected imperial chrysobull (that is, [INV 11]) as well as future acquisitions of property.

C. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

Attaleiates planned [16] to support the foundation with a combination of revenues from landed properties and rental incomes from urban real estate.⁸ As noted above, he was obliged [27] to limit the number of resident monks to correlate with the expected income from the endowment. Attaleiates claims [22] that he has exploited his connections at court to obtain "total immunity" from imperial taxation for his immovable properties; the exemption supposedly applied [17] also to family properties that he kept out of the bequest to the foundation. The attached imperial chrysobulls, [INV 10] and [INV 11], however, are not as generous as he would have us believe (see below). Salaries and other expenses for the foundation had first claim [24] on the annual income. A third of the balance was to be saved for future needs and two-thirds given to Theodore as a private profit for which he "does not have to render an account or submit to an inquiry." Theodore's heirs were to enjoy the same entitlement. This is the most explicit testimony in any Byzantine source to the entitlement of a founder and his heirs to a share in the "surplus" income of a private religious foundation. The monastery's steward, Attaleiates' appointee Michael [41], and, as noted above, the foundation's property manager [23] were both accountable to Attaleiates' heir.

2. Other Sources of Income

As might be expected from a patron of traditional tastes, Attaleiates was happy to accept [30] outside financial support (*prosenexeis*) in exchange for liturgical commemoration or a donation of landed property in exchange for payment of a living allowance (a *siteresion*), both of which would be viewed more critically by future reformers. In [INV 4] he indicates that future donors of immovable or movable property (i.e., sacred vessels, books, etc.) were to receive perpetual commemorations in the daily offices. Subsequent donations of this nature, faithfully recorded in the *Rule*'s inventory (from [INV 5] onwards), demonstrate that the foundation was not disappointed in the fulfillment of Attaleiates' expectation of additional benefactions.

3. Imperial Immunities

Attaleiates had already obtained an imperial chrysobull from Emperor Michael VII Doukas (1075) before he finished work on his *Rule*, and, as he anticipated in [44], he was able to obtain another chrysobull, from Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1079), subsequently. The two chrysobulls were transcribed into the *Rule*'s inventory, ensuring their preservation along with the document. These chrysobulls make clear [22] that what Attaleiates actually succeeded in obtaining from these emperors was considerably less than the phrase "total immunity" might seem to imply. Michael VII's chrysobull [INV 10] states that Attaleiates' properties are to "pay only that amount exacted from them annually up to this point, whether it is taxes, or some other kind of payment." What the "immunity" consisted of was exemption from any new burdens of taxation or services, particularly those of an arbitrary, unpredictable nature. The chrysobull of confirmation from the ruling emperor Nikephoros III [INV 11] quotes extensively from the earlier chrysobull and seems to extend the immunity already enjoyed by the donor's properties at Rhaidestos to those at Constantinople. Additionally, it implicitly prohibits the establishment of a *charistike* over the foundation and endorses the doctrine of inalienability espoused by Attaleiates in the *Rule*, even going a bit further by declaring that the deconsecration of property used to endow a religious foundation was sacrilege (*hierosylia*). It is most interesting to see what would in just a few short years become a highly controversial tenet of ecclesiastical reformers like Leo of Chalcedon turning up here ahead of time in, of all places, an imperial chrysobull.

D. Relationship to the Monastic Reform Movement

As a patron, Attaleiates was no innovator like his contemporaries Timothy, author of (22) *Evergetis*, or Gregory Pakourianos. To be sure, he does show [39] a concern for the welfare of the dependent peasantry (*paroikoi*) and the free tenants whose labors and payments made the foundation possible, a concern that may have been a residual legacy of the imperial agrarian legislation of the tenth century and that would be taken up again by some future founders in the monastic reform tradition. To his credit Attaleiates was also keenly aware of many of the most troublesome problems endemic in the traditional system of private religious foundations, including their vulnerability to outside predators, of course, but also the consequences of the eventual extinction of a founder's family line [13], [14] and of permitting [27] institutional growth to outstrip the resources available from a foundation's endowment. In almost every matter of difficulty, however, his instinct was to rely upon the solutions developed over the centuries by patrons working within the confines of traditional private philanthropy. His use of *ephoreia*, a newer concept, was more a bow to linguistic fashion than a substantive adaptation of this form of patronage, for in all essentials he assimilated his foundation to the more familiar one of old-fashioned patronal ownership (*ktetoreia*). It was chiefly in his reluctant acceptance of the eventuality of institutional self-governance that Attaleiates anticipated the future of Byzantine reform monasticism.

As might be expected from a document authored by this kind of patron at a time of revolutionary institutional and ideological change, there are several inconsistencies of note within the *Rule*. While Attaleiates provides [25] for the punishment of the foundation's officials (even his own heirs) if they were found guilty of theft, he was willing to allow [24] his heirs a "legitimate" share of the foundation's income. Also, while Attaleiates specifically warns against the peril posed

to the foundation by the *charistike* [8], the foundation itself apparently was to inherit Attaleiates' responsibilities as a *charistikarios* to support a nunnery and a monastery [19]. Lastly, he apparently saw no inconsistency in awarding [12] his heir Theodore the title of protector shortly after having prohibited [8] the establishment of an (external) *ephoreia*.

E. Revisions and Stages of Composition

Like (29) *Kosmosoteira*, this is a disorganized, repetitious document. The author's practice of returning to subjects he has treated already in the *Rule* is a sure sign of multiple stages of composition. In [37], for instance, Attaleiates re-evaluates his provisions in [25] providing for the punishment of dishonest officials, most particularly his own heirs in their capacity as protectors. His revisions, made perhaps after complaints from his family, have the effect of significantly moderating the previous penalties, allowing even dishonest heirs some consolation for deposition from office in terms of a pension or a lifetime claim on half of the foundation's surplus income. Also, after addressing the issue twice before in [10] and [37], Attaleiates thought he needed to re-emphasize in [46], perhaps against the trend of contemporary opinion, the eligibility of his female relatives for the *ephoreia*. Perhaps to calm concerns, he notes here that he expected that a responsible husband, son or male servant would actually exercise the responsibilities of the office for the female protector. Then, with an eye to the interests of his descendants, Attaleiates rescinds [46] an earlier provision [17] of his *Rule* which could be interpreted to mean that the property of his childless heirs would automatically be inherited by the foundation.

Attaleiates also had second thoughts about how the foundation would choose a superior once his own family line had become extinct. In [38], he obliges the monks, should the foundation become independent, to present their choice to the superior of the Stoudios monastery for the blessing (*sphragis*). Attaleiates is at pains to state here that this right of bestowing the blessing should not be seen as excuse for the superior of Stoudios to assert a right to an *ephoreia* over the foundation. Should he do that anyway, Attaleiates instructs the eparch (urban prefect) to appoint the new superior instead. Nevertheless Attaleiates worried that even the eparch might assert a claim to the *ephoreia* [34], and sought to buy his good will with a cash donation and a listing for liturgical commemoration in the foundation's diptychs.

All told, Attaleiates revisits at least nineteen topics in the course of the *Rule* proper, exclusive of the inventory.⁹ A preliminary analysis of these repetitive treatments suggests at least eight stages of composition.¹⁰

Notes on the Introduction

1. See Gautier, "Diataxis," pp. 6–11, and Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 67–71.
2. See Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 76, n. 8, in preference to Tsolakís, "Aus dem Leben," pp. 5–7.
3. *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1853).
4. (19) *Attaleiates* [1], [4], [5], [6].
5. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1042 = [INV 11] below.
6. See Paul Gautier, "Le synode des Blachernes (fin 1094). Étude prosopographique," *REB* 29 (1971), 213–84, esp. 220, 280.

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7. Cf. the discussion of the foundation's status in Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 103–5. esp. 103: “Bref, la fondation est, en ce monde, la propriété personnelle d’Attaliate . . .”
8. See Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 99–112, for a full discussion of Attaleiates’ personal fortune and the economic basis for his foundation.
9. Note repetitious treatments of: [6] administrative union of the two facilities, cf. [11]; [10] succession to the *ephoreia*, cf. [13]; [9] prohibition of institutional subordination, cf. [14]; [7] appeal for heavenly protection, cf. [15]; [10] heirs’ obligation to pay compensation, cf. [25], [37]; [10] Theodore’s immunity from expulsion, cf. [33], [37]; [10] eligibility of women for the *ephoreia*, cf. [37], [46]; [13] succession of collateral relatives, cf. [43]; [14] conditions for self-governance, cf. [38]; [24] Theodore’s optional appointment of a superior, cf. [26]; [24] allocation of surplus income, cf. [37]; [26] desired attributes of the superior, cf. [29]; [28] discussion of entrance gifts, cf. [30]; [21] liturgical *typikon*, cf. [32]; [31] recitation of the *trisagion* for the emperor, cf. [43]; [33] monks’ allowances, cf. [35]; [33] reading of the *Rule*, cf. [41]; [34] possibility of lawsuits, cf. [43]; and [38] Studite superior’s role in the consecration of the superior, cf. [41].
10. I, [1] through [10]; II, [11] through [24]; III, [25] through [27]; IV, [28] and [29]; V, [30] through [34]; VI, [35] through [40]?; VII, [41]? through [45]; and VIII, [46].

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Translation

A rule composed with the help of God by Michael Attaleiates the *patrikios*, *anthypatos*, judge of the hippodrome and the *velum*, for the poorhouse and monastery established by him, [prescribing] the proper management of their affairs in perpetuity, to the glory of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

[1. Founder's autobiography]

Thanks be to God who is capable of all things and disposes everything for the better, I mean the consubstantial and indivisible Trinity which is without confusion. For through it men have been deemed worthy of great gifts which transcend human nature, and to it every achievement is referred, and by it were magnified men who thought that no one could admire them on account of the frailty which humbles them. Of this Trinity I am a worshipper and servant, I, [p. 19] Michael Attaleiates, *patrikios*, *anthypatos* and judge; for I was taught this reverence from childhood by my most faithful parents,¹ who had as their ancestral [inheritance] an orthodox and right-minded attitude toward God. Therefore I have been delivered from many different misfortunes, even though born in a foreign land,² and I have enjoyed many blessings, and possess some learning through this ineffable and inexhaustible divine source of knowledge. For I did not receive any property whatsoever in the metropolis of culture, the Queen of Cities,³ as an inheritance from one of my ancestors. I did not even own the property which I formerly possessed in the land of my birth, since I had decided to divide it all among my sisters, and had added to my ancestral property much of my own. But while I was in search of culture, I acquired in addition to these the necessities of life and that which men define as earthly prosperity, with God always managing my affairs, as I have already said. On account of his great goodness he showed his divine assistance in my leisured and simple life, and cared for my body with the incomprehensible limits of providence. Therefore, although I seemed to be facing many obstacles, and surrounded by wicked jealousies, especially because of the foreign origins of my family, in the end everything turned out well and fine.

After a period of bachelorhood, I was married for several years. When I lost my wife,⁴ who died in her prime, I received nothing from her final will and testament except for a small house, a pittance, since I approved her desire to give everything to God through distribution to the poor. By virtue of my right as executor I cooperated with her mother, without any hindrance, in carrying out her will, and together with her distributed everything. I acquired all of my property in good faith at my own expense, and I bought her estate at Selokaka for a very high price, the *nomophylax* having been appointed, by imperial order, curator for the sale in my place and that of my mother-in-law and co-executor, as the bill of sale and the subsequent memorandum most clearly state. In this bill of sale it is mentioned that the entire price of the property of Banitzes was wholly allocated for distribution to the poor.

Therefore since I have received such great blessings from the kind and merciful right hand of the Pantokrator, I the sinner, [p. 21] unworthy of anything, so as to become a member of the senate, in spite of my humble and foreign background, and to be enrolled among the elite of the senators (whom the language of old used to call "aristocrats"), and among the most illustrious of the civic judges, and to pride myself on public honors, I ought surely to offer appropriate and worthy

gratitude to God the giver of such blessings. I would necessarily have this obligation, even though I might have had difficulty [fulfilling this obligation] because of human weakness. At least I should not have failed completely to attain what is easy to attain, i.e., to choose and discern the best. On the contrary, throughout my entire life I have continued to provoke his marvelous patience and goodness towards me with my many grievous sins, on account of which I have condemned [myself] to undergo even more terrible punishments which threaten sinners. Not only did I know my “master’s will and not” (Luke 12:47) do it, and returned [to him] “the talent given to me” (cf. Matt. 25:15) without interest or profit, and even decreased its value, but also because I was unmindful of his divine gifts and favors and of my good fortune in life, and refused to turn away from wickedness, I was possessed of wicked habits and obstinacy. But he showed to us sinners the extraordinary depths of his unsurpassable goodness and kindness, and was extremely solicitous about our salvation, just as the Savior of us all, our Lord Jesus Christ, taught with words and showed with actions.

For this reason I look at the great heights and boundless expanse of his kindness and rest upon this divine and salvific word of his alone, that “God so loved the world that he gave his only Son” as a ransom for us sinners, “that whoever believes in him should have eternal life” (John 3:16). Placing all my hope in him, I do not despair of my salvation, since I know for sure that he who despairs experiences greater punishment and sets his own head on fire, since he heaps up this fuel when his mind despairs. For no one at all is able to escape the One in whose “hand is the breath” (Dan. 5:23) of all; and most “fearful” and unfortunate of all is for someone “to fall into the hands of the living God” (Heb. 10:31), because he resists hope in God and the resulting salvation. O consubstantial and sovereign Trinity, [p. 23] may I and everyone who are works of thy hand and faith be preserved forever above all these thoughts which extinguish hope.

[2. Motivation for the foundation]

Therefore, when I considered these things surely and truly, and thought daily about the accounts which would have to be rendered in the world to come, and reflected continuously about ineluctable justice, I became eager to accomplish some good work in order to grant some small pleasure to the One who has abundantly shed his mercy on me. [So I decided] to grant a part, as appropriate, of my property in Rhaidestos to his ineffable mercy, in the conviction that this would be pleasing and acceptable to him, because our compassionate and surpassingly good God seeks to receive from us a small inducement, so that he may show all his goodness and kindness towards us sinners. For he promised us many blessings on behalf of this single and very easy commandment of his, that out of the goods which we have, or rather which are his (for nothing is ours, inasmuch as our very existence is from God), we should give to those who ask of us. For who, except the humane God, would receive and accept such a gift, so as to regard as a favor and offering from somebody else what [in fact] comes from him and is his to use and grant? In truth no one, since we usually judge the attitude of the giver by the weight and measure of his gift, even when the offering belongs to the [donor].⁵ This surpassingly good God of ours, who “has brought us from non-being into being”⁶ and has offered us everything, considers as a sacrificial offering whatever we bring to him through our charity to the poor; and, on the contrary, he measures his reward by the attitude of the giver and not by the value of the present. Even if we are slow and sluggish with

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regard to the good, and are filled with arrogance, he is still quick to succor us, and so patient and sympathetic that it is impossible for human nature and understanding to conceive, for he always expects our conversion and postpones the violence of his anger to give time for repentance. Who therefore is capable of recounting his boundless kindness and goodness to us? Truly no one, not even among men who have attained perfection in action and contemplation, let alone myself who am vastly inferior in both these [areas]. There is also this: Glory be always to the good [God], because he does not reject the very humble, but finds pleasure in very cheap and contemptible things. Wherefore, even if I am completely self-condemned and totally unworthy of his kindness, made confident [p. 25] by his ineffable mercy, I have ventured to offer this small and wretched contribution to his supremely ineffable majesty and goodness.

Christ, be thou my guide.

[3.] Concerning the immovable property which has been consecrated, and that it belongs solely to the heirs, exempt from any imperial or ecclesiastical authority

Therefore with great zeal and fervent affection I consecrate, for charity to the needy, a portion of my immovable property at Rhaidestos and in the Queen of Cities to the great God, our Savior Jesus Christ, who was born of a Virgin in an ineffable and incomprehensible manner, together with the consubstantial Father and Holy Spirit. It is not one of my lesser and inferior properties, but one of the more important and valuable, since it is worthy for men of sincere faith to make offerings and donations to the One who is beyond all price. For even if the Creative Force is self-sufficient and absolutely good, and the unitary and thrice-brilliant Divinity is all-encompassing glory, still one's choice does not go without testing and scrutiny. For this reason, therefore, the sacrifice of Cain (Gen. 4:3–7) was not really considered a sacrifice, but as an object of condemnation because it was made of inferior and discarded [produce]; therefore I consecrate, as has already been stated, these [properties] to the all-merciful and great God, and I appoint him as heir and guardian and master of this offering of mine, and, I might as well say, avenger and adversary against those who should ever wish at any time to harm or violate any of my commandments, and to diminish or impose a burden on any confirmed part of this insignificant inheritance of his.

[4. The Poorhouse at Rhaidestos]

I also ordain that the house inside the town of Rhaidestos should be called and be in reality and be recognized as a poorhouse for the propitiation and remission of many and great and innumerable sins. For many years ago, before my wife's aunt, the nun and *protospatharissa* lady Euphrosyne, entered a convent (she received the tonsure in the house of her cousin Krasas), I reserved this house, [p. 27] together with her estate of Lips or Baboulou, by means of a promise to purchase and a contract with earnest-money. Later I acquired the house definitely by means of a valid purchase, and acquired the estate by inheritance. However, the aforesaid house which I acquired was completely dilapidated and in ruinous condition and unusable, on the one hand due to normal deterioration over the years, but also on account of the terrible tremor of the recent earthquake.⁷ So I restored it from the foundations, and with great expense and effort I furnished it, out of my savings. For I was not wealthy at that time, since I was still on the threshold of my career and had not

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assumed any position of command; and, by the grace of God, the situation continued until the end of my career, since I was never entrusted with any command, or fiscal responsibility. I added to this [house] the [property] which I received through exchange and purchase from Psorarios and Narses, and made one [large] house. It is my wish that this entire [complex] be a storehouse for the collection and storage of all the harvest, and for the repose and lodging of poor strangers, and, as has already been stated, that it should be a poorhouse in name and in reality.

[5. Attaleiates' house in Constantinople]

I also dedicate as a poorhouse my house in the capital, which I bought from my sister-in-law, the *protospatharissa* and *asekretissa* lady Anastaso, by imperial order, as a result of the decision and inquiry of the assigned judges, the *vestes* and *quaestor* lord Michael Anzas,⁸ and the *nomophylax*; and I join and unite these buildings so that they will be associated and linked with each other and jointly administered and interconnected through the architectural skill of the [Holy] Spirit. For they ought both to be unified and bound together by the Spirit like parts and limbs, and be subject to the same heir and master, I mean the Heavenly King, through charity and donations to the poor. I institute and dedicate the aforesaid house as a poorhouse, with the exception of the ground floor, the *triklinos* that is, which is next to and adjoining the church of the Forerunner (since this ground floor also contains the entrance to the courtyard of my other house, which I purchased from my wife's aunt, the *protospatharissa* and nun lady Euphrosyne), and also with the exception of the narrow and long gallery which overlooks the courtyard of my aforementioned house which I bought from the aforesaid [p. 29] *protospatharissa* and nun, lady Euphrosyne. For both of these, the ground floor and the gallery which I purchased from the *asekretissa* lady Anastaso, I joined into one house, together with the three-storied apartment which has a donkey-mill below, so that they would form part of the small house which I purchased from my aunt, the *protospatharissa* lady Euphrosyne Bobaina.

[6. The church of Christ the All-Merciful]

As for all the rest of the house which I purchased from the *protospatharissa* and *asekretissa* lady Anastaso, I dedicate it as a poorhouse, as has already been stated, together with the aforementioned house at Rhaidestos, and they ought to have one name and be considered as a single poorhouse, and to have as a place of prayer the church of the Forerunner which is dedicated to our great God and Savior, Jesus Christ the All-Merciful. To this church and Jesus Christ the All-Merciful Who is venerated therein and to the divine sanctuary in my house at Rhaidestos should be attached this single poorhouse composed of two buildings, as well as the movable and immovable properties which have been donated to them, and they should receive the name of "Poorhouse of the All-Merciful." For even if this chapel at my house in the capital is small and lacking many attractive decorations and earthly wealth, still by the grace of God it has been deemed worthy of great favor, and as a result of divine inspiration many heavenly signs occur therein, and it appears to be a fountain of mercy through charity to the poor, by which alone God is worshipped, and which is the sole purpose of my offering. For God the infinite and suprasubstantial "does not dwell" in churches "made with hands" (Acts 7:48), but in living sanctuaries, that is, those who are pleasing to him and act mercifully with a pure conscience. For this reason, therefore, I have ap-

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pointed as attendants at the church pious men, with assigned compensation of provisions and wages.

I have not made this offering, in which I place my hope, for lack of an heir and legitimate and natural succession; for I have a legitimate son, the *mystographos* and imperial notary lord Theodore. But I decided that it was necessary to give “a portion even to eight” (Eccl. 11:2) “with a broken and humbled heart” (Ps. [50] 51:17), that is, to the future generation, thanking the all-merciful God who loves the good, because he brought me forth of pious and Christ-loving parents, who taught me the very great wisdom of knowledge of God, and then provided me with sufficient education, first a general curriculum [p. 31], then philosophy and rhetoric, and the holy initiation into laws, and furthermore he deemed me worthy of sufficient wealth, gathering for me a most ample abundance of his earthly blessings.

[7.] A prayer

To thee therefore, O Lord, I make this offering, because it is through thy generosity that I have accumulated all [my property], so that it may be at the service of thy loving precept. For in thy kindness thou hast given to those who wish to be pious the manner of their salvation, by declaring that the wealth of each man can serve as a ransom for his soul. May thy great and all-powerful right hand keep the offerings and preserve them in perpetuity. O Lord of mercy, do not permit that a malicious man ravage and disperse this [property], nor allow that powerful men who crave after property should gaze at the beauty of these estates with greedy and covetous eyes. Do not endure that a curious busybody, who devises the flimsiest of excuses and stirs up unjust things, should join others in villainy and throw their property rights into confusion. Do not permit an evil man, a deviser of wickedness, to insinuate himself from inside into their services, or be imposed from outside to stir up numerous petty disturbances by his cunning ways. Rather, O Lord, protect these [offerings], and defend them with thy mighty hand, and may they be a blessing on thy holy name.

Every emperor and noble and dynast, and all ministers of the holy sanctuary, both bishops and priests, and everyone involved in political and ecclesiastical affairs should keep their distance from this holy property of the poorhouse which was constituted for the pleasure of thy transcendent glory and for the holy flock of monks therein and everything belonging to them. For all this property is dedicated to God, and honored with inviolability. I adjure you all and bind you with a harsh and relentless sentence of condemnation, in the name of the holy and life-giving Trinity, that none of my regulations should be transgressed. You should not encompass with confusion and disorder that which has been piously consecrated and dedicated to God, and transform this [poorhouse] into a refuge for powerful men instead of for the poor, contrary to the regulations for their care and the administration of the pious donations, and what I am going to say. Nor should there be any [p. 33] removal whatsoever of any of the various properties and sacred treasures dedicated there, nor should you impose any expense which is beyond its resources and wealth, lest they thereby suffer deprivation and be reduced to poverty.

[8.] Curse against those who dare to transgress [this *Rule*]

If anyone, whether emperor or noble, or subject, or bishop or priest, should attempt to do anything contrary to my regulations, or to transgress any of the ordinances which it pleases me to set down,

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or to institute an *ephoros* therein, or appoint another *charistikarios* or guardian (besides those whom I will specify), or the liturgical commemoration or nomination of some authority (for the church of the poorhouse of the All-Merciful ought to commemorate every orthodox bishopric), may such a person be cursed by God the Almighty, and may his memory be eradicated from among mankind, may grief and woe afflict him, and may sorrow go before him, and may the Lord God grant him the terror of Cain, the leprosy of Gehazi, the noose of Judas; and may his lot be with those who said, "Away with him, away with him, crucify" (John 19:15) the Son of God. May the eye [of God], which oversees all things, not look upon him with mercy, but may his memory be erased from the earth, and may he be vanquished by all his enemies, and may he endure eternal torment.

[9.] A prayer for those who are obedient

But as for the man who abides by my regulations, and transgresses none of my good instructions, but observes all my prescriptions and regulations, may he be blessed by God, and may he achieve all his desires, and may he inherit all the blessings upon earth and in the heavenly kingdom, inasmuch as he has preserved from harm the inheritance of God. This inheritance is not to come under the control of imperial authority, nor of the imperial or patriarchal sakelle, or another lay or ecclesiastical department, or metropolitan or bishop, or any other authority whatsoever; nor is it to be removed by anyone at all, nor made liable for an accounting, nor subjected to an *ephoros*, because all these [vexations] should be banished far away from it both through the power of laws, which ordain that the wishes of testators be fulfilled completely, and also on account of my wishes and most terrible [p. 35] curses, and the great and very powerful name of the all-powerful God, and the inexorable beating and flogging therefrom; since no canon could be found which would sanction changing or transgressing the commandments of the founders.

[10.] Concerning guardians and successors

Just as ministers of the celestial glory were appointed in heaven in a proportional manner by the Divinity that shines with triple brightness, it is necessary to appoint steadfast ministers and heirs of this humble and earthly inheritance of the great God our Savior, with the strong and sure justification of the privilege of legitimacy. Therefore, after our Lord Jesus Christ and God, I appoint as heir and lord and administrator, who is exempt from rendering an account and in every way immovable from this divine inheritance, my beloved and true son, the *mystographos* and imperial notary lord Theodore and his direct descendants, sons and grandsons and great-grandsons, and the rest of his succession in perpetuity. But after the death of my son, not all his sons together or grandsons or the rest will assume control of my poorhouse, but only one of them. A man is to be preferred to women, and of men one who is most advanced in years and distinguished for his learning and upright life. But if this man should be found to be wicked and harmful, either by keeping back [the money] of a pious donation or someone's salary or annuity, or [the money] for illumination of the church, or by neglecting the restoration and maintenance and protection of the buildings and properties, and does not mend his ways despite criticism and warnings, then another of his legitimate brothers should be preferred, one who is understanding in virtue and distinguished conduct. If there are no sons, that is male children, then a daughter will assume the suc-

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cession according to this purpose; for she is not to refrain from administering the property well, either through a spouse, or her children or servants.

If there are no [living children], then a grandson or great-grandson should be asked, in this order, and so forth, according to the degrees of primogeniture, [after making sure of] their blameless reputation and distinguished conduct. But let no one have the right to include this holy poorhouse in a marriage contract [p. 37] for the sake of some ownership right or exchange. But it is to be administered in accordance with the text of my *typon*, and all the pious donations should be performed without fail. As for the properties dedicated to it, no one is to give any of them in inheritance or offer them as surety, or for any other private or public debt; but if someone else does something of this sort, with the intention of making a deed or gift or exchange, the transaction will be considered invalid. For that which has once been consecrated to God cannot be shared, and especially because this [poorhouse] was viewed as an inheritance of God, and was offered to him for charity to the poor and as a most Christian and pious bequest.

The man who dares this will not escape liability for his actions, but will be expelled from his position as *ephoros*, and his dominion and supervision, unless necessarily he is prepared to make amends. Then another relative, the next of kin, will take up the succession, a man well known for his piety and fear of God, who promises to follow all my instructions. But in the case of my son, lord Theodore, there is not to be any expulsion. Rather he is to make reparations quietly and exactly. These relatives then who are direct descendants of myself and my son, and so on, will assume the right of dominion in perpetuity. But none of my collateral relatives is to have involvement in this poorhouse of mine, or rights as *ephoros* or any authority at all, unless for the sake of piety he wishes to give reminders that everything should be carried out in accordance with my instructions.

[11. Celebration of the offices]

Since I set great value on piety, I decided to install singers of hymns in the divine sanctuary of the All-Merciful. I intended [at first] that secular priests should celebrate the offices, but [then] I ordained that they should be monks, so that those who have chosen the monastic way of life should also find a haven in this poorhouse. I set aside for them cells inside the aforementioned holy poorhouse in the God-guarded City, and assigned to them provisions so that they might attentively keep watch over the doxology and liturgy in the church, and collaborate with my heir in the administration of pious donations, and be of service in everything which is to the benefit of the poorhouse, and remind him that all my instructions should be followed without fail.

[12. Union of the monastery with the poorhouse in one foundation]

Next I will discuss the number of these monks. For over them I have appointed a steward and ecclesiarch, who are to report everything to my heir. The other monks are to be directed and encouraged in virtue by the steward, [p. 39] while the ecclesiarch supervises in a proper fashion that which pertains to the church, and they should demonstrate all respect and submission and honor and obedience towards my heir. For all the monks alike will be subject to my heir, who should be called the *ptochotrophos*, and should obey him, as the *ephoros* and administrator and master of this venerable institution, both the one in Rhaidestos and the one in the capital (for I consider

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them one, I issue my instructions as if for a single unit) and they should regard him as a kindly and God-loving leader. But since, as I have said, in the poorhouse in the capital I have also established monks who are pious and pleasing to God and to me because of their angelic way of life, I ordain that the establishment in Rhaidestos should particularly bear the name of the poorhouse, including also the establishment in the capital. Since the one in the capital has also become a residence for monks, it should be called the monastery of the poorhouse of the All-Merciful, but both establishments will form one poorhouse, that of Rhaidestos.

[13. Alternate line of succession]

In case the continuous line of my descendants should come to an end, as I have said above, then the monk who happens to be steward at that time should at once be promoted to the position of superior, and serve as superior in this autonomous poorhouse and monastery of the All-Merciful. One of my collateral relatives, who is distinguished for his virtue and sober lifestyle, and is the closest of kin, and excels in wisdom, should be chosen to succeed to the position of *ephoros*. He should share totally with the superior and the monks the administration of all the pious donations, not appropriating or taking anything therefrom, except for the stipend of two monks and one hundred and fifty *modioi* of barley. For if there is any surplus after the distributions and expenditures prescribed by the *typikon*, half is to be disbursed to the monastery of the poorhouse for necessary purposes; the rest is to be distributed to my needy brethren in Christ. From that time the monastery should be subordinate to my poorhouse. For the poorhouse at Rhaidestos is united with it, as I have already described in these instructions of mine, and the pious donations of both holy establishments, the one outside and the one merged with the monastery, should be managed without fail by the superior and the monks and my kinsman who is deemed worthy of the *ephoreia* in the manner which I have explained. As long as my son is living, and his direct heirs, and so forth [p. 41] in perpetuity, both he and they will be chiefly responsible for everything, both the pious donations and the holy establishments, and the monks should submit to their wishes, as long as they are pious and in conformity with my instructions. It does not matter that the part of my poorhouse in the capital that is inhabited by monks is now called a monastery; for the total sum of my offering of movable and immovable property has been consecrated to the poorhouse established by me, and this monastery in the poorhouse of the capital is to be subordinate to it, and its monks will receive from my heir, the *ptochotrophos*, their assigned annuities, and whatever else I shall indicate in the future, as long as they behave in a manner consistent with monastic life.

[14. Provision for independent administration]

In every time and circumstance, and under every regimen and administration, it is my wish that these holy [establishments], the poorhouse and the subordinate monastery, be independent and autonomous. As long as one of my descendants holds the *ephoreia* they should be administered by him and selected monks, as has been said, and, furthermore, by the superior, when the office of superior is instituted after my entire line of descendants has come to an end, as has already been described.⁹ In the absence of an heir related to me, then by right of the independent and autonomous privilege [of the poorhouse], everything should be administered and arranged and managed

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without fail by the superior and steward and the other monks in accordance with the text of my *typikon*, so that the pious donations do not in any way gradually decline. For I do not want this poorhouse and monastery of mine to be granted or made subordinate to any imperial or patriarchal jurisdiction, nor to the imperial or patriarchal *sakelle*, or to any other secular or ecclesiastical department, or to a metropolitan or bishop or anyone else at all, but I truly want their lord and master and *ephoros* and supporter and founder to be, as has already been said,¹⁰ our Lord Jesus Christ, who was born of a Virgin, together with the consubstantial Father and the all-holy Spirit.

[15. Heavenly protectors and patrons]

It is my wish that, after God, [these institutions] have as their protector and helper and patron our immaculate Lady, the Mother of God, and [St.] Michael, the great commander of the heavenly armies, and [St. John] the honorable Forerunner. For since the very Lord and Creator of all is called by my unworthy self master of this humble offering of mine, it is clear that these and all the other saints are also included in this supervision. [p. 43] Therefore no one is to alter or change any of my instructions, or to harm the pious donations, either in part or totally, unless he is impious, and a manifest enemy of God and hater of mankind and opposed to the kindly and compassionate God. For in the words of Holy Scriptures God is served by mercy more than anything else, and there is also the divine law of the commandments, “thou shalt not add to it nor diminish from it” (Deut. 13:1).

[16. List of consecrated properties]

The following [properties] are granted to my poorhouse for the inheritance of God who is praised and glorified in the Trinity: my estate of Selokaka together with Makron Chorion; my estate of Baboulou or Lips; my estate of St. Myrope, or the Monokellion (single cell); my estate of Symeoniou; and of my estates at Mesokomion the one which I purchased from the niece of the *patrikios* lord Basil Skribas; the *aule* of Metaxas; the *aule* of Arkolykes together with the buildings which came from an exchange with Hagia Sophia; and the *aule* of Kentarchos together with all the buildings there; and in addition half of my rental property at Selymbria, and half of my other rental properties outside the western gate of the town of Rhaidestos, which I built on the ruinous land which I bought from the fisc, these halves of my rental properties being attached indivisibly. From now on I grant these immovable properties of mine, which I have mentioned, as well as the monastery, to the inheritance of the great God, our Savior Jesus Christ, who was born of a Virgin, that is to my poorhouse. An additional grant is made of the bakery in the capital which is attached to my poorhouse in the God-guarded City, and rents for twenty-four *nomismata*, and the perfumery, which rents for fourteen *nomismata*, and the rental properties [p. 45] held by the doctor Theodore which rent for five *nomismata*. In addition I consecrate half of the revenues from my house which used to belong to the *protospatharios* Thomas of Nicaea,¹¹ so as to receive eighteen *nomismata* of the thirty-six charged for rent; of the other eighteen, eight should be spent for the salary of the priests of St. George of Kyparission¹² on behalf of my tomb, which I also bequeath to my heirs, and ten should be spent for my commemoration and that of my two wives, lady Sophia and lady Irene, and for my parents, Eirenikos and Kale.

[17. Hereditary transmission of other personal properties]

Any immovable properties that I bequeath to my son, the *mystographos* lord Theodore, should not be alienated by him and his descendants and their successors through the generations, as long, that is, as our lineage survives and continues. They should be transferred without any impediment to successive generations, and their revenues should be spent exclusively by them, and they should enjoy the immunity [from taxation] granted by the imperial chrysobull,¹³ since it applies to all my properties in common, wherever they may be, whether holy institutions, or private persons, in part or totally or separately, even if they expand and increase. But if my family lineage should come to an end, [the properties] should not be transferred to a stranger and outsider, but should go to my poorhouse and monastery, especially the small house I purchased from the *protospatharissa* lady Euphrosyne.

On condition of [continued] procreation, these [properties] should be inherited by my heirs in perpetuity, and therefore not even the fisc will have any claims against them because they have been previously bound by this condition. But if my son should die childless, or his descendants and their successors should offer the [properties] for a dowry or pre-nuptial gift, they should be liable for only forty-five *litrai*. This [sum in] gold should be provided by my poorhouse and monastery, and these [properties] should be recovered and granted to them in the same manner and fashion as the other immovable properties which have already been consecrated.

If they should make a will with regard to the immovable property which has been left to them for other reasons, legacies, perhaps, or pious donations or an inheritance by virtue of being eldest, their will should be limited to only thirty *litrai*. If the estates should be divided among several heirs, [p. 47] then the donation should be made by the holy institutions proportionally, and the property will revert to them again. However, their [affairs] will be managed in accordance with my last will and testament. The rest of my estates at Mesokomion, except for [the one I bought from] Skribas, should pass to my son and his heirs and other successors, whether by written document or without a will, so that they may have complete authority over them in perpetuity, as is the wish of my son and his heirs; the same is true for the half of my rental properties at Selymbria and those outside the west gate of the town of Rhaidestos, but these properties should not be alienated to another person in any way whatever, but they should sell them or donate them to my poorhouse and monastery.

[18. Charitable distributions at the monastery in Constantinople]

Now that I have discussed my consecrated property, I should say what should be done with them, and first of all about the distributions to the poor. Therefore, I ordain that at the gate of the holy establishment of the poorhouse in the capital (in which the monastery is also located), each Sunday there should be provided for my needy brethren in Christ a large *modios* of bread, and that six poor men should eat daily in the refectory, each receiving a piece of bread, and as an accompaniment they should have either meat or fish or cheese, or dried or fresh vegetables which have been boiled, or whatever else God may send; and each one of them should receive four *folleis*, in short, that they should be cared for just as was done in my day. I ordain that two hundred and sixteen *modioi* of wheat be distributed to unfortunate people, to widows or pitiful old men, that is twelve *annonikoi modioi* each, since eighteen people are entitled to receive this wheat.

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[19. Charitable distributions at the poorhouse in Rhaidestos]

At the poorhouse in Rhaidestos the following should be distributed annually: the monastery of St. Nicholas of Phalkon should receive three *nomismata*; the monastery of St. George, located outside the west gate of the town of Rhaidestos, which I possess as *charistikion* in the name of two people (the second *charistikarios* is my son, the *mystographos* lord Theodore), should receive three *nomismata*; the convent of St. Prokopios, located outside the western sea gate (of which the second *charistikarios* is my son, since [he received it] from the former *charistikarios* Bardas Xeradas), which was destroyed by the rebels, and which I have reconstructed, two *nomismata*; the [p. 49] monastery of the very holy Mother of God of Daphne [should receive] two *nomismata*; for I know that these monasteries need charity because they are completely without resources. I ordain that they should receive these [*nomismata*] from the revenues of the *aulai* of my poorhouse, and that the aforesaid annuities should be distributed to the monks of these monasteries without any changes, and that they should inscribe my name in their sacred diptychs, and that I should be commemorated continually in those [monasteries], and that every day they should say a *trisagion* after the morning office for the sake of myself, the sinner. The church of [St. John] the venerable Forerunner, which is at the west gate of Rhaidestos, should receive one *nomisma trachy*; and the church of our very holy Mother of God *Eleousa* should receive one *nomisma*, and one *nomisma* should also go to the church of the Archangel, where it is said that the bishopric was once established.¹⁴ The one who will furnish, distribute, provide and control all this, after God, will be my true son, the *mystographos* lord Theodore, and our direct descendants in succession.

[20. Construction of a hostel for pilgrims; other charitable distributions]

It is my wish and command, that, if I do not manage to build a *kyklion* on the exterior of my house at Rhaidestos for the repose of pious pilgrims to the holy places, and other poor strangers, then this should be done by the superiors of these holy establishments of mine, at the end of my courtyard on the public road. Sleeping rooms should be constructed so that they may rest there, and each week two *annonikoi modioi* of bread and one measure of wine should be distributed. Each year on the anniversary of my death one *nomisma* and six *annonikoi modioi* of wheat should be given to each of twelve elderly brethren in Christ, who are frail and disabled and in need. I also ordain that at the time of my commemoration there be a *parastasimon* with chanters and a distribution of six *nomismata trachea* and six *modioi* of bread.

[21. Regulation of the life of the monks]

Since, as I have said, it has been ordained that there should be a residence for monks inside the poorhouse, and monastic life should be conducted and regulated for the service of God and the distributions of the prescribed pious donations, I should now discuss the good order of the monks, since I have been initiated into the appropriate behavior by the divine laws. [p. 51] I ordain that the monks of the monastery established in the poorhouse should have a rule and *typikon* and observe them scrupulously, that [they should live in] peace and love with each other, according to God, and good will, which our Lord Jesus Christ, the Creator and Master of all, particularly ordained.

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[22. Inalienability of consecrated properties]

In the name of our Lord God and his fearful tribunal, I adjure my heirs and kinsmen, or rather those relatives who administer and supervise the inheritance of our Lord God and Savior, Jesus Christ, as I have already stated, both present and future generations, to administer it as I have ordered until the end of the world. [I also adjure] all the guardians never, at any time, to alienate the poorhouse or the monastery, either in part or totally, in any way whatever, or to transfer it elsewhere, contrary to my instructions, or to give away one of its properties, either in perpetuity, or for a period of years, or from first-born to first-born, whether by sale or exchange or gift or *emphyteusis* or any other method, or to grant it to anyone, whether the emperor or patriarch or member of the clergy or notable or private individual for any pretext or excuse whatever. But it is my wish and command that these [properties] be free and unified and autonomous and inalienable, and be subject to the authority and dominion of my poorhouse and monastery, and benefit from the general and total immunity [from taxation] which was granted to me by an imperial chrysobull. For it decrees and ordains as follows, that wherever I grant or bequeath my estates, whether to holy institutions or monasteries or private individuals, all of them are to enjoy in part or totality the assistance and immunity provided by the divine chrysobull, even if they increase and multiply. The temporary lease of immovable [property] is not normally permitted, except for individual fields which are not suitable for cultivation, and [may be leased] to tenants for a fixed number of years in accordance with local custom.¹⁵ But no arable land at all may be leased for a period of years from the property granted to these holy institutions which are dedicated to God, lest their rental lead to famine and a reduction in the expenditures which have been ordained for pious purposes. [p. 53]

[23.] Concerning the administration of the properties

The administration and management of the properties should be entrusted by my heirs to a just man, who is answerable to them and who conducts his life in a pious manner. He should look after the properties and administer them, in the knowledge that he will have to render an account first to the celestial King, then to the guardians of the inheritance of God, who receive from him the [right of] dominion and authority over these divine and holy establishments, my poorhouse and monastery. For the manager must be questioned by them and render without fail the sum of receipts and expenditures, as was the practice in my day, and should be held responsible for any negligence and fraud. I do not permit the donation of houses, except as rental properties. If anyone should disobey my instructions the tiniest bit, he will be ranked with Judas and those who crucified our Lord Jesus Christ; he will inherit the curse of the 318 holy and divinely inspired fathers [of Nicaea] and of myself the sinner, and the [property] which was donated contrary to my orders will revert to its original owner.

Furthermore, anyone who dares to make any changes or undertake any thing contrary to my instructions, will receive as his lot the eternal fire, inasmuch as he is a transgressor of my commandments, and has tried to invalidate what I have dedicated to God with great effort and sacrifice, or rather with the gifts of God. For I established these holy institutions for reasons of the family succession and administration of the pious donations and carrying out the pious distributions.

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[24. Use of surplus income from the founder's properties]

All the income from my properties should be recorded in detail and deposited at the holy establishment of my poorhouse at Rhaidestos. After the [expenses] determined by me have been paid, the rest should be brought from there to the capital, and from these [monies] the distribution of the pious donations and the other expenses should be paid by my heirs, with the collaboration of the steward of the monastery, if my heir does not wish to appoint a superior,¹⁶ with the knowledge of the other monks. None of the monks or the superiors should take any of the money, but once the expenses prescribed by the *typikon* have been paid, one-third of the surplus should be deposited in the treasury, and two-thirds should belong to my true and dearly beloved son, the *mystographos* lord Theodore whom I leave, after our Lord and God Jesus Christ and his immaculate Mother, as heir and lord of this divine inheritance and [p. 55] as an administrator who does not have to render an account or submit to an inquiry. Subsequently [the surplus should go] to his heirs, when the surplus revenues have been collected and profit has been taken after the aforementioned expenses; and they do not have to render an accounting. But he will not have the authority to reserve or spend [any income] from the properties consecrated to these holy institutions, until the distributions of the pious donations and other [expenses] have taken place, as I specified in the *typikon*. The same holds true for my successive heirs; and when the family dies out, then everything should go to the poorhouse and monastery and the pious donations which will expand with the help of God.

[25.] Concerning the punishment of transgressors

As for anyone who transgresses my commandments, if he is an outsider and stranger, in addition to the fact that his action will be invalid, he will also be alienated from God and the blameless faith of Christians; he will be considered an outcast and abomination, as a transgressor of divine and holy things and that which is pleasing to God. If it is the steward or the man who becomes superior at the wish of my heir, he is to be deprived of his responsibility; if it is another official, he is to be deprived of his office; and if it is one of my heirs, double the amount of the deficit will be demanded of him. If he does not mend his ways after a second and third warning by the superior and the monks, those who have been designated to receive the pious donations should receive them, as I have explained, from [the revenues of] the properties designated for the distribution of each pious donation, even if it is against his will. Let me add this, too, that my heirs and the monk appointed by them, whether steward or superior, and the rest of the monks who observe my commandments and strive that the pious donations be paid without fail, should be inscribed in the diptychs and commemorated in perpetuity. But whosoever transgress these [commandments] and are perceived to be decreasing or suppressing the pious donations, it is my wish that they not be deemed worthy of commemoration, nor have their names inscribed in the diptychs, but as they have headed of their own accord toward the aforementioned curses, their memory should always be accursed and despised. No less a condemnation will be the fate of those who see the abuse of the pious donations, and could oppose these wicked practices but do nothing. [p. 57]

[26.] Concerning the appointment of the superior

If the office of superior is to be established, it should be at the wish of my heir. For if he is not

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willing, then the steward should administer the monastic discipline, and be a shepherd and direct in a canonical fashion the spiritual needs of the monks, having my heir to support him against those who are disobedient, since he is master of all the supervision and administration; and the heir should not be forced to name a superior. Preference should be given to the monk who has given evidence of his piety and fear of God and is humble. For this [last] I judge to be the supreme virtue, and he who has not humility, even if he should raise the dead, should be excluded and rejected; for I want this virtue to have first place in the monastery of my poorhouse. He should be presented to my heir, and appointed by him, if indeed he is pleased with the choice of the monks after presiding over their election. If there should be dissension concerning the virtue of two individuals, then their names should be written on two pieces of paper, and placed on the holy altar in the sanctuary of the church, and they should celebrate the liturgy. Then a pure and innocent child should enter and remove one piece of paper and take it away. Whosoever's name is found will be deemed worthy of the office of steward or superior, after the appointment is made by my heir, once he has sworn before God and the monks that he will obey my commandments and instructions until his death. The same will hold true for the [other] officials, and thus this rule of mine will continue to be valid for successive [appointments]. The superior or the steward should not be deprived of his office unless he is caught in some heresy or carnal sin, or is clearly convicted of treachery or outrage or contempt for the divine offices and the church of God and the pious donations, or distresses my heir by his arrogance or scorn or troublemaking. For then he should be vigorously expelled by my heir. But if he is suspected of some minor and involuntary mistakes, and is prepared to make amends after counseling or criticism by my heir and the chief monks, then he should not be expelled, since he is striving ardently to mend his ways. [p. 59]

[27.] Concerning the number of monks

I ordain that the number of monks in my monastery be limited to seven, even though for the present I have assigned only five because of my straitened circumstances. For this number [seven] is considered virginal and honorable and select. In accordance with it have been ordered the centuries, and the length of weeks, and the path of the stars, by command of almighty God. For this number is held dear and considered mystical by both old and new [generations], inasmuch as it is virginal, as I have already said, because it is the only one of the first ten numerals which neither gives birth nor is born. I believe that it was for this reason that the commander of the heavenly armies Gabriel brought the glad tidings to the holy Virgin and Mother of God, because in contrast to the others he alone has seven letters in his name. I ordain that there should be seven monks, when with the help of God the situation improves, including the steward or superior and the gatekeeper.

If with the aid of our very good God and his immaculate Mother, full of grace, the revenues of the poorhouse and the monastery should increase (for in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ I am confident that this will occur) then the number of the seven monks, as well as the pious donations, should also be increased in proportion to the increase in revenue. For after calculating the value of my donated [properties] and comparing them with the expenses of the poorhouse, and taking into consideration the small size of the church of the Forerunner, which has been dedicated to the

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monastery first and foremost as a place of communal prayer, I have limited and restricted the monks to this number.

[28. Entrance gifts not required]

I want these monks to be tonsured gratis, without the payment of an entrance gift, unless an offering is made for some work of construction or restoration, or the purchase of immovable [property]. They should be men who will either be active in [the service of] the church, or accountants or notaries or secretaries, sober and honorable men, who are not quarrelsome or contentious or treacherous or cruel. For anyone who is found to be of this character should be expelled. The so-called entrance gift destroys obedience¹⁷, and causes much discord; and I do not want even the least of such discords to be mentioned or exist in my monastery. However, at the illuminating [time] of his tonsure, the tonsured monk may spend ten *nomismata* for incense, food for the monks, and so forth. [p. 61]

[29. Disciplinary regulations]

Not only do I forbid any payment of an entrance gift, but I also do not permit any idle word to be spoken or anyone to sit idly without performing manual labor and service to the monastery of the church. Most important of all I enjoin tranquillity and obedience and humility and continually peaceful relations with one another, and that the monks be reconciled with each other every evening. For the superior or steward who will be appointed by my heir should make it his concern that no monk goes to sleep while angry at or hostile to someone, in accordance with the words [of Paul]: “Do not let the sun go down on your anger” (Eph. 4:26).

They should also remain in their cells, constantly obeying my heir and the one who has been appointed by him as steward or leader of the monks, as I have said. They should serve steadfastly in the duties and responsibilities of the monastery, and in the instruction and offices of the church. When they have leisure time, they should do their handiwork, each one separately in his own cell. They should not be idle, and wander from cell to cell and chat or eat or drink together, to the destruction of their own souls and many others, but each one, with God as witness and guide, should follow the path of virtue. Each day he should examine himself and inquire closely as to what he accomplished that day and what he neglected to do, and thus with the passage of time he will advance on the path of virtue. His body will die, but he will live in God through his holy actions, and his humility and love of God. It is my wish that these [last] two virtues be supreme, and that they be the immutable rule and ideal in the monastery of my poorhouse.

If there is a choice between virtuous persons, when the office of the superior is being decided, it is my wish that preference be given to those who are distinguished for their genuine humility and peaceful temperament. For where these men are shepherds, there truly is God, and where God is, there is everything good and pleasing. Therefore I exhort you that during the offices everyone stand attentively without any talking or whispering, bowing [their heads] “with fear and trembling” (II Cor. 7:15) in the words of the Scriptures: “Serve the Lord with fear, rejoice in him with trembling” (Ps. 2:11). When he takes his midday meal, each monk of necessity will have to share with a poor person whatever he chooses, even if it is very small, either bread or drink, and no [p.

63] day should pass without charity, but they should open the gate and their hearts to each poor person, even if only with a single morsel of bread.

Again I forbid gathering together in cells for parties, unless they should assemble on the anniversary of a saint or for some other good reason. I condemn those who are found guilty of this to the loss and suppression of their private allowances for six months. If they are caught doing this again without a good reason, they should be expelled by my heir. But those who are caught in other minor faults and who transgress my *typikon* should be publicly reproached, so that as a result of their shame at the reproaches they will not neglect their own salvation; for the Holy Scriptures say, “Thou shalt rebuke thy neighbor, so thou shalt not bear sin on his account” (Lev. 19:17). The superior or steward will also suffer this [rebuke] from my heirs and the monks, if they are suspected of a minor fault.

Everyone should confess their offenses against each other, with my heir presiding, and he will bring about total reconciliation, and love will be established by the grace of God who said: “By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another” (John 13:35). When this happens, the creator of all evil, “the murdering devil” (John 8:44), will be driven away in shame. For the judgment which takes place, with the supervision and decision always of my dearly beloved and true son lord Theodore and my successive heirs who also bring about peaceful relations, will be valid and binding and irrevocable. For the brethren or monks of my poorhouse and monastery should not seek justice elsewhere for a personal injustice or harm inflicted by someone from these [institutions]. But if someone is found to be quarrelsome and contentious, and after a second and third rebuke does not mend his ways, he is to be expelled. For the quarrelsome and conceited man will receive the same treatment as the dishonorable man in this inheritance of Christ [i.e., the pious institutions], and will have no share in it; but no one will be condemned without an inquiry.

[30.] Concerning the entrance gift

As I have already said, I do not wish any entrance gift to be made in this monastery of the poorhouse, unless the monk wishes to do it for the above-mentioned purposes. [p. 65] There are to be absolutely no monks from other monasteries. But if someone donates an immovable property so that he may receive a living allowance, this is permissible, if God so wills. They should provide him, and him alone, with what they have agreed until the end of his life. Also if someone makes a contribution for the purpose of being commemorated in future generations, this is also permitted. But of no account do I wish a monk tonsured elsewhere to be enrolled in this monastery, with two exceptions: the monk Antony whom I myself appointed and named as ecclesiarch, since he is familiar with the monastic rules of the church and abides by them, and also the other monk Antony, who was the first monk installed in my poorhouse. [I also ordain] that the monks established in this [monastery] be eunuchs and men free from passions, on the one hand because the church of St. John the Forerunner, which has been granted to these holy establishments, particularly cherishes freedom from passions, as I have clearly learned and have ascertained from the facts themselves, on the other hand because the monastery is in the middle of the capital and very close to the Agora, and it is risky for bearded [monks] to live there. So no bearded monk is to be installed there, unless he is one of my blood relatives, or is a man who has given evidence by his life-style

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that he is pious and God-fearing, and gives some real estate to the monastery, and is over fifty years old; for only under these conditions do I permit the tonsuring of bearded monks, but no one else from outside.

[31. Required commemorations]

I also enjoin that on Saturdays there be celebrated a special liturgy for my deceased parents Eirenikos and Kale, and for myself the sinner, and that I should also be commemorated in perpetuity, together with Sophia and Irene, and Basil and Leo and Anna and Nicholas and Constantine, and that a *trisagion* be recited especially for our holy and pious emperors, so that they may be moved to take pity on my poorhouse and monastery, and may protect and defend them, when they need it; and that by command of their mighty and holy majesty they may be kept free from abuse and trouble, so that God may be well pleased and increase and magnify their power. [p. 67]

[32.] Concerning the doxology

It is my wish that all the offices, both at night and during the day, be celebrated according to my *typikon*, which I have personally drafted, and the other regulations found therein.

[33.] Concerning the allowance and pension of the monks

The allowance of the monks and the other pious donations in cash of the poorhouse and monastery should first be deposited with the *typikon* on the holy altar, and after a *trisagion* has been recited in front of the holy altar, and a supplication and prayer has been made for the Christ-loving emperors, a most honorable man should enter and take the money from the holy altar, as if from the hands of our Lord Jesus Christ. Then this *Rule* of mine should be read first, and the allowances paid out without my heir keeping back or removing anything.

However, I do not want my son, the *mystographos* lord Theodore, to be badly treated or scorned by any of the monks, or annoyed to an unreasonable degree, but I want everyone to love and be in awe of him, to respect and fear him, and to regard and revere him as they do me, since I bequeath to him the privileges of founder, and leave him, after God and the Virgin, as the irrevocable heir and lord, who is not liable to give an accounting for any reason or cause whatsoever, unless he alienates one of the donated properties or keeps back any of the pious donations which I have established, or alters my *Rule*. But if by chance he does attempt something contrary [to my rule], he should be mildly reprimanded by the monks, and exhorted to carry out the rules of my *typikon*. For he, too, should honor the monks, and not maltreat any of them, or deprive him of his due without good reason.

[34.] Concerning justice

If an inquiry or lawsuit should arise concerning a property of the holy poorhouse and the monastery, they should not have the authority to be judged [p. 69] without receiving a document which states that “I, so-and-so, attack the inheritance of the Son of God.” As I know that the eparch of Constantinople¹⁸ at any time is pious and God-loving and a man of God, since he has been appointed father of the city, it is my wish that they be judged with his knowledge and assistance. As a compensation for this service may he be rewarded by God and receive the ineffable and incor-

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ruptible crown and may he be inscribed in the holy diptychs and commemorated in perpetuity. He should also receive five *nomismata* as a reward for his soul and way of life, as a pledge of his spiritual assent¹⁹ and the prosperity of his life and fortune. If any judgment is made without his knowledge, it should be invalid, unless my heir wishes the suit to be tried without the eparch because the case is of minor importance. For then it is permitted for him to act in this fashion. The eparch is to have no other privilege than the right to assist and uphold justice in lawsuits, or the reward from God and the gift of five *nomismata*. For if he tries to become involved in the *ephoreia*, or to acquire any other privilege or authority, he should be paid no heed, and should be barred immediately from this treacherous assistance and receipt of pay. The aid of the eparch in these sacred affairs will no longer be requested, since it is dangerous.

[35. Specifications for the monks' allowances]

The monks ought to receive the following allowances: the superior (when there is one, as I have already said), twelve *nomismata*; the officials, eight *nomismata* each; the priests, seven *nomismata* each; and the others, six *nomismata* each, half in *trachea*, half in *tetartera*. The superior should also receive forty-eight *modioi* of wheat, the others thirty *modioi*. In addition to this quantity, I ordain that each monk should receive three extra *modioi* of wheat for the distribution that I have prescribed for them to make daily at the gate. The superior should receive thirty-six measures of wine, the others twenty-four measures each; for the rest of their food, the superior should receive three *nomismata*, the others two apiece; and they should each receive three *modioi* of legumes and one *nomisma* each for oil; the superior is to get two *nomismata*. [p. 71]

[36. The expenses for feast days]

The feast days which occur in the course of the year should be celebrated as follows: on the feast of the Transfiguration of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ, six *nomismata* should be spent for wax and oil and the monks' food, and one *nomisma* for charity to the poor; on the greatly honored feast day of the venerable Dormition of the all-holy Mother of God, three *nomismata*; on the feast day of the Incorporeal One, the great commander of the heavenly armies [Michael], which is celebrated on the 8th of November, two *nomismata*; on the feast day of the honorable [St. John the] Forerunner and Baptist, which is celebrated at the [summer] solstice at the time of his holy birth,²⁰ four *nomismata* for the illumination, incense and the refectory, but only one *nomisma* for each of his other feast days. For Christmas and Epiphany three *nomismata*, and for the salvific and most extraordinary Day of the Resurrection of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ, three *nomismata* also. For wax for the church of the monastery during the whole year twelve *nomismata tetartera*, and 150 measures of oil, and two *nomismata* for incense; for eucharistic bread and wine for the whole year eighteen *modioi* of wheat and eighteen measures of wine should be supplied, so that the monks may partake of a collation, and one *nomisma* for small glass lamps.²¹

[37. Regarding the possibility of an unworthy descendant]

When I was issuing instructions about my relatives, I did not neglect to bring up the possibility that one of them might demonstrate deceit or great negligence or otherwise misbehave with regard

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to the property of my monastery and poorhouse. Just as I explained the reasons particularly and at some length in that section,²² this person will be deprived of his *ephoreia* and dominion and supervision, and another relative, the closest in degree of kinship, will succeed to this [responsibility], a man who has given evidence of his piety and fear of God, and has agreed to do everything in accordance with my *Rule*. But because it seems somewhat harsh and cruel to condemn sinners to punishment, so that they are deprived even of the means of livelihood, without testimony and incitement to proper behavior, I ordain that three [p. 73] written warnings be issued every three months, in the presence of witnesses, to anyone who does not properly follow my regulations and abuses the affairs of the holy institutions.

In the event that he does not then mend his ways, if other members of my family are still living, [I ordain] that preference be given to that one of them who is distinguished for virtue and splendid conduct. In case there are no surviving males, then a woman will serve the purpose. But if by chance there should be no other relative from the lineage which I have already mentioned, and if the sole survivor is the man who holds the [right of] dominion and the *ephoreia* at that time, he should relinquish the administration and supervision of my monastery and poorhouse. Then the monks should manage their own affairs, and supervise and distribute everything in accordance with this present *Rule* of mine, but they should hand over to him half of the surplus revenues after paying all the expenses prescribed by the *typikon* for the improvement of properties and buildings, while the other half should be deposited and saved for the purchase of other real estate and for necessary improvements. But if there is a worthy relative who is appointed to the *ephoreia* and [right of] dominion in place of the *ephoros* who was dismissed for malfeasance, out of compassion he should offer to the dismissed [*ephoros*] the equivalent of one monk's pension each year.

In the case of my dearly beloved son, the *mystographos* and imperial notary lord Theodore, no expulsion is to be imposed; rather he should be compelled to carry out my instructions, even against his will. But if he is found guilty of malfeasance, the penalty should be imposed on him of paying double the amount fixed in the *typikon*. For as long as he carries out my instructions piously without keeping anything back for himself, he will surely be blessed in his own [affairs], and will be pleasing to everyone. But let him not try to make a fortune through embezzlement from holy [institutions], because this method [of enrichment] leads rather to poverty and condemnation. If he is eager for more [money], let him do good work and strive hard and acquire additional property in good faith, having his own father as an example. Will not the Lord God leave him everything that is good and prosperous and lovely? For since he is my only son, I love and cherish him exceedingly, and I want him to be healthy in soul and body, and to be unhampered and not bothered by any person or matter.

[38. Administration of the foundation upon the extinction of the family line]

If after a long time my family line should happen to die out, and my monastery and the poorhouse should become independent, at the time of the election of a superior, a man should be chosen by [p. 75] all the monks who demonstrates distinguished manners, and behaves blamelessly in accordance with God, and who cultivates well the furrow of virtue. He should receive the *sphragis* from the most honorable superior of the monastery of Stoudios; but the superior of Stoudios should not

thereby insinuate himself into the *ephoreia* or any authority over my monastery and poorhouse. He will have only the right to confer the *sphragis* on the [new] superior, and to resolve any dispute which might perhaps arise in the future over the position of superior, so as to select the better [candidate]. I enjoin and command him in no way to assume any further privilege.

If there should be an argument over the virtue of two monks, and some prefer this one for the pastoral responsibility, that is, the office of superior, and others prefer that one, the choice should be made by divine vote, as I previously described.²³ Then the man who has been chosen by lot at the altar should receive the *sphragis* as superior by the aforementioned superior [of Stoudios].

The most distinguished eparch [of Constantinople] will render assistance in the legal affairs of my monastery and poorhouse in accordance with the regulations previously declared in an inalienable manner for the sake of his spiritual salvation and service to God. If the most honorable superior [of Stoudios] should attempt to acquire ownership rights or *ephoreia* over these pious [foundations], the [eparch] should prevent him, and strip him of this privilege. Then the most distinguished eparch should receive [the privilege of] the installation of the superior, but he should have no further [right] beyond this and assistance and support in legal affairs.

This should occur after the right of *ephoreia* and dominion has passed from my family, as has already been said. For I absolutely forbid and reject any lay or ecclesiastical authority over this monastery and poorhouse, and I entrust them only to God who is glorified in the most sovereign and suprasubstantial Trinity, as I have often indicated in the present document. In order to please God and carry out my present instructions, no one else is to administer them and to have the aforementioned privileges, except for my true son, the *mystographos* and imperial notary lord Theodore, and my direct descendants through him, in perpetuity, in accordance with the instructions and the limits which I established in the passages concerning the *ephoreia* and administration of the monastery, so that a male is to be preferred to a female, and a virtuous man to the others. They will simply be as I indicated and instructed more thoroughly in the previous passage. If someone [p. 77] from the imperial court or the Church or any other privileged position or rank or condition should attempt to transgress any of my commandments, in addition to being ignored, may he be cursed by God and men, and be liable to all the aforementioned curses, on account of his attempt alone. May he also be relegated to the ranks of those who are anathematized in the holy churches, inasmuch as he is a transgressor and abomination.

[39.] Concerning the dependent peasants and tenants

My dependent peasants and tenants should not be harassed, and should not be burdened with increases in payments or services, over and above the sums they paid and work they performed in my day; for I forbid the type and form of their service to be changed, unless one of them is found to possess and cultivate more than the land assigned to him, or unless some other unforeseen circumstance would require an additional contribution or services.

[40.] Concerning the property titles

The title deeds for the immovable property attached to my monastery and poorhouse, as well as the original chrysobull, should be deposited in chests placed either in the sacristy of the monastery, or in another safe location. Each chest should have two keys, and my heir should keep one of

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them, and the steward the other, if there is no superior. Seals should also be affixed by my heir and the monks, and when there is need for a title deed, they should all open [the chest] and remove the document (and the same security measures should apply also to the other [documents]). Then, when the business is finished, the document should be replaced in its original location. The documents should be unrolled and shaken out three times a year, and then returned again to the same secure place. All the title deeds should be copied in a register, so that one can discern quickly the number and kind of title deeds that each property possesses. For, thanks to God, I have acquired all my properties with legal and valid actions and documents, and in good faith, and, as God is my witness, I never cheated the fisc or broke the law. If the heirs to the pious [p. 79] institutions examine any case pertaining to my property, they will always find a document appropriate for the most secure confirmation of the case in question.

The original *typikon* should be secured and sealed at the top. Its authentic copy²⁴ should be used [instead], and read three times a year, at the time of the distribution of the cash allowance to the monks, as has already been said,²⁵ and in the month of September and at Epiphany. But if there should be any doubt about a word in the copy, then the original should be opened, and after a collation has been made, that is a comparison of the texts, the original should be secured again and sealed at the top; and it should be kept in a safe place, and the copy should [normally] be used.

[41. Instructions for the steward]

The pious monk Michael, whom I appointed steward, inasmuch as he is a man who acts virtuously and was the first to be tonsured, should act to please my dearly beloved son and heir in all things. He should also exert himself for the sake of his well-being and prosperity, and carry out everything that is pleasing to him according to God, since he is distinguished among the monks. He should also guide [my son] toward every pious deed, so that the distributions are made by him, together with God, in accordance with my present wishes, so that he may receive again from him the attachment and honor that are his due. Therefore he has now been assigned a larger remuneration than the others, and his pay will be ten *nomismata*, and his provisions thirty-six *modioi* of wheat and thirty measures of wine. The rest should remain in accordance with the previous instructions.²⁶ If the superior of Stoudios should happen to appoint a superior for the monastery of the poorhouse of the All-Merciful, in case my family should die out (God forbid), he should receive compensation of three *nomismata* for his provisions.

[42. Pension for servants of departed monks]

When a monk from this monastery departs to the Lord, his servant may remain forty days in the poorhouse without being dismissed. If he is found to be of worthy character and good reputation, he should be included among the six brethren who are fed each day, making the sixth in number; but if he does not want this, he should be assigned to the eighteen people who are entitled to receive wheat, and should receive twelve *annonikoi modioi* of wheat annually. [p. 81]

[43. Warning to those who might initiate legal proceedings against the foundation]

Furthermore, I leave this instruction: if anyone ever institutes a judicial inquiry concerning the status of my poorhouse or monastery, or its *ephoreia* or administration, and impiously attempts to

transgress my instructions, he should be sentenced to eternal hell-fire and the most frightful curses. No one else should listen to his idle talk and his pernicious and diabolic intrigues, except for the most holy emperor who, by divine appointment, has piously received the Roman scepter, so that he, who has his heart in the hand of God, and has been chosen by him above all, may vigorously repel this wolf and wicked persecutor and babbler, and may crush his most loathsome savagery, and preserve unimpaired my humble instructions and the prosperity of these venerable establishments in perpetuity, since he is pious and a lover of Christ.

For it is fitting for him to respect the wishes of the founders, and to defend venerable [institutions], and to maintain and preserve from outrage the pious chrysobulls issued for them, since a *trisagion* is recited daily on behalf of the most holy emperors, as is indicated in my *typikon*.²⁷ With confidence in their piety and beneficence, that is, their aid and protection, the men of God consecrate their lives to God as a propitiatory offering on behalf of their salvation, and the raising of trophies, and good success, and the victory of the army and the good order of the commonwealth and spiritual benefit and the pleasure of God.

I also make this further commandment: if ever any of my collateral relatives should attempt to harass my dearly beloved and true son, lord Theodore, or should devise a lawsuit or extortion scheme, for any reason or in any manner whatsoever, against him or his sons and grandsons or great-grandsons, and his legitimate descendants, first of all this man should be cursed, then the entire chapter²⁸ concerning my collateral relatives should be invalidated, in which I ordained that any of my collateral relatives who wished should be tonsured. Even if my entire line of descendants should die out ten thousand times, not even one of my collateral relatives should insinuate himself into any *ephoreia*, or receive any of the revenues from my pious institutions, not even a morsel of bread or anything else; moreover they should not even be permitted to enter the gate, since they are considered plotters and enemies and opponents of my commandments. [p. 83]

[44. Provision for the recording of a future imperial chrysobull]

If, with God's aid, another chrysobull should be issued to confirm my instructions, and the immunity of my property and other affairs, it should be recorded in this *typikon* of mine. For I have left several different blank pages for this purpose. The same should be true for the inventory which is attached to my *typikon* whenever property or money is acquired in addition to that already listed.

[45. Conclusion]

The Lord God will preserve these things undamaged and unshaken forever, increasing in extent and in good order, and neither time nor envy will overthrow and damage them; rather may they always be guided towards progress and increase and a more stable condition, and may they be governed by the life-giving and divine hand, under its shelter and protection, to the glory of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, now forever and to everlasting generations. Amen.

+ I, Michael Attaleiates, *patrikios*, *anthypatos*, judge of the hippodrome and the *velum*, confirming all the above [provisions], with God's help, and wanting them to remain inviolable, have appended my signature and seal, in the month of March, fifteenth indiction, of the year 6585 [= 1077 A.D.].+

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[46. Clarification of certain provisions of the *typikon*]

I also write in this *typikon* of mine,²⁹ that if there should be no male descendant in my family, then a woman may undertake the succession to the aforementioned pious establishments, and again I confirm it; and the sex [of the heir] will never harm the family, and the instructions and wishes of your humble founder. For, in fact, the supervision of such [institutions] is often entrusted to women through gifts or family inheritance, but is [actually] exercised by men, either their husbands, or sons, or respected servants of good reputation, and thus at the same time are preserved the rightful succession and pious action.

But anyone who tries to transgress any of my instructions, no matter what the age or condition or sex or rank of the individual, appears ridiculous for attempting the impossible, since he does not respect the instructions of founders, and does not honor the rules and privileges of the Queen of Cities, and especially of the provinces, and since he does not understand the meaning of laws and [p. 85] the power of chrysobulls, by means of which this Great Church [Hagia Sophia] was established and is maintained, and lavras and monasteries more numerous than the stars enjoy the benefits of the instructions of their founders, moreover, may such a transgressor be ranked with those who crucified my Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ.

The condition of restitution which was imposed on my heirs in case of childlessness should immediately be abolished, and both during their lifetime and after their death they should be permitted to transfer to whomever they wish the property which I have left them. In addition, they should have the supervision of and dominion over the aforementioned pious institutions established by me, to preserve them in the future in accordance with my instructions.

+ I, Michael Attaleiates, *proedros*, judge of the hippodrome and the *velum*, have now confirmed with my signature that this preceding addition was made by me. +

* * *

[Inventory]

+ Beginning of the inventory of the monastery of the All-Merciful

[INV 1] Blessed be the Lord God who is celebrated and recognized by the faithful as the Trinity, who with his threefold and co-eternal and consubstantial light illuminates and guides all things, whether in the world or above the world or beyond the material, through whom I have been granted a portent for good and marvelous favors. For by divine Providence and his infinitely powerful majesty I was rescued from accursed hands during wars against the Persians [Turks], Arabs, and also the Scyths [Patzinaks], and extraordinary strength and power compensated for my inherent weakness, and warded off total destruction. Moreover, divine succor often rescued me unexpectedly from the depths of the sea, and I was granted salvation from many terrible dangers. For I have always been eager to proclaim his mercy and not to conceal his benefactions, since

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truly “great is the Lord and greatly to be praised, he is wonderful in high places and alone does wonders” (Ps. 47 [48]:1; 92 [93]:4; 71 [72]:18). For he has revealed before my eyes [p. 87] exceedingly great favors of life and salvation, and has not only saved me, but also guided me towards prosperity and good repute, “and set my feet upon a rock, making my steps secure” (Ps. 40:3) at all times and in all places and in accordance with my expectation.

[INV 2] Wherefore, borrowing the voice of a witness, I cry out with tears and a contrite soul, so that I may find the All-Merciful Master and Lord my God propitious “in the day of judgment” (Matt. 10:15) to condone and forgive my countless sins. This is my cry of supplication: “O Lord, I magnify thee, because thou hast regarded my humility, and hast not abandoned me in the hands of my enemies, but hast preserved my soul from distress; and now, O Lord, may thy hand protect me and may thy mercy come upon me; give glory to thy holy name, and with thy power lead me toward thy divine tribunal; at the time of my judgment let not the hand of the prince of darkness seize me in order to drag my sinful self down to the depths of Hell, but stand beside me and be my savior and protector. O Lord, have mercy on my soul which has been defiled by the passions of this life,” and receive it purified by repentance, because “Thou art blessed forever.”³⁰

[INV 3] O all-merciful Lord, most compassionate King, this [prayer is made] to thee by “a worthless servant” (Luke 25:30) who is both humble and extremely sinful. Prostrating myself therefore with a contrite heart, I make a prayer and supplication. Do not reject this sacrifice and unworthy offering of thy servant, but accept it in peace in accordance with thy incomparable and ineffable mercy, and look compassionately upon this “little flock” (Luke 12:32), because it is thy heritage in fact and in name. Guard it in peace and concord, preserving my commandments as is pleasing to thee, our great God and Savior, the highest and unitary majesty that shines with a triple light. Since “I am making thee an offering from thine own,”³¹ I beg forgiveness for my daring, in the knowledge that “no human being will be justified in thy sight” (Rom. 3:20), unless he has been blessed first by the incomprehensible and ineffable mercy of thy compassion, through which I trust and pray that these modest offerings will be multiplied, and increased, and that much more abundant blessings will be bestowed than those which were requested of thee, through pious donations for the purpose of perpetual thanksgiving and praise of thy power.

[INV 4] These are the objects listed in the inventory of the monastery and poorhouse that serve thee, to which should be added subsequent acquisitions through [p. 89] thy great assistance and assent, either from me again, or from other God-loving and pious men, whose names ought to be set down in the register of the donated movable or immovable object, so that they may be commemorated in perpetuity in the daily and nocturnal offices of the holy church.

[INV 5] The sacred treasures

A large icon, painted on wood, [representing] Jesus Christ the All-Merciful, standing.

Four silver-gilt crosses for Palm Sunday.

A silver icon, and gilded support, with a bust of the Savior, with two wings; on the interior the

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wings have the most holy Mother of God and the venerable [St. John the] Forerunner, the holy apostles Peter and Paul, St. Artemios and St. Loukilianos; on the exterior they have the holy martyrs George, Akindynos, St. Nicholas and St. Methodios, St. Kosmas and St. Damian.

Another silver-gilt icon has a bust of the Savior, surrounded by nine icons and the *Hetoimasia*.

Another silver-gilt icon has the most holy Mother of God, holding the infant in her left arm, surrounded by nine icons, and above, as the inscription says, the church of the most holy Mother of God.

Another silver-gilt icon of [St. Michael] the commander of the heavenly armies of silver gilt with eighteen bust icons.

Another painted wood icon of St. Catherine with silver-gilt frame, having six bust icons and two standing icons.

Another painted wood icon of [St. John] the venerable Forerunner, set out for veneration, without frame.

Other icons of the *Deesis*, painted on wood.

The *templon*, which also has in the middle the *Deesis* and the story of [St. John] the venerable and holy Forerunner. [p. 91]

Another painted wood icon of St. Panteleemon with a silver-gilt frame and twenty-five glass jewels,³² with sixteen icons around the frame.

From the offering of the *praipositos* John, the secretary of the founder, which was made at the beginning of the month of October of the eighth indiction:³³

A silver-gilt icon of St. Theodore.

Another icon of St. John the Forerunner, made of bronze, with silver-gilt frame.

Another bronze icon of St. Nicholas, also with silver-gilt frame; both [icons] small.

[INV 6] The sacred vessels

A silver-gilt chalice and paten with *asteriskos*, spoon, and *ithmos*, the paten having . . . on the edge . . . , and on the bottom a cross and a circular inscription: "Lord, help the monk Romanos"; the chalice has four crosses and on the foot an inscription similar to that of the paten, and on the edge: "Drink ye all of this" (Matt. 26:27), both together weighing four *litrai*, seven ounces.

Two silver-gilt pot-shaped lamps with their suspended chains, one weighing two *litrai*, the other two *litrai* less an ounce.

Silver-gilt capitals for the holy doors, one depicting Christ, the other the most holy Mother of God, weighing one *litrai*.

A silver standing censer without gilding, in the form of a horseback rider, weighing . . .

A silver-gilt Persian casket with enamels, weighing . . .

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From the offering of the aforementioned *praipositos* John, a plain silver *ithmos*. [p. 93]

[INV 7] The books

A minuscule gospel lectionary, with all the titles and headings written in gold, with two crosses, four ornaments in the form of a gamma, eight almond-shaped studs, seven clasps, fifty-seven nails, all in silver-gilt.

A book containing the four gospels in uncials, with two crosses and eight gamma-shaped ornaments, all of pure cast gold; and one of the crosses depicts the Crucifixion, the other the most holy Mother of God, and the gamma-shaped ornaments represent the holy apostles and various other saints. This book of the four gospels also has seventy-one small nails and seven silver-gilt clasps, which have in turn sixteen nails and eight studs.

Another old gospel lectionary, written in uncials, with one silver cross and an inscription on the cross as follows:

“Even after my death, I offer a rule of conduct
To God my Master as a propitiatory offering.”

Another book, the *Apostolos*, in minuscule.

A *Prophetes*, in minuscule.

An *Oktoechos*, with two canons.

A *Sticherarion*.

A Psalter for psalmody.

Menaia for the entire year, and a *Triodion* in good condition.

Lectionaries.

[St. Gregory Nazianzen] the Theologian.

The first [volume of John Chrysostom's *Homiliae*] in *Johannem*.

Four volumes of the *Metaphraseis* [of Symeon Logothetes].

Four *Menaia*, for September, October, November, and December.

Another Psalter, with commentary. [p. 95]

Another book, the *Pandektes* [of the monk Antiochos].

The second volume of the *Hexameros* of [St. John] Chrysostom, and the *Hexameros* of St. Basil with the Apocalypse and miscellaneous texts.

Another book, *Panegyrikon* of different authors, and another book of [St. John] Chrysostom, *The Statues*, and another book of theology by St. John of Damascus.

Another *Prophetes*, in minuscule, and another book, the *Catecheses* of [Theodore] the Studite.

From the donation of the same *praipositos* John:

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A parchment book, in minuscule, containing a text of [St. John] Chrysostom, and the *Life* of St. Artemios, and lives of other saints.

Another parchment book containing the canons of the feast days of our Lord, with commentary, and a book on earthquakes and thunder.

Another book in paper containing the synopsis of the Holy Gospel, and Alexander,³⁴ and other texts.

Another paper [volume containing] a chronicle composed by the founder.

The following [books] were donated to this holy monastery in the month of March of the eighth indiction by the monk Michael, superior of the same monastery:

A book in paper, a *Praxapostolos*, with commentary, containing also the seven catholic epistles, also with commentary, and in addition the Book of Job, the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Jesus, son of Sirach, all with commentary, all in beautiful writing.

Another paper book, containing the Psalter with commentary. [p. 97]

Another book in parchment, in uncials, *The Capture of Jerusalem* [by Flavius Josephus].

Another parchment book, a *Nomocanon*, and [the *Acts*] of the holy apostle Peter by [Ps.-] Clement [of Rome].

Another parchment book, a commentary on [St. John] the Theologian.

Another [volume], a *Heirmologion* in paper.

Another book, containing a *Kontakarion* and psalter, as well as the verses preceded by Alleluias.

Another book, a *Schematologion*.

The books donated by the executors after the death of the founders, as well as the books acquired subsequently for the needs of the monastery, and the books donated by the monk lord John, the spiritual father of our late master and founder, have been recorded at the end of the volume of the *typikon* because of the limited space in this part of the catalogue of the books in the *typikon*.

[INV 8] The textiles

One cloth in green silk fabric for the holy altar, with eleven young horses and a two-headed lion-griffin.

Another altar cloth in linen, with painted decoration.

Two curtains, one for the *templon*, and the other for [St. John] the venerable and holy Forerunner.

Veils for the chalice, one new and one old.

Another cloth for the holy table, made of *skaramangion*.

A curtain for the *templon*, similar to the altar cloth, which also covers the columns of the holy doors, both old.

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Another silk cloth, a curtain in two shades³⁵ of purple, depicting a purple peacock in a conch-shaped niche, with borders [and ?] lining (?)³⁶ of pistachio color, and another very long [p. 99] and narrow curtain, of brilliant white, the so-called *ambelokladion* [with vine-tendrils decoration], with ordinary borders [and?] lining (?). These two liturgical cloths were dedicated with devotion to [St. John] the venerable and holy Forerunner by the *praipositos* and chamberlain John for the remission of his sins, so that on feast days the narrow [curtain] might be hung above the venerable head [of St. John], the other in front of him like a *podea*.

[INV 9] [List of] properties

This monastery with its rental properties, the bakery, the perfume shop, and the houses with upper and lower floors which are rented out, except for the ones which I have excluded, that is, the gallery and ground floor [of the buildings] which look out on the courtyard of the small house.

Half of the income from the house which came to me from Thomas of Nicaea.

All of my large house in the town of Rhaidestos, which I designated to be a poorhouse in fact and in name, and joined indissolubly with the monastery.

The estate of Selokaka together with Makron Chorion.

The estate of Baboulou, or Lips.

The estate of St. Myrope, also known as the Monokellion, and the other Monokellion donated to my monastery and poorhouse as his own personal property by the most holy patriarch of Theoupolis, the great Antioch, lord Nikephoros.³⁷ On his behalf an *ektenes* and memorial rites should be celebrated in perpetuity, and on the anniversary of his death two *nomismata* should be given to the monks for liturgical [purposes], and three *nomismata* for distribution to the poor, and in addition there should be celebrated a *trisagion* and twenty-four liturgies.

The estate of Symeoniou.

The *aule* of Metaxas. [p. 101]

The *aule* of Arkolykes together with the houses acquired by exchange with Hagia Sophia.

The *aule* of Kentarchos, together with all of the houses there.

Of my estates at Mesokomion, I donate one estate which I bought from the nun _____, the niece of Skribas, which he had from Chosbaites.

It should be known that the property of the Monokellion donated by the patriarch of Theoupolis, the great Antioch, which was taken by force from him, belonged to the nun Xene Komnene, the most noble *kouropalattissa*, and was later given by her to the monastery of the All-Merciful, with the approval of her holy mother, lady Anna; and they should be commemorated both during their lifetime and after their death, together with Constantine, the late husband of the nun, lady Xene, and their memorial rites should be celebrated in perpetuity in accordance with the text of their donation.³⁸

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[INV 10] [Chrysobull of Emperor Michael VII Doukas]

Copy of the chrysobull of the emperor, lord Michael Doukas, which was registered at the office of the *genikos logothetes* in the month of March of the thirteenth indiction, at the office of the *oikeiaka* on March 28 of the thirteenth indiction, at the office of the *sakelle* in the month of March of the thirteenth indiction, at the *oikonomion* of pious institutions on March 30 of the thirteenth indiction, and at the office of the *stratitikos logothetes* on April 14 of the thirteenth indiction.

+In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, Doukas, faithful emperor and orthodox *autokrator* of the Romans.+

[p. 103]

There is nothing at all which can render the generous soul of a ruler even more generous than the sincere loyalty of a grateful subject whose heart is eager to serve his master. If this man is also adorned with learning of general usefulness and a good disposition and intelligence, this encourages his master to even more generosity. For this man attracts his master to himself³⁹ as a magnet does iron, and he asks, as is reasonable, to enjoy abundant favors from him. Indeed an example has been revealed right before our eyes and very close at hand that this is so and that these words are true, namely the *anthypatos* and judge, Michael Attaleiates, a man venerated for the dignity of his bearing and his good character, a very serious individual of great learning and admirable experience, and even more admirable in his loyalty to my majesty, a man who is prouder of this [loyalty] with which he is adorned than he is of his other [accomplishments], as a long period of time has clearly revealed. For this man was apprehensive lest his house in Rhaidestos, and his additional properties which he acquired and owned in the themes of Thrace and Macedonia, be subjected daily to plundering and ruin at the hands of all the profiteers, and suffer great and wrongful damage from them. Thus he has presented an urgent petition to my majesty on their behalf, and has entreated earnestly that we issue a chrysobull to spare them harassment.

Therefore, my majesty, who is more eager to grant the petition than Attaleiates was to make the request, has graciously consented, and has royally awarded him the present chrysobull, by means of which he ordains and decrees that this man's house, together with its rental properties and the estates which he has honestly acquired and owns in the aforementioned themes, whatever their nature and number, are to be inviolate and spared any harassment, even if with the passage of time they should happen to increase a great deal.

[He also decrees] that these properties and their inhabitants are not to fear the visitation of judges or fiscal agents or soldiers or *orthotai* or magistrates or registrars or tax collectors of any sort, nor any of their subordinates. Furthermore [he decrees] that from the present time all [these properties] are to be preserved inviolate in perpetuity, and that they be completely spared all other [problems], and enjoy complete freedom and peace from this day on, whether they belong to private and lay owners, [p. 105] or, as the result of a donation, to ecclesiastics or monks or pious foundations. They should pay only that amount exacted from them annually up to this point, whether it is taxes, or some other kind of payment. [They should pay] those people to whom they have been making payments at stated intervals until now, and in no way be subjected to any new or novel burden of imposition and innovation, whether great or small.

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They are also forthwith to be spared the passage of an army and *vestiaritai* and mandators and other imperial agents who come to the aforementioned themes on any sort of business, or pass through en route. Neither they nor their animals are to be subjected to any compulsory labor service, or additional labor, by any of these agents, nor to be compelled to supply the provisions which are given to the judges or fiscal agents and those enumerated above. Rather these properties should remain in total peace and security, and should banish far away from themselves and reject any fear and danger of harassment.

For all [the properties] of the aforementioned *anthypatos* and judge of the *velum* have anchored in a harbor protected from the waves on all sides, and do not expect any storm or turbulence and damage, and so that the force of my words may be understood in its essentials, [these properties] are protected in perpetuity by this chrysobull, in the manner I have described, as if by a mighty fortress that is impregnable on all sides. They will drive far away anyone who attempts, or even considers, abuse of these [properties], and they will use weapons against any person of this sort, as if from a very high vantage point, and they will be safe and completely free from any harm and damage from these people.

They will also be exempted from the billeting of officers of the *tagmata* or themes, or of the Russians, Varangians or Koulpingoi⁴⁰ or Franks or Bulgarians or Saracens or any other [mercenaries], from *antimitatikia*, *aplekta*, and the provisioning of *aplekta*, *mesaplekta*, judges, tax-gatherers and all others, the requisitioning of pack-animals, the payment of *kaniskia* and *antikaniska*, both old ones and those which might be imposed subsequently, the provisioning of fortresses, the purchase of mules, half-shares of mules, pack-mules, half-share of pack-mules, horses, [p. 107] horses for use as out-runners, jackasses, she-asses, mares, draft oxen and beef cattle, pigs, sheep, goats, cows, buffalo, hunting dogs and other four-footed animals, the furnishing of produce by forced sale, the obligation of the *dromos*, the *oikomodion*, the *komodromikion*, the *prosodia*, the *aerikon*, the *synone*, the *strateia*, the hearth tax, the tax for the construction of fortresses and the paving of roads, the building of bridges, the *taxation*, the *matzoukation*, the provision of supplies to be given to judges or fiscal agents or other officials, or foreign envoys in transit or an army, the supplying of fodder, the sustenance of *protokentarchoi* or *proeleusimaioi*, or imperial agents dispatched on certain missions, the provision of produce or transport of wine, meat and miscellaneous items, the outfitting of marines, lancers, bowmen or mounted archers, the purchase of wheat, barley, oats, oil, legumes and grains of all kinds, the cutting and transport of any sort of wood or the transport of oars, or anything else, the provision of *malaratoi*, archers, the outfitting of soldiers, cavalry and infantry officers, lodging of top-ranking officers, *doukes*, *katepano*, *strategoi*, judges, and other tax gatherers, the provisioning and lodging of armies going to and returning from war, of *vestiaritai*, mandators of the *dromos* who are escorting ambassadors or exiles, or passing through for any other reason, of *topoteretai*, *tourmarchai*, *merarchai*, and anyone else entrusted with making inquiries into affairs of the fisc, compulsory labor service, additional labor, or any other imposition, whether mentioned [above] or omitted, whether existing at this moment or devised at a later time.

Therefore I command and confirm that all officials, at present or in the future, *sakellarioi*, *genikoi logothetai* and *stratitotikoi logothetai*, the [officials in charge of] our *sakelle* and *vestiarion*, the stewards of the pious institutions and of [the convent of] Petria, the officials in charge of the

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oikeiaka, and the *ephoroi* of the imperial curatories, the *eidikoi*, the directors of old age homes, the officials in charge of our divine treasury of Phylax, the curators [p. 109] of the house of Eleutheriou and Mangana, the *oikistikoi*, and their subordinates, the *protonotarioi*, the *logariastai*, the *chartoularioi*, notaries and imperial notaries, as well as the *domestikoi ton scholon*, *doukes*, *katepano*, *strategoï* and their representatives, *taxiarchai*, *tourmarchai*, *chartoularioi* of the *dromos* and the themes, counts of the Court, *domestikoi* of the themes, *droungarokometai*, *protokentarchoi*, *proeleusimaïoi* and other officers of the *tagmata* and themes; and in addition judges, magistrates, *strateutai*, *orthotai*, registrars, *protonotarioi*, collectors of the *synone*, *horeiarioi*, and anyone else entrusted with government business, that no one at all, at any time or in any way, is to annul or invalidate any provision decreed here by my majesty, even if it is only a mere attempt, on account of the guarantee and security of this pious sealed chrysobull of mine issued in the month of March of the 13th indiction in the year 6583 [= 1075 A.D.], to which my pious authority, chosen by God, has appended its signature.+

+Michael Doukas, in Christ God the faithful emperor and *autokrator* of the Romans.+

[INV 11] [Chrysobull of Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates]⁴¹

[This document makes extensive use of the preceding Chrysobull of Michael VII [INV 10]. Borrowings are indicated in boldface type.]

Copy of the chrysobull of the emperor lord Nikephoros Botaneiates, registered at the office of the *oikeiaka* in the month of May of the second indiction, at the office of the *sakelle* on the ninth of May of the second indiction, at the office of the great *sakellarios* in the month of May of the second indiction, at the office of the *oikonomion* of the West in the month of May of the second indiction, at the office of the *genikos logothetes* on the fourteenth of May of the second indiction, and at the office of the *stratitikos logothetes* on the seventh of May of the second indiction.

+In the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, Nikephoros Botaneiates, faithful emperor [and] orthodox *autokrator* of the Romans.+ [p. 111]

It is fitting for a true emperor to be known as one who distributes rewards to the deserving and assigns to each the appropriate honors; and if learning and a reputation for learning have become as it were a distinctive characteristic of the *magistros* and judge, Michael Attaleiates, it would not be fair for this man not to receive the corresponding favor. For if a man imbued with culture is not revered, then we consider culture to be unimportant. If we do not place importance upon culture, which is the crowning glory of civilization, then we condemn to neglect people with rational natures. [I trust], however, that no one would neglect the good to so great an extent as to fail to honor learning in a reasonable manner. For this reason it would be unfair if a man who has exerted himself on behalf of culture, and achieved greater success than most, should now be deceived in his expectations by my pious majesty, and not have his request granted, especially since he has affixed to his present purpose an extraordinary image of divine piety. But what is the reason for this preamble? The text which immediately follows will indicate this most clearly.

This aforementioned *magistros* formerly acquired properties in Thrace and Macedonia, and procured from the previous emperor, lord Michael Doukas, a chrysobull granting total immunity

to them, and enjoining that they were **to be free from any access and visitation** by anyone, by **judges and fiscal agents and *strateutai*, *orthotai* and magistrates, registrars, and tax collectors of any kind, and all their subordinates.** [The chrysobull also] forbids **any increase** or amendment [in the taxes] on his estates, so that he is to pay **only** the [monies] **exacted annually** up to this time, **whether they be taxes, or any other payments.** Moreover, [the chrysobull] excludes and prevents any other sort of imposition, whether billeting or compulsory labor service or extra duty, or other responsibilities enumerated in that [document]. Thereby it had the force [of law], and since the foundation was laid in accordance with the law, the edifice placed on top of it was also secure. But even a solid [edifice] often needs a support, so that it may become stronger. For example, sometimes we surround a trench with walls, and encircle a city with a double circuit wall, and this procedure is not incompatible with [the concern for] perfection. Therefore the *magistros* has resolved on this circumspect and shrewd [procedure]. He decided to approach our pious majesty for confirmation, since he knew that an imperial decree which confirms a [previous] decree has even greater weight. [p. 113] For this reason he requested a document sealed with a chrysobull confirming the properties which he has acquired legally, and granting him an unassailable title of ownership, as well as confirming the above-described immunity. Since [this] request was not unreasonable, but rather made good sense, it has been granted.

For my serene majesty **decrees**, by means of **this pious chrysobull**, that the properties which the *magistros* acquired in any way in **Thrace and Macedonia** with **proper** title deeds are to belong to him without any harassment or contest, and no insolent person with evil designs is to trespass on them. Nor [are they permitted to] harass the *magistros* himself nor any of his party, his heirs and successors or any others with ownership rights. [They may not] disturb his lawful right of ownership with regard to [properties] which he has acquired by purchase from the fisc or as imperial gifts, or [properties] acquired in good faith by means of private transactions, or trouble him and his party with pretexts of *hypertimon*, or other new exactions or vexations, nor [may they] damage and maltreat his property. May any imposition of this kind or any other sort be banished far away from him and his properties, and may every unjust and greedy person be driven away from them. For my pious majesty wishes him to have his lawful ownership uncontested and undisputed and with no grounds for argument in any way for any reason or cause. Moreover he should not be subject to any abuse, as provided by the chrysobull previously granted to the *magistros*, which my serene majesty confirms and ratifies and reinforces with this present decree.

But the *magistros* did not seek only after culture, nor did he place importance on terrestrial matters alone; rather he devoted considerable and noble forethought to the condition of his soul. For he was well aware that all the things of this world are transitory, and terrestrial [wealth] ends on earth, and only those things are abiding which bring profit to the soul, and therefore he has shared all of his possessions. For he has offered as a dedication to God his house in the capital, which he acquired by purchase from his late sister-in-law, the *protospatharissa* Anastaso, and made it a monastery for pious men; and he joined with it, as a total gift, the house he owned in the town of Rhaidestos, [p. 115] after transforming it into a poorhouse, so that both of these institutions might be combined and consolidated and united into one **through the bond** of the [Holy] Spirit.

In order to accomplish this pious objective, the *magistros* stored up material resources to

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achieve his goal, and then designated both rural and urban properties as an offering to the monastery and poorhouse that he had established. In addition, he drafted a *Rule* in which he explained very clearly how and by whom each of these properties should be administered. And since he was on guard against vicissitudes in affairs and the different sorts of changes which occur, he was not easy in his mind, but sometimes the thoughts of his heart were fearful. For this reason he approached my serene majesty and sought a guarantee. Since my pious majesty was desirous to participate in a good [cause], he did not hesitate or delay in acceding to this pious endeavor. As soon as the *magistros* made his petition, my majesty fulfilled his request in a pious fashion, decreeing and ordaining in the present pious chrysobull that the newly established monastery built by the *magistros* in the name of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ, the All-Merciful, and the poorhouse in Rhaidestos which is joined with it, as well as their properties, in accordance with his *Rule* should be reserved for our Lord God alone to whom they were consecrated by the *magistros*. They are not to be diverted by any imperial authority or official bureau or bishop, nor by the authority of any ruling officials or anyone with a private fortune. Rather these properties should be kept separate from everything else, and, as if they were in inviolable storerooms, should be preserved for and assigned in perpetuity solely to the Word of the Person of God the Father. Everyone else should know that if anyone attempts, as an act of folly, to desecrate properties which have been honestly consecrated and delivered into the hands of God alone, he will be immediately found guilty of sacrilege, and will not escape the just punishment for it. For if we rarely escape the subsequent punishment when we harm our fellow citizens and commit moderate sins, when God himself is the One dishonored and the evil purpose affects him directly, what kind of threatening punishment is it not reasonable to expect? I do not think anyone would ever be so rash, or would come to such an extreme of insanity; but if there should perhaps be certain people whose inner soul teems with evil, I offer in his defense this [p. 117] chrysobull, by which I absolutely prohibit any interference in these affairs, by any imperial authority, or the visitation of an official bureau or patriarchal or episcopal authority, or the power of eminent people, or even the insignificance of very unimportant people. For it is wrong for people who ought to desire nothing but justice (?) to interfere in property that is completely alien to them and dedicated to God alone, and to insinuate themselves wickedly.

We award these properties to God alone the All-Merciful, and decree that they belong to his portion, and all the pious provisions made by the *magistros* with regard to these properties should be observed in perpetuity as he determined and as is described in his *Rule*. His son, the *dishypatos* Theodore, the imperial notary, has been entrusted with the supervision and administration of these pious institutions in accordance with the *typikon* of the aforementioned founder, and his direct descendants and their descendants in turn, as long as his lineage continues. [I also ordain] that when his line runs out, the monastery and poorhouse should be self-governing and independent, and all its supervision and administration should be carried out under [the direction of] God the leader and guardian, and thus all human *ephoreia* and abuse should be removed from them.

All the real estate belonging to these institutions together with the other properties of the *magistros* (which will be indicated by name below), **are to be exempt from judges, fiscal agents, strateutai, orthotai, magistrates, registrars, tax collectors and all their subordinates**, as well as the inhabitants and dependent peasants **residing on these** estates. They will be **preserved** from

all abuse and additional payment to the fisc, from *kaniskion* and *antikaniskon*, so that no one at all is to trespass on these properties.

Furthermore, from the present moment they are all to be preserved unharmed in perpetuity, and will prevail completely over everything else, and will enjoy total freedom and peace, even if they should increase greatly with the passage of time. In no way are they to be subjected to any new or novel burden or imposition and innovation, either great or small, and moreover, they are to be spared the passage of an army and *vestiaritai* and mandators and other imperial agents who come to the aforementioned themes on any sort of business, or pass through en route; and neither they nor their animals are to be subjected to any compulsory labor or additional labor by any of these agents, nor to be compelled to supply the provisions which are given to the judges or fiscal agents or those enumerated above. Rather these properties should remain in total peace and security, and should banish far away from themselves and reject any fear and [p. 119] danger of harassment, so as to seem to have anchored in a harbor protected from the waves on all sides, and not to expect any storm or turbulence and damage, [or payment of the] *hypertimon*, and so that the force of my words may be understood in its essentials, that all the properties of the aforementioned *magistros* and judge of the *velum* [and of the aforementioned pious institutions] are to be preserved in perpetuity by this chrysobull, in the manner described, as if by a great fortress which is impregnable on all sides. They will drive far away anyone who attempts or even considers abuse of these properties, and they will use weapons against any person of this sort, as if from a very high vantage point, and they will be safe and completely free from any harm and damage from these people.

They will also be exempted from the billeting of officers of the *tagmata* or themes, of the Russians, Varangians or Koulpingoi, or Franks or Bulgarians or Saracens or any others, from *antimitatika*, *aplekta* and the provisioning of *aplekta*, *mesaplekta*, judges, tax gatherers, high-ranking military officers and all others, from the requisitioning of pack-animals, the payment of *kaniskia* and *antikaniska*, both old ones and those which might be imposed subsequently, the provisioning of fortresses, the purchase of mules, half-shares of mules, pack-mules, half-shares of pack-mules, horses, horses for use as outrunners, jackasses, she-asses, mares, draft oxen and beef cattle, pigs, sheep, goats, cows, buffalo, hunting dogs and other four-footed animals, the furnishing of produce by forced sale or some other cause, the obligation of the *dromos*, the *oikomodion*, the *komodromikion*, the *prosodia*, the *aerikon*, the *synone*, the *strateia*, the hearth tax, the tax for the construction of fortresses, the paving of roads and the building of bridges, the *taxation*, the *matzoukation*, the provision of supplies to be given to judges or fiscal agents or other officials, or foreign envoys in transit, or an army, the supplying of fodder, the sustenance of *protokentarchoi* or *proeუსimaioi*, imperial agents dispatched on certain missions, the provision of produce or transport of wine, meat and miscellaneous items, the outfitting of marines, lancers, bowmen or mounted archers, the purchase of wheat, barley, oats, oil, legumes and grains of all kinds, the cutting and transport of any sort of wood or the transport of oars or anything else, [p. 121] the provision of *malaratoi*, archers, the outfitting of soldiers, cavalry and infantry officers, lodging of top-ranking officers, *doukes*, *katepano*, *strategoι*, judges and other tax gatherers, the provision-

ing and lodging of armies going to and returning from war, *vestiaritai*, mandators of the *dromos* who are escorting ambassadors or exiles, or passing through for any other reason, *topoteretai*, *tourmarchai*, *merarchai*, and anyone else entrusted with making inquiries into affairs of the fisc, compulsory labor and additional work, or any other imposition, whether mentioned [above] or omitted, whether existing at this moment or devised at a later time.

Since the aforesaid *magistros* petitioned my serenity to confirm as an act of munificence his gift of an endowment for this pious monastery, my pious majesty, agreeing that his request should not be disdained, orders that twelve *nomismata* be given to this monastery as an endowment at the time of paying the salary of the *spatharokandidatoi*. It is to receive this payment now and in perpetuity without any diminution or delay, and it is not to suffer either total confiscation or partial diminution at the hands of anyone.

Therefore, I command and confirm that all officials, at present or in the future, *sakellarioi*, *genikoi logothetai* and *stratitikoï logothetai*, the [officials in charge of] our *sakelle* and *vestiarion*, the stewards of the pious institutions, the officials in charge of the *oikeiaka*, and the *ephoroi* of the imperial curatories, the steward of [the convent of] Petria, the *eidikoi*, the directors of old age homes, the officials in charge of our divine treasury of Phylax, the curators of the house of Eleutheriou and Mangana, the *oikistikoi*, and their subordinates, the *protonotarioi*, the *logariastai*, the *chartoularioi*, notaries and imperial notaries, as well as the *domestikoi ton scholon*, *doukes*, *katapano*, *strategoï* and their representatives, *taxiarchai*, *tourmarchai*, *merarchai*, *chartoularioi* of the *dromos* and the themes, counts of the Court, *domestikoi* of the themes, *droungarokometai*, *protokentarchoi*, *proleusimaioi* and other officers of the *tagmata* and themes; and in addition judges, magistrates, *strateutai*, *orthotai*, registrars, *protonotarioi*, collectors of the *synone*, *horeiarioi*, and anyone else entrusted with government business, [p. 123] that no one at all, at any time or in any way, is to annul or invalidate any provision decreed here by my majesty, even if it is only a mere attempt, or to impose in any way or on any pretext any additional tax or increase or rectification on the aforesaid estates, or to harass and trouble them for the sake of the *hypertimon*, on account of the guarantee and security of this pious sealed chrysobull of mine issued in the month of April of the second indiction, in the year 6587 [= 1079 A.D.], to which my pious authority, chosen by God, has appended its signature.

The following properties are to be granted immunity: the house in Rhaidestos, the rental properties, that is the *aule* of Metaxas with . . . the house of Kentarchos [and] Arkolykes, as well as those acquired by exchange with the poet Kamarotes, the coastal properties and the others, the estate of Selokaka together with Makron Chorion and [the estate of] Bandophorus, the estate of Baboulou or Lips, the estate of Monokellion, the estate of Koukou, the estate of Symeoniou, the estate of Hai Tzachnistai, the estate of St. Helen or the village of Ano Siliou together with Thlabioi, the estate of Leuke of the Armenians, the estate of Phletra with its miraculous fountain, the houses at Selymbria with the estate, and the estates at Mesokomion.

[INV 12] [Dedication of additional books by the superior Michael]

The following books were donated or dedicated to the All-Merciful by the most honorable superior:

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The four Evangelists with a commentary [by the archbishop] of Bulgaria,⁴² that is, four books on paper. [p. 125]

Another book in paper containing at the beginning the commentary on this text of Chrysostom, “We do not wish you to be in ignorance concerning the dead” (I Thess. 4:13), and numerous other different commentaries.

Another small book, in parchment, containing the *Schematologion*.

+ Michael, the most insignificant monk and superior.+

[INV 13] Books from the property of the founders, presented after their death(s) by the executors
The book of the ascetical treatises by St. Basil.

The book of *Pearls* [by St. John Chrysostom].

A commentary of St. Basil on the prophet Isaiah.

A selection from the ascetical treatises of St. Basil by [Symeon] the Logothete.

The first volume of the *Hexaemeros*.

A volume in paper, for September and October, of [Symeon] Metaphrastes.

The book of St. Dionysios, in uncials.

The book of St. Dorotheos.

The *Nomocanon*, in uncials.

The *Tetrabasileion*, containing two Books of Kings and the Life of St. Andrew the Fool for Christ.

A *Kontakarion*, containing also the miracle at Pege.

The *Antirrhetics* of St. Basil against Eunomios.

[INV 14] [Books] acquired after the death of the founders

Two books of [Symeon] Metaphrastes, one with the first part of January, the other containing February, March and April. [p. 127]

Another *Tetrabasileion*, this one also containing two Books of Kings, Chronicles and Ezra, and another book, a *Panegyrikon*.

[INV 15] [Books] donated after the death of the founder by the monk, lord John, the spiritual father of our late master and founder:

A great *Paterikon*.

The first and second volumes of the commentary of [St. John] Chrysostom on the Gospel according to Matthew.

[INV 16] Books acquired later by purchase

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Lectionaries containing various readings, one containing at the beginning the text, “How do you feel about our situation?”⁴³ and the works of [Ps.-] Clement [of Rome], another bound in cloth, containing at the beginning the Life of St. Symeon.

Another book, donated by the *protosynkellos*, containing at the beginning a chronicle and *Leukippe* [and *Clitophon* by Achilles Tatius].

[INV 17] Other items acquired after the death of the founder
Purchased items

Ten books of [Symeon] Metaphrastes, and a gospel lectionary with a wooden cover, purchased from the late magistros, lord Symeon Seth.

The second book of the commentary on John [by John Chrysostom] was also donated by the late lord Constantine Peribleptenos.

From the monk Gregory we received a book containing *sticheraria* with their notes, like a *heirmologion*.

Various objects in silver were bequeathed by the late Boutoumites, and a basin was donated by the late lord Niketas, which gifts we received, a gilded chalice and paten containing an image of the Crucifixion, [p. 129] weighing eight *litrai*, another silver-gilt chalice and paten, containing on the interior a cross and the inscription, “Take, eat,” an *ithmos*, *asteriskos* and spoon.

[INV 18] Objects donated by the late monk lord John, notary, *mystikos* and chamberlain
Silk cloth in three shades of yellow,⁴⁴ of which the background is purple, six spans long and five wide.

Another silk cloth, an altar cloth.

An embroidered cloth, of Saracen manufacture.

A silver reliquary (?)⁴⁵ containing a piece of the precious wood, two enameled angels, and below, the Mother of God, St. John the Theologian and SS. Constantine and Helen, all in cast gold; and the container is entirely of silver.

Another silk cloth in three shades of yellow, with a griffin in the middle and with borders and lining.⁴⁶

The *podea* of the All-Merciful.

Two other silk cloths, hangings for [St. John] the Holy Forerunner
. the one above of gleaming white in three shades, with borders and lining, the one below long and in three colors with borders in the style of Attaleia. [p. 130]⁴⁷

Two pairs of veils for chalices, one of *kastrision* (?) cloth and with gold crosses in the middle, the other of Saracen cloth A silver basin with gilded border on the rim, and silver chains, and a handle . . . donated by the late . . . anos, a pectoral of reversible (?) silk cloth⁴⁸

Also a gilded pot-shaped lamp, with an image of our Lady and the Incorporeal [Archangel], was

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donated for [the icon of] the Holy Forerunner by the late monk, lord Ignatios, or rather [it was donated] by his executors in accordance with his instructions . . . with an image of our Lady and the Incorporeal [Archangel] . . . five, and two silver icons with silver-gilt [and] bronze frame.

In the eighth indiction of the year 6587 [= 1079 A.D.]⁴⁹ two books were also purchased for four *nomismata*, one a *synaxarion* for the entire year, [the other] a book of St. Ephraem.

Notes on the Translation

1. Eirenikos and Kale; see [16] and [31] below.
2. Probably Attaleia, hence his name Attaleiates; see Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 76, n. 8.
3. Constantinople.
4. Sophia; see [16] and [31] below.
5. In other words, God is satisfied with a small offering, even though what we offer him is not ours but his. Unlike God, however, we judge a gift by its size, despite the fact that the person who gives us this gift does a favor to us by offering something that is his, not ours.
6. John Chrysostom, *Hom.* 18.5 (*PG* 53–54, col. 156A).
7. September 23, 1063; see Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 77, n. 11.
8. For this individual, see Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 78, n. 17.
9. Defective reference; cf. [13], [17].
10. That is, in [7].
11. For this individual, see Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 82, n. 25; Nissen, *Diataxis*, p. 109, thought he was the husband of Euphrosyne, the aunt of Attaleiates' first wife Sophia, who is mentioned above in [4], [5].
12. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 70.
13. Of Michael VII Doukas, Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1005, included in the *Rule* below as [INV 10].
14. An *episkopeion* or episcopal see, which sort of foundation Alexios Studites, *Hypomnema B'* (1028) (R&P 5.25–32) (= Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 835), had attempted to exclude from participation in the *charistike*.
15. See *C. Nicaen. II*, c. 12 (R&P 2.592–93).
16. See [26] below.
17. Entrance gift (*apotage*) contrasted here with obedience (*hypotage*).
18. For this official, the urban prefect of Constantinople, see Alexander Kazhdan, "Eparch of the City," *ODB*, p. 705.
19. "Assent," cf. Gautier, "Diataxis," p. 68, who renders *epineusis* by "assentiment," and writes in n. 45 that he believes it has to do with the eparch's compensation for agreeing to try the case.
20. June 24.
21. *hyper hyelion*: As noted by both Lemerle (*Cinq études*, 107, n. 91) and Gautier ("Diataxis," 70, n. 49), the term *hyelion* ("a glass object") does not make sense in the present context. However, J. O. Rosenqvist, in a recently published article, argues that *hyelion* is used here to denote an inexpensive glass lamp, in the form of a small conical cup in which a layer of oil floated on water (cf. "Lamps for St Eugenios: A Note on Byzantine Glass," *EranoS* 92 [1994], 52–56). This is a plausible interpretation, especially if we choose to change the reading of the manuscript to *hyper hyelion* and translate "for small glass lamps." We wish to thank Alice-Mary Talbot for bringing this article to our attention just as this volume was going to press.
22. In [10] above; cf. [25], [33].
23. In [26] above.
24. This is a reference to the surviving isotype, now in the National Library, Athens, on which the text of this document is based.

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25. In [33] above.
26. In [35] above.
27. In [31] above.
28. See [13] above; cf. [30].
29. In [10] and [37] above.
30. Prayer of Ephraem Syrus, ed. J. Assemani, *S. Ephraem Syri opera omnia*, vol. 3 (Rome, 1746), p. 485.
31. See John Chrysostom, *Liturgy*, ed., F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (London, 1896), p. 386.
32. *hyelion ké*: Rosenqvist (as in note 21 above, p. 55 and n. 28) expressed the view that *hyelia* also denoted lamps attached to icons, citing as evidence two items from the *Inventory* of Xylourgou on Mount Athos published in the Acts of the Monastery of Saint Panteleemon, where *hyailia* (sic) are identified by the editors as lamps (cf. Lemerle, *Actes de Saint-Pantéléémôn*, no. 7, lines 16 and 22 with commentary on p. 69). However, a careful perusal of the text of this document shows that the *hyailia* in question were not lamps but paste gems. In the first instance (lines 15–16), 18 *hyailia* are cited as part of the decoration of the cover of a reliquary together with tiny pearls. While in the second instance (lines 21–22), *hyailia* are found on the frame of an icon. For other examples of the term *hyelia* as decorative stones on icons and crosses, see (27) *Kecharitomene*, Appendix B. It must also be noted that Gautier translates *hyelia* as “cabochons” (cf. “Diataxis,” 90).
33. For his other benefactions, see [INV 6], [INV 7], [INV 8], [INV 15] and [INV 18] below; the year of this donation is probably 1085.
34. Probably a book entitled *On the Cross* by Alexander the Monk, for whom, see Alexander Kazhdan, “Alexander the Monk,” *ODB*, p. 60.
35. *diblattion*; on the meaning of *diblattion* and *triblattion*, see D. Jacoby, “Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade,” *BZ* 84/85 (1991/92), p. 458, n. 29.
36. *meta periphoreion esophoreion*: Gautier (“Diataxis,” p. 97) tentatively translates “aux bordures et au fond de couleur pistache”
37. Nikephoros Mauros, nominated for the patriarchate by Nikephoros III Botaneiates between 1078 and 1081; see Gautier, “Diataxis,” p. 98, n. 50.
38. The individuals named are Nikephoros Mauros, Theodora Komnene, her mother Anna Dalassena, and the *kouropalates* Constantine Diogenes († 1074/75); see Gautier, “Diataxis,” p. 100, n. 52, and Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 91, n. 47.
39. Read *heauton* for *heauten*.
40. Mercenaries cited in eleventh century chrysobulls and tentatively identified with Kolbiagi of the *Russkaja Pravda*. See A. P. Kazhdan and Anne Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley, 1985), pp. 173, 257.
41. This chrysobull utilizes portions of the text of the preceding chrysobull of Michael VII ([INV 11]); the borrowings are indicated in boldface type.
42. Theophylaktos of Bulgaria, archbishop of Ochrid; see Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 91, nn. 48–49, and p. 97.
43. Gregory Nazianzen, *Homilia* 42 (*PG* 36, col. 457).
44. *blattion kitrinotriblatton*.
45. *proseuchadion*; for the various meanings of this term, see Gautier, “Diataxis,” p. 88, n. 7.
46. See note 36 above.
47. From this point on, the text is not well established because of the deteriorated condition of the manuscript.
48. *blattion diphoton*; the latter is not in the dictionaries. It may refer to reversible fabric, usually called *diprosopon*. See Koukoules, *BBP*, v. 2.2, p. 33.
49. The indiction and the year do not coincide.

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Document Notes

- [1] Founder's autobiography. For Attaleiates' career, see Gautier, "Diataxis," pp. 11–16, and Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 76–77.
- [2] Motivation for the foundation. See summary by Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 77.
- [3] Status of the consecrated property. Note that only a portion of Attaleiates' property is being consecrated at this time; see below [17], cf. [16]. See also summary of this section by Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 77.
- [4] The Poorhouse at Rhaidestos. As Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 77, n. 10, notes, it was important for Attaleiates to establish that he had engaged to buy the Rhaidestos property from Euphrosyne before she was tonsured to exclude any claim her convent might have on it. See summary by Lemerle, pp. 77–78.
- [5] Attaleiates' house in Constantinople. Attaleiates obtained this property in the settlement of the estate of his late wife Sophia; see [1] above. Another property is reserved. See summary by Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 78–79.
- [6] The Church of Christ All-Merciful. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 512–13. This church is united administratively with the Poorhouse at Rhaidestos; see (38) *Kellibara I* [13] for another example of the administrative unification of two geographically separated ecclesiastical institutions. See also summary by Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 79.
- [7] Appeal for divine protection; warning to transgressors. See also [14], [15] below. (10) *Eleousa* [18] provides another example of attribution of ownership to a heavenly patron. Attaleiates anticipates and seeks to avert another confiscation of ecclesiastical property like that carried out by Isaac I Komnenos (1057–1059), which he himself describes in his *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1853), pp. 60–62. See also summary of this section by Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 79.
- [8] Curse on transgressors. See similar curses in (8) *John Xenos* [2], (9) *Galesios* [246], (10) *Eleousa* [19], (16) *Mount Tmolos* [5], (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [5], (22) *Evergetis* [12], (24) *Christodoulos* [B14] as well as in [23] below. Attaleiates, aware of his intent to appoint Theodore as protector below in [12], makes an exception for his own appointees. He is unwilling to permit even a liturgical commemoration (*anaphora*) of the local prelate for fear that might lead to a later claim of ownership; cf. (10) *Eleousa* [16], [18]. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 79, summarizes.
- [9] Blessing for supporters of the *Rule*; recapitulation of prohibitions. This is Attaleiates' personal restatement of [8] above. The appeal to the legal inviolability of a testator's will is also found much later in (37) *Auxentios* [15] and (40) *Anargyroi* [1]. His assertion of canonical support for this premise, however, is naive or disingenuous (see discussion below, Chapter Seven, Historical Context). The list of potential violators will be repeated below in [14]. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 79–80, summarizes this section.
- [10] Designation of Theodore as protector; line of succession. Theodore is to enjoy the rights of a traditional patron; he is unaccountable and irremovable. Attaleiates sets grounds for deposition for others. Succession is by primogeniture, provided the candidate possesses the appropriate personal qualifications for the office. Women are eligible for the office in default of male heirs; collateral relatives are excluded here from the succession, but see [13] below. Note precautions against treating the foundation as an ordinary piece of personal property, in line with the reform opinion quoted here that "that which has once been consecrated to God cannot be shared," for which see (22) *Evergetis* [19]. The mild treatment prescribed for Theodore in the event he is discovered to have been dishonest is repeated in [33] and [37] below. The requirement to repay disputed sums here is doubled below in [25] for other heirs and in [37] for Theodore also. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 80, summarizes this section.
- [11] Celebration of the offices. Note the change in plan for staffing the church with monks rather than secular clergy which is also reflected in [13] below. For Attaleiates' less than enthusiastic view of monks, see Kazhdan and Franklin, *Studies*, p. 76. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 80, summarizes this section.
- [12] Subordination of officials to the protector; union of the monastery with the poorhouse. See also [6] above, and the terms of union in (58) *Kellibara I* [14]. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 80 summarizes.
- [13] Alternate line of succession. Here Attaleiates sets conditions and terms for the succession to the *ephoreia*

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of the collateral relatives whom he had earlier excluded in [10]; see also [43] below. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 80–81, summarizes.

- [14] Provision for institutional independence. This section is a later insertion, as the defective reference to the discussion of the extinction of Attaleiates' family line, which is actually mentioned first in [17], demonstrates. Attaleiates envisions a pre-existing privilege of independence and autonomy (cf. the description in [13] above of the poorhouse as "autonomous") that would come into effect only conditionally. As Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 81, n. 24, cf. 103–5, rightly observes, Attaleiates' views on the future status of his foundation were in the process of development during the editing of his *Rule*. The prohibitions on donation or subordination of the foundation are boilerplate material, which Attaleiates has used previously in [9] above; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [1].
- [15] Heavenly protectors and patrons. This section is an elaboration of [7] above, with more patrons added here.
- [16] List of consecrated properties. These are listed below in the inventory in [INV 9]. This section summarized by Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 81–82; see also his discussion of Attaleiates' estate, pp. 101–2.
- [17] Hereditary transmission of other personal properties. The rules under which these properties might be utilized for dowries, inheritances, etc. are more liberal than those found in [10] above for the consecrated properties. In [46] below, Attaleiates was to revisit his provision for the inheritance of these properties by the foundation in the event of the extinction of his family line. Summarized by Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 82; cf. 102.
- [18] Charitable distributions at the monastery in Constantinople. See discussion of the benefactions in Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 82, 106–7, 108.
- [19] Charitable distributions at the poorhouse in Rhaidestos. See discussion of the benefactions in Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 82–83, 106, 108. See [30] below for similar donations for the purpose of liturgical commemoration from which Attaleiates expected his own foundation to benefit. Among the beneficiary institutions here are the monastery of St. George and the convent of St. Prokopios, of which Attaleiates was *charistikarios*; the foundation was to inherit his financial obligations to these institutions. According to Alexios Studites, *Hypomnema A'* (1027) (R&P 5.20–24) (= Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 833), a male *charistikarios* was not supposed to rule over a convent, as Attaleiates evidently does here.
- [20] Construction of a hostel for pilgrims; other charitable distributions. Summarized in Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 83. See (21) *Roidion* [B2], (34) *Machairas* [116], [118], (42) *Sabas* [8], and (45) *Neophytos* [10], [20] for provisions for pilgrims elsewhere.
- [21] Regulation of the life of the monks. See also [32] below. There seems to be an allusion to a lost liturgical *typikon* here; so Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 85.
- [22] Inalienability of consecrated property. Attaleiates reaffirms his earlier prohibitions [7], [14] on the alienation of the entire foundation and here extends the restrictions to cover the foundation's immovable properties; the provisions are based on a literal application of the principles of canon law that were generally being disregarded in the eleventh century.
- [23] Duties of the property administrator. This official is probably not the steward, whose duties are discussed in [41] below, but rather a subordinate, possibly a layman; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [34], (27) *Kecharitomene* [31], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [40], (30) *Phoberos* [49], and (34) *Machairas* [109]. Attaleiates reuses the curse employed above in [8] again here.
- [24] Use of surplus income from the founder's properties. The custom of maintaining a reserve fund, though condemned long ago by (3) *Theodore Studites* [21], returns to favor in this era: see (23) *Pakourianos* [26], (27) *Kecharitomene* [24], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [94]. Attaleiates explicitly permits Theodore and his heirs to retain two-thirds of the foundation's excess income, doubtless a common practice under the traditional regime of private patronage but one that would not long stand the scrutiny of the monastic reform movement. In [37] below, Attaleiates provides for an amendment of this provision in the event of the deposition of his last heir for dishonesty. See summary of this section in Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 83.

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- [25] Punishment of transgressors. This section is primarily concerned with internal corruption by the monastery's own officials. The earlier requirement in [10] above that Attaleiates' heirs should be obliged to make amends for actions harmful to the foundation's interests is strengthened here to a double repayment of deficits. The entitlement of violators to three warnings is reaffirmed in [37] below. See summary of this section in Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 84.
- [26] Appointment of the superior and other officials. Theodore's option to rule the foundation directly without appointing a superior, alluded to in [24] above, is discussed directly here. The resolution of disputed elections is somewhat like procedures found in (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], (32) *Mamas* [1], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1]; see also its endorsement in [38] below. The importance of humility in the choice of a superior is discussed again below in [29].
- [27] Number of monks. (9) *Galesios* [246], (10) *Eleousa* [5], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [37], (16) *Mount Tmolos* [1], and (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [5] also limit the number of monks, but not (22) *Evergetis* [23]. For an example of an increase subsequent to a monastery's foundation, see (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [146]. See Dölger, "Zahlenmystik," pp. 183–89, for a discussion of the significance of the number seven. See summary of this section in Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 84.
- [28] Entrance gifts not required. See also [29], [30] below. These had already come under critical scrutiny in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [49] out of a concern, as here, for their disciplinary impact on the donors. The classic resolution of the reform movement, (22) *Evergetis* [37], reaches a similar conclusion to that of Attaleiates here, permitting but not requiring postulants to make such gifts.
- [29] Disciplinary regulations. Note the pairing of liturgical service and manual labor, soon to be rare in other institutions in which these responsibilities were performed by different groups of monks, e.g. in (22) *Evergetis* [7], [33] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3]. The discussion of personal humility as an essential attribute for the foundation's superior seems misplaced. See summary in Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 84.
- [30] Other sanctioned sources of income; requirements for tonsure. Attaleiates' title is not representative of the actual contents of this section. For sales of living allowances (*siteresia*) by monastic institutions, see H. Monnier and G. Platon, "La *Meditatio de nudis pactis*," *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger* 37 (1913), 334–36. (23) *Pakourianos* [20], a reform document, prescribes a more selective approach to accepting *prosenexeis* for liturgical commemorations than Attaleiates adopts here. For other views on the acceptability of a *xenokourites*, a monk tonsured outside the monastery, see (13) *Ath. Typikon* [24] ff., (22) *Evergetis* [37], and (27) *Kecharitomene* [54]. Attaleiates' requirement that his monks be eunuchs is a remarkable contrast to Athonite tradition that was exceptionally hostile to them: see (12) *Tzimiskes* [7], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [48], and (15) *Constantine IX* [1]. See summary of this section in Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 84–85.
- [31] Required commemorations. Sophia and Irene were Attaleiates' two wives; see Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 85, n. 30. For namesakes and relatives of Attaleiates, see Kazhdan and Franklin, *Studies*, p. 58.
- [32] Performance of the offices. This section returns briefly to the subject of [21] above, identifying the liturgical *typikon* as being of Attaleiates' own composition, perhaps in the sense that (11) *Ath. Typikon* is vis-à-vis (4) *Stoudios*. The actual model is unknown.
- [33] Monks' allowance and pension. The actual payments are specified in [35] below. The custom of paying allowances to monks, eclipsed for a time by the militantly cenobitic stance of the monastic reform movement (for which see (22) *Evergetis* [22]), returns again in the mid-twelfth century in (32) *Mamas* [28] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28] in the form of allowances for clothing and bathing. The provision for the reading of the *Rule* (see also [40] below) will become a commonplace in *typika* of the reform era: see (22) *Evergetis* [43] and related documents. The provision for mild treatment of Theodore even if he is found to be corrupt reiterates [10] above, and will be confirmed in [37] below. See summary of Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 85.
- [34] Procedure to be followed in responding to lawsuits. See the introduction to (15) *Constantine IX* and (23) *Pakourianos* [18] for the debilitating involvement of religious institutions in lawsuits. Attaleiates offers a consideration to the eparch to influence a favorable outcome in the resolution of any future

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- lawsuit against the foundation. See also [38] below, in which the assistance of the eparch is invoked to prevent the superior of the Stoudios monastery from establishing an unauthorized *ephoreia* over the foundation, should it chance to become independent, and [43], which appeals for imperial assistance in the event of a lawsuit over the foundation's status.
- [35] Specifications for the monks' allowances. Attaleiates returns here to the subject of [33] above. See discussion in Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 107, 108, cf. 85.
- [36] Expenses for feast days. Cf. similar provisions for festal observances in (10) *Eleousa* [13], (17) *Nikon Metanoëite* [13], (22) *Evergetis* [11], and (23) *Pakourianos* [11].
- [37] Re-examination of the treatment of dishonest heirs. Likely in response to objections from his relatives, Attaleiates here revisits his earlier treatment of this issue in [10], cf. [25], [33]. In agreement with [25], he extends the benefit of three (here, written) warnings to an heir accused of dishonesty; he indicates that the foundation's conditional self-governance (for which see [14]) should come into effect if the heir being removed from the *ephoreia* is the sole survivor of the founder's line, but in that event the deposed heir is to receive half the foundation's surplus revenues, thereby amending [24]; and as in [33], cf. [10] he restates Theodore's immunity from expulsion, but now subjects him to the double repayment provision previously imposed [25] on his other heirs. See summary by Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 86.
- [38] Re-examination of issues regarding the foundation's self-governance. Attaleiates deals here with some of the likely consequences should his foundation achieve independent status under the terms discussed above in [14]. The superior of the Stoudios monastery is given the right to bless the newly elected superior of Attaleiates' foundation that rightly should have belonged to the local ordinary, the patriarch of Constantinople; cf. (28) *Pantokrator* [25] where this right (of *sphragis*) is in fact conceded by a later founder, Emperor John II Komnenos. Attaleiates provides a compensation for the Studite superior's service in this connection below in [41]. The founder's profound anxiety about the slim prospects for his foundation maintaining its independence as a self-governing institution is quite palpable here. See summary of this section by Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 86.
- [39] Treatment of dependent peasants and tenants. For similar sentiments, see (9) *Galesios* [246], (17) *Nikon Metanoëite* [14], (23) *Pakourianos* [1], (24) *Christodoulos* [A13], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [71], [76], [103].
- [40] Security for title deeds and other documents; reading of the *Rule*. In the absence of patronal families, independent monasteries in the reform tradition would have even more reason to be concerned about the preservation of foundation documents: see (32) *Mamas* [Second *Semeioma*] for the most elaborate precautions taken in the twelfth century. Although the term *typikon* is used here, this is a reference to the *Rule*, not the liturgical *typikon* mentioned above in [21], [32], as the contextual association with the distribution of the monks' salaries, described above in [33], makes clear. The provision for reading this document is an elaboration of the requirement in [33]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [43]'s requirement of a monthly reading of its *typikon*.
- [41] Instructions for the steward. Attaleiates amends [35] above to make a special provision for the foundation's chief financial officer; he also includes here a provision for a gratuity to the Studite superior that he had overlooked in [38] above.
- [42] Pension for servants of departed monks. Personal servants, banned by fervently reformist (22) *Evergetis* [24], make a reappearance in the aristocratic (27) *Kecharitomene* [4], [5], (28) *Pantokrator* [19], [28], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3].
- [43] Warning to those initiating legal proceedings against the foundation. Returning to the discussion of possible lawsuits against the foundation (see above, [34]), Attaleiates here invokes imperial assistance in return for the performance of a daily *trisagion* (see above, [31]). Attaleiates' reference to a prior chapter concerning his collateral relatives is problematic, since [13] does not provide for their right to be tonsured, but perhaps the author is thinking of [30] here also.
- [44] Provision for recording a future imperial chrysobull. Attaleiates' hope for another chrysobull was real-

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ized when he was granted one by Nikephoros III Botaneiates (= Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1042) in 1079, two years after the *Rule* was drawn up; see [INV 11] below.

- [45] Conclusion. Attaleiates' original signature is affixed to the isotype here and also at the end of [46] below; see Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 70.
- [46] Clarification of certain provisions. Since Attaleiates signs this section separately, it must have been added subsequent to the earlier part of the document, i.e., sometime after May 1077. For the third time (see also [10], [37] above) Attaleiates reaffirms the eligibility of a woman for the *ephoreia*, suggesting some resistance to the idea, but here he indicates that the responsibilities of the office would actually be carried out by a male relative or servant. No doubt in response to another objection from his relatives (see also [37] above), Attaleiates here revisits his provision in [17] that the non-consecrated family properties should be inherited by the foundation if his heirs should die childless; here he restores ordinary rights of donation or testamentary bequest.
- [INV 4] Instructions for commemoration of donors. See the offerings of the *praipositos* John [INV 5], [INV 6], [INV 7], [INV 8], [INV 15], [INV 18]; the foundation's superior Michael [INV 7], [INV 12]; Nikephoros, Patriarch of Antioch [INV 9]; the nun Xene Komnene and her mother Anna [INV 9]; an anonymous *protosynkellos* [INV 16]; and five other benefactors [INV 17]; for commemorations established earlier, see [31] above.
- [INV 5] List of icons. See discussion by Gautier, "Diataxis," pp. 88–90, nn. 6–16.
- [INV 6] The sacred vessels. See discussion by Gautier, "Diataxis," p. 90, nn. 18–20.
- [INV 7] The books. See Gautier, "Diataxis," pp. 92–96, nn. 21–40, for identifications of these works.
- [INV 8] The textiles. See Gautier, "Diataxis," pp. 96–98, nn. 43–45.
- [INV 9] List of properties. Cf. discussion of these properties in [4], [5], and [16] above.
- [INV 10] Chrysobull of Michael VII Doukas = Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1005; a detailed commentary on this and the following chrysobull lies outside the scope of our project.
- [INV 11] Chrysobull of Nikephoros III Botaneiates = Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1042.
- [INV 12] Dedication of additional books by the superior Michael. For identification of these books, see Gautier, "Diataxis," pp. 122–24, nn. 37–38.
- [INV 13] Books from the estate of the founders. The use of the plural indicates the decease of both Attaleiates and his son Theodore at the time this record was made. See Gautier, "Diataxis," p. 124, nn. 39–47, for the identification of these books.
- [INV 14] Books acquired after the deaths of the founders. The distinction from [INV 13] perhaps implies that these were donated by other benefactors.
- [INV 15] Books donated by the founder's spiritual father John. For his other bequests, see [INV 5], [INV 6], [INV 7], and [INV 8] above and [INV 18] below. According to the note at the end of [INV 7], the record of this bequest was moved here because there was insufficient room there.
- [INV 16] Books acquired later by purchase. See also [INV 17] below, and note confusion in both between donations and purchases. The record is said to have been placed here for lack of space in [INV 7].
- [INV 17] Other items acquired after the death of the founder. The record of a donation by (Manuel) Boutoumites, known to have been sent on a diplomatic mission in 1111/12, suggests that this section is considerably later than the core document; see Gautier, "Diataxis," p. 126, n. 53.
- [INV 18] Objects donated by the monk John. See Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 90, n. 42, for the identification of this individual with John the *praipositos* mentioned above as a donor in [INV 5], [INV 6], [INV 7], [INV 8], and [15]; these perhaps are his testamentary bequests.

20. *Black Mountain: Regulations* of Nikon of the Black Mountain

Date: ca. 1055–1060¹

Translator: Robert Allison

Edition employed: Vladimir Benešević, *Taktikon Nikona Chernogortsa* (Petrograd, 1917), pp. 22–67.

Manuscript: Codex Sinaiticus graecus 441 (St. Catherine’s Monastery)

Other translations: Arabic, Slavonic²

Biography of the Author

A. His Career

Nikon’s life is known solely through autobiographical allusions found in his works.³ He was born in Constantinople to a noble family, circa 1025. Military service was his first career. He advanced to the leadership of an army under Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055). Subsequently he embraced a monastic career which he pursued for the remaining fifty years of his life. He was tonsured by Luke, a former metropolitan of Anazarbos and founder of a monastery of 150 monks on the Black Mountain adjacent to the Amanos River north of Antioch. Although Luke intended for Nikon to be his successor, Nikon’s attempt to tighten monastic discipline led to his expulsion from the monastery by its monks after Luke’s death. He had received ordination from Theodosios III, patriarch of Antioch (1057–1059), who assigned him the responsibility of instituting a reform of the monks of North Syria and subordinating them to the local bishops. Nikon refused, however, Theodosios III’s offer of the title of archimandrite of the Antiochean monasteries. Sometime during the long patriarchal interregnum (1059–1089), Nikon had his mission confirmed by the exarchs (*proexarchontes*) of the Antiochene patriarchate.

Nikon attempted to found his own monastery for which he composed a *typikon*, but this attempt was unsuccessful and the community dispersed. Nikon then joined the monastery of St. Symeon the Younger, but when the Seljuks under Suleiman took Antioch in 1084, he sought refuge in the monastery of the Mother of God *tou Roidiou*, “of the Pomegranate,” located in territory inhabited by the Tzatoi, Chalcedonian Armenians. Nikon lived to see the conquest of Antioch by the Crusaders in 1098, and knew Patriarch John V the Oxite. He died in the first decade of the twelfth century, either at the monastery of St. Symeon (so Nasrallah, “Auteur antiochien,” p. 152) or at Roidion (Solignac, “Nicon,” col. 319).

B. His Works

Nikon authored three surviving works, the *Interpretations of the Commands of the Lord* (also known as the *Pandektes*), the *Small Book*, and the *Taktikon*.⁴ The first work was a florilegium of quotations from Scripture, patristic literature, and canon law in 63 chapters, composed as a “work

of youth” as Nikon himself describes it, during the reign of Constantine X Doukas (1059–1067).⁵ Nikon refers to this work frequently in (20) *Black Mountain* below, but the only earlier monastic foundation document he cites in the *Pandektes* is (3) *Theodore Studites*.⁶ Carlo de Clercq studied the *Pandektes* extensively, but there has never been a complete edition based on the surviving manuscripts, which are mostly in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.⁷ Nikon cites as the model for this work the *Pandektes* of Antiochos, a seventh-century monk of the Sabas monastery in Jerusalem. Nikon’s own *Pandektes* were translated into Arabic, perhaps during the lifetime of the author, and enjoyed a wide circulation in this format. In the thirteenth or fourteenth century, they were translated into Slavonic (along with the *Taktikon*), and in 1582 an Ethiopic version was prepared as well. Nikon himself prepared an abridgement⁸ of this substantial work as well as a list of the titles of its 63 chapters.⁹

Nikon’s second work was his *Taktikon*,¹⁰ a collection of forty chapters the first two of which are monastic *typika*, our (20) *Black Mountain* and (21) *Roidion*. There is also an Arabic version, but neither it nor the original Greek text preserved in a manuscript in the St. Catherine’s monastery on Mount Sinai has been completely edited. Judging from the testimony of (20) *Black Mountain* [70], Nikon composed the first of the two *typika* for a monastery on Black Mountain, either his mentor Luke’s monastery or, more likely, his own unsuccessful foundation in the same general location. The third chapter of Nikon’s *Taktikon* is actually a long extract from the last chapter of his *Pandektes*, while the remaining thirty-seven chapters are composed of Nikon’s correspondence on monastic subjects to the superiors of various Antiochene monasteries. The *Taktikon* bears no date, but the collection was probably assembled from earlier materials at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century (so Nasrallah, “Auteur antiochien,” p. 156), since it mentions Patriarch John the Oxite (1089–1100), the First Crusade, and the restoration of the monastery of St. Symeon, which had been sacked by the Seljuks in 1085 and rebuilt only after the Crusader conquest of Antioch in 1098. The Arabic version of Nikon’s *Taktikon* must have been prepared before the capture of Antioch and the destruction of its monasteries by the Mamluk Sultan Baybars in 1268. Like the *Pandektes*, the *Taktikon* was translated into Slavonic and eventually edited with them by Pochaev in 1795 and by Edinovercy in 1889.¹¹

Nikon’s third work, his *Small Book*, was composed in 1088. It is a treatise on six different subjects of ecclesiastical discipline, with a special emphasis on the proper subordination of monasteries to local bishops. It is preserved, unedited, in the same Greek manuscript from Mount Sinai that contains the *Taktikon* and in the two Arabic manuscripts that preserve the Arabic version of the *Taktikon*.¹²

As H.-G. Beck noted more than thirty years ago, “An exacting study of [Nikon’s] collected works appears to be one of the most important *desiderata* of Byzantine canonical studies.”¹³ Such a study can be expected to make possible a much more detailed and nuanced appreciation of the context and significance of Nikon’s two monastic foundation documents presented here in our collection.

Analysis

In this document, Nikon’s concerns are primarily those of the author of a liturgical *typikon*, namely the regulation of the institution’s religious services and the diet of the monks. Yet like (4) *Stoudios*,

one of Nikon's acknowledged models [23], this is a composite text containing important elements of disciplinary legislation as well.

A. A Unique Approach to Monastic Legislation

To a greater extent than any other author in our collection of Byzantine monastic foundation documents, Nikon lacked that characteristic self-confidence that inspired many other founders to legislate for their foundations virtually unrestrained by canon or imperial law, by patristic tradition, or even (to a large extent) by the customary observances of other prestigious monasteries of their own times. This is not to say that other founders did not use some or all of these authorities to implement, express or justify their own very personal visions of how monastic life should be conducted. Insofar as they embraced any external observances, however, these were generally voluntary in nature. Moreover, no monastic document was immune from extensive adaptation to fit its borrower's needs, not even (4) *Stoudios*, a lengthy, ritualized, primarily liturgical *typikon*, a version of which Athanasios the Athonite employed—with significant changes—in his composition of (11) *Ath. Rule*.

With Nikon of the Black Mountain, however, we have a very different type of founder. The extent of his citation of prior authorities is truly extraordinary. His *typikon* is the first of our documents to cite (and not merely allude to) canon law, and Nikon demonstrates a fairly broad knowledge of the patristic tradition, far beyond the superficial acquaintance with Basilian and perhaps a few other sources shown earlier by the authors of (3) *Theodore Studites* and (13) *Ath. Typikon*.

1. Research Orientation

Nikon had laid the groundwork for the approach taken in this *typikon* by his authorship of his *Pandektes* or—as he prefers to refer to them here—the *Interpretations of the Commands of the Lord*. Taking full advantage of his background, Nikon approached the task of writing a *typikon* like none other before him, committed to shaping an institution to fit precedent rather than his own idiosyncratic wishes. One might almost say that his approach is a scholarly one. For instance, careful comparison made him aware of differences between the Studite liturgical *typikon*, (4) *Stoudios*, and that of the Sabas monastery near Jerusalem.¹⁴ Although he indicates [22] his preference for the latter, he asserts [23], cf. [29] the necessity of keeping both *typika* on hand, in order “to keep the tradition of the holy fathers firmly in all respects.” He is also the first of our founders to prescribe [29] a specific reading list for his monks, including the above-mentioned *typika*, Basil of Caesarea's *Ascetic Treatises*, conciliar decrees, the *Life* of Pachomios, and naturally also his own *Interpretations of the Commands of the Lord*. Nikon particularly recommends [51] his own earlier work for the regulation of diet, a topic about which he was almost obsessively concerned.

2. Textual Approach to Resolving Controversies

In Nikon's textual approach to determining appropriate monastic observances, he attempts first to find scriptural, then patristic support for practices to endorse; in default of these, he falls back on the rules of various prestigious monasteries, especially Jerusalem (i.e., Sabas), Stoudios, and Athos (by which he means (11) *Ath. Rule*). Remarkably, he is even willing to see his own instructions set aside [88], [92] should anyone come up with another observance founded on better authority. This

document then presumes that its authority derives not from the arbitrary will of the author, based ultimately on private property rights in the foundation, but from his well-researched presentation and reconciliation of holy scripture, the ascetic tradition, and other sources.

3. Openness to New Discoveries

Because Nikon recognized the inconclusiveness of his research, he was willing to allow the pronouncements of his *typikon* to remain tentative rather than definitive. For instance, in a discussion of the number of times the blessing of the water should take place at the feast of the Holy Epiphany, Nikon observes [92] a difference between the prescriptions of older *typika* (including those of Stoudios and Jerusalem) and monastic practice in his own day. Nikon's instinct was to resolve the difference by seeking an authoritative scriptural precedent, but he found nothing useful. Yet, illustrating the tentative nature of his work, Nikon announces his willingness to be corrected "if any among those who are painstaking finds scriptural witness concerning this . . . because to imitate a practice in divergence from divine scripture brings great danger."

On the topic of required feast days Nikon admits [53] that the rules of contemporary monasteries do not agree with the "sacred rules of the holy fathers" or "other teachers in the holy scriptures" or "any other canonical writing." Faced with a lack of authoritative guidance, Nikon was willing to declare, "let what is pleasing to God be done." In [63], Nikon discusses another conflict among various sources including canon law, the patristic tradition, and medieval Byzantine *typika* on the diet for Holy Thursday. In this instance Nikon does not even attempt a reconciliation of the divergent tradition but contents himself with recording it "so that our conscience may not be sullied at all in either case."

Perhaps most revealing is how Nikon chose [87] to deal with a controversy over the legitimacy of a fast of the Mother of God before the feast of the Dormition which he had defended in his *Interpretations*. In his resolution, Nikon shows [88] an open-mindedness not found among other monastic legislators, declaring that if any patristic testimony should be adduced forbidding the observance of this fast, he was willing to see it abandoned, since "it is wrong and inappropriate and moreover dangerous to disregard what has been written down and ordained by the holy fathers, and without scriptural testimony to obey men and to wander hither and thither each according to his own desires."

4. Identification of Local with Comprehensive Precedents

Despite his respect for precedent in laying down monastic legislation, Nikon's approach did not completely eliminate his personal preferences. In [84], for instance, he grants special status to the teachings and traditions of Symeon the Wonderworker (in whose monastery he would later live for a time) "since we have our dwelling in his country and place." Continuing this local particularism, his monks are told "not to introduce other fathers and teachers from any other country over him." By contrast, of the teachings of Gelasios in the *Paterikon*, Nikon declares "if they are appropriate at all, they are appropriate not to us but to others." His justification here and elsewhere is based on a careful distinction between what he calls "comprehensive" as opposed to the merely "particular" precedents which he asserts he has observed also in his *Interpretations*. He claims to have taken similar pains to exclude from this *typikon* "sources that are particular and special," in

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preference for “such as are harmonious with the commands of the Lord, like the above-mentioned book (i.e., the *Pandektes*).”

5. Significance of Nikon’s Approach

Nikon then was a pioneer in the use of what he chose to regard as authoritative precedents to govern the life of his monastic foundation. Since these sources did not in fact constitute a coherent and consistent body of monastic legislation and many dated from the very different world of late antiquity, Nikon not surprisingly faced considerable difficulty attempting to reconcile them with one another and with the practices of his own times. He approached this difficulty with a tentativeness and a degree of open-mindedness. In the following centuries other founders would broaden the range of sources that they drew upon as precedents and increase the frequency of their use, but, unlike Nikon, they would employ them in a more traditional fashion in a subordinate, supportive role. Moreover, none of these later founders would be so willing to set aside a personal patronal vision as readily as Nikon did in the composition of this document.

B. *Lives of the Monks*

1. Liturgical Duties

The regulation of liturgical duties was the most important concern of this document. As noted above, he prefers the usages of the liturgical *typikon* of the Sabas monastery to those in the Studite *typikon*, (4) *Stoudios*. Alone among the documents in this collection, this *typikon* offers a liturgical calendar (following [89]) which lists feasts of great, medium and minor rank. Nikon also provides a more thorough treatment of the canonical hours [8]–[20] than is found in earlier documents such as (4) *Stoudios* or (11) *Ath. Rule*.¹⁵

2. Manual Labor

Nikon obliges [82] all his monks to work at some skilled craft or else at heavy manual labor. This is a very strong endorsement of the practice of manual labor in the context of contemporary documents in which generally only certain monks were so engaged on a regular basis. Those monks assigned here to heavy labors were limited [79] to fewer hours of work than those working at less physically demanding tasks. The superior was to set aside [80] a cell for pursuit of crafts where the monks were to work under a supervisor. Nikon also endorses [83] the pursuit of individual crafts. In an acknowledged imitation of ancient patristic practice, the superior was to rotate [78] work assignments in the kitchen on a monthly basis.

3. Sacramental Life

Regular celebrations of the holy liturgy were to take place [30] on Saturdays and Sundays, but Nikon also provides for liturgies for all the great, medium, and minor feasts in his liturgical calendar. It was evidently not expected [73] that everyone would partake of communion at each of these liturgies, but Nikon provides no guidelines for reception.

4. Cenobitic Lifestyle

This was a cenobitical institution in which recitation of psalms and partaking of meals was to occur in common rather than in individual cells.¹⁶ Nikon encourages [28] private devotional ob-

servances, however. Monastic poverty is exalted [84] as an ideal, based on Nikon's findings in his *Pandektes*.

5. Diet

The dietary regulation is the most extensive found in any of the Byzantine monastic foundation documents. The usages are conservative and partial to more ascetic interpretations, like those of (30) *Phoberos*, though less so than those of (43) *Kasoulon*. Only (30) *Phoberos* and the present document endorse [87] the fast of the Mother of God in early August before the feast of the Dormition. Generally speaking, the *typika* of the later reform monasteries, starting with (22) *Evergetis*, permit their monks more lenient diets than that endorsed [58], [59], [60] by Nikon here. Unlike the author of (23) *Pakourianos* [15], Nikon encourages [72] his monks here to undertake fasting more rigorous than that required by the monastery's rules.

6. Clothing

As in (4) *Stoudios* [A37], [B38], there are specific provisions for articles of clothing. Generally the principle to be followed [75] was that of Basil of Caesarea: "The least fancy and poorest and sufficient for the purpose of the need." There is also a description, unique in these documents, of the procedure [76], [77] for defrocking a monk before expulsion from the monastery.

C. Administrative Matters

There is no discussion of the constitutional status of the foundation. Aside from the superior, the only officials mentioned are the work supervisor [80] and the precentor [81] who served as the reader in the refectory.

D. Financial Matters

There is no direct discussion of the foundation's finances. Nikon forthrightly rejects [85] offerings of cash or "anything else" from outsiders, "except as the divine fathers in the divine scriptures allow." The implication is that Nikon intended that the monastery should be self-supporting on the basis of the labor of its monks.

E. External Relations

There is no evidence at this relatively early stage of Nikon's career that he was concerned with assuring the proper subordination of this monastery to the local ecclesiastical authorities, as they are ignored in this document. Nikon's ban on granting access to the monastery to women is even stricter [86] than the comparable ban in (3) *Theodore Studites* [16], a document known to him when he composed his *Pandektes*; his ban on female animals is in accord with both the Studite and Lavriote traditions.

F. Relationship to the Monastic Reform Movement

Perhaps because of its likely relatively early date in the 1050s, this document shows comparatively little acquaintance with the controversial issues of the late eleventh-century monastic reform that its author would himself be confronting later in (21) *Roidion*. Nikon's prohibition [86] of women from the monastery or its vicinity is consonant with and even exceeds monastic reform

regulation in (22) *Evergetis* [38], [39] but the conjunction here with a ban on female animals suggests rather dependence on the Studite observance. Interestingly, though Nikon agreed with some reformers in considering women to be the “bitter lure,” he drew the line at misogyny, declaring “it is absolutely demonic to hate and reject the creation of God.” A possible trace of influence of reform ideas appears [85] in Nikon’s categorical rejection of outside donations, which exceeds the skepticism to be displayed later in (23) *Pakourianos* [20].

Finally, one of the fundamental products of the early monastic reform, Paul Evergetinos’ massive ascetic anthology, the *Synagoge* or *Evergetinon*, must have been produced before the author’s death in 1054, and thus was theoretically available to Nikon as an example for his own differently organized anthology as he composed it in the 1060s.¹⁷ However, this potentially very significant influence on Nikon’s methodology in the present document cannot yet be demonstrated. Overall, then, it seems prudent to view (20) *Black Mountain* as an independent exemplar of the author’s own vision of a reform monastery, based on universal manual labor, ascetic dietary observances, and strict adherence to authoritative disciplinary precedents.

Notes on the Introduction

1. This preliminary dating is based on the assumption that the document was written for either Luke of Anazarbos’ monastery on Black Mountain after the latter’s death or for Nikon’s own unsuccessful monastery in the same general location founded shortly thereafter. Neither event can be dated accurately at present but they probably took place about the time that Theodosios III, patriarch of Antioch (1057–1059), assigned Nikon the task of reforming Antiochene monasteries.
2. For details, see discussion below in Biography of the Author, B. His Works.
3. For this autobiographical information, see Doens, “Nicon,” pp. 132–35, followed closely by Nasrallah, “Auteur antiochien,” pp. 151–52, and Kazhdan, “Nikon,” p. 1484. All accounts seem based at least in part on the notices of Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, vol. 4, pp. 155–68, on Vaticanus arabicus 76, an Arabic manuscript preserving some of Nikon’s works.
4. Nasrallah, “Auteur antiochien,” pp. 153–61, provides the best discussion of Nikon’s works; see also Beck, *KTL*, p. 600, Doens, “Nicon,” pp. 134–38, and Solignac, “Nicon,” cols. 319–20.
5. *Hermeneiai ton theion entolon tou Kyriou* or *Pandektes*; see Clercq, *Textes juridiques*, pp. 10–20; Doens, “Nicon,” pp. 134–37; Nasrallah, “Auteur antiochien,” pp. 153–55.
6. (20) *Black Mountain* [29], [46], [51], [84]; for the Studite quotations see Clercq, *Textes juridiques*, pp. 18, 25, 31, 50. These quotations are found in the *Pandektes*, chaps. 4, 12, 37, and apparently include (3) *Theodore Studites* [5], [15], [16], [17].
7. *PG* 127, cols. 513–16, reprints an old edition of the preface by B. de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Coisliniana* (Paris, 1715), pp. 189–90; Clercq, “Pandectes,” pp. 187–203, offers an edition and French translation of the first chapter; J. B. Cotelier, *Ecclesiae graecae monumenta*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1686), pp. 439–44, 420–23, provides an edition of chaps. 57 and 63; see Clercq, *Textes juridiques*, p. 11.
8. *Kanones kai horoi kai merika diegemata prosekonta monachois*; see Doens, “Nicon,” p. 137, and Nasrallah, “Auteur antiochien,” p. 155.
9. Ed. A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae*, vol. 1 (Florence, 1764), pp. 92–98; reprinted in *PG* 106, cols. 1360–81; see Nasrallah, “Auteur antiochien,” p. 155.
10. Benešević, *Taktikon*, published only the first four chapters; earlier in his *Catalogus*, pp. 561–601, he published the text of chaps. 4, 31, 35–37. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, vol. 4, pp. 155–58, summarized the entire work briefly on the basis of the Arabic manuscript Codex Vaticanus arabicus 76, fols. 1–402r.

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11. See Nasrallah, "Auteur antiochien," p. 157, and Doens, "Nicon," p. 132, with neither providing full citations of these Russian editions; according to Doens, the editions are very rare and less accessible than the many Slavonic manuscripts of the works.
12. These Mss. are Sinaiticus graecus 441, Vaticanus arabicus 76, fols. 402–80v (incomplete), and Shuwaïr 165, pp. 644–82, for which see Nasrallah, "Auteur antiochien," p. 158.
13. Beck, *KTL*, p. 600.
14. (20) *Black Mountain* [21], [22], [74].
15. (20) *Black Mountain* [8] through [20].
16. (20) *Black Mountain* [24], [69], [70], [71], [72].
17. See discussion of this work below in (22) *Evergetis*, Institutional History.

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Translation

With the help of God a book of rules or *typikon* delivered in writing to our brothers and containing what has been selected from the sacred writings with regard to the observance of rules handed down to us by the holy fathers for the salvation of [our] souls.

[General Rules for the Canonical Hours and the Liturgy]

1. It should be known that the “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) should always be sung standing, as [the reading from] the *Apostolos*.

2. It should be known that the *stichera* of the *menaion* should always be sung to the “O Lord, I have cried to thee” (Ps. 140 [141]), the three of them twice, and those of the *Oktoechos* at the verse. [p. 23]

3. It should be known that when the “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is sung,¹ one should not say “Holy is God” at the beginning of vespers, but “Come let us worship,” and likewise at matins [one should not say] “Glory to God in the highest,” for they are not to be sung with prostrations. It is necessary to observe these things on the days when the “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is sung, just as it says in the *typika* of the great monasteries of Stoudios and Jerusalem and of the other ancient monasteries.²

4. It should be known that when a feast occurs that has lections for the [office of] lamplighting in the evening, “Blessed is the man” is recited (Ps. 31 [32]) and the lections are read after the entrance and the “O cheerful light.”

5. It should be known that always, whether it is a feast or an ordinary daily service, the thurifer censes at the “O Lord I have cried to thee” (Ps. 140 [141]) at vespers, or else as it conforms to the will of God; but at matins [he censes] at the beginning and at the ninth [ode].

6. It should be known that whether it is a feast or an ordinary daily service, the priest always ought to perform without fail the *synapte* and the *ektenes*.

7. It should be known that always, whether it is a feast or an ordinary daily service, it is necessary to sing the canonical hours complete with their *mesoria*; sometimes one *trisagion* for each psalm of the *mesorion*, at other times a *trisagion* to every three psalms. Likewise it is also necessary that compline and the midnight office and simply the whole office of vespers be sung [by all the assembled brothers] together as the cenobitic constitutions decree.

Concerning the canonical hours at Easter

8. Concerning the canonical hours of Easter week, at every single hour the “Christ is risen” is sung three times, and the “Having beheld the resurrection of Christ” three times and a *trisagion*, and the “Although you descended into the grave” and the *Kyrie eleison* thirty times. Thus the canonical hours of Easter week are sung according to the rule of the monks of Stoudios and Jerusalem.³

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Concerning the canonical hours of the rest of the year

[General Rules]

9. Concerning the canonical hours of the rest of the year, it is necessary for all to assemble together, first striking the wood [semantron], [p. 24] and together to sing each hour at its respective time, with their *mesoria*, and likewise the ninth hour and in short, always, unless the brothers are scattered afar for their duties. But when the brothers are away, they must sing what is ordained for each hour where they are and at its proper time. Those remaining in the monastery must do the same in the church for each assembly, first striking the wood [semantron]. In short, the service of the cenobitic rules must be observed in this way, just as Basil the Great ordered in his *Ascetical Treatises*.

10. It should be known that on ordinary days as well as at the middle feasts and at the minor ones the *trisagion* must be sung for every individual psalm in the *mesoria* at each canonical hour. Each single hour must be sung individually and at its proper time. One must not recite the canonical hours, except in Lent only. On Saturday and Sunday, however, at the appointed meal hour one must sing the two hours together, that is, the third and the sixth, one after the other with *mesoria* and one *trisagion* for three psalms on account of singing the two hours together one after the other.

11. The ninth hour must be sung at its proper time after dinner and the *trisagion* for each psalm of the *mesorion* [must be sung] because of [the ninth hour] being sung alone as a distinct office. [The ninth hour] should be [sung] on the great feasts of the Lord also, just as on Sundays, as well as [on the feasts] of the two apostles Peter and Paul, and [on those] of the birth and beheading of [St. John] the Forerunner.⁴ Whenever there is a liturgy on a Saturday or a Sunday or on a [movable] feast, the hours are sung in the way we have said, with the *mesoria*.

12. At vespers the semantron must be struck at the beginning of the eleventh hour if they are going to eat the evening meal. But if they eat at the ninth hour, and it is convenient to signal later, this should be done. [For] just as also among us [the office] is called vespers but the holy scripture calls it lamplighting, the completion of the whole day. Nevertheless, someone else will know what pleases God and whether there is any difference at all.

Concerning compline

13. At compline after the sun has completely set and darkness has arrived, just as the fathers handed down, [p. 25] the set of six psalms begins to be sung, and the “God be with you,” then “The incorporeal nature,” and the creed and the “All-holy Lady, Mother of God,” and the rest according to the rule of the authoritative monasteries down to “[The vigilance] of my invisible enemies,” nothing else. Then comes the “Have mercy upon me, O God” and the canon of the Mother of God and the dismissal. Thus is compline sung. But on Sunday at compline, that is on Saturday evening, it is necessary to sing two canons, one a trinitarian canon and the other a canon of the Mother of God, after the aforesaid service of compline.

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14. During Lent and at the fasts of the holy apostles and Saint Philip it is necessary to add, according to the rule of Jerusalem, Psalm 101 and the “Almighty Lord,” then a *trisagion*; and after the “Our Father,” the *troparion* “Have mercy upon us, O Lord, have mercy,” the Gloria, the “Lord have mercy upon us,” the “And now,” the [*troparion*] “[The gates] of compassion,” forty *Kyrie eleisons*, then the “[Draw nigh], O God, to my help” (Ps. 69 [70]), and the canon of the Mother of God. Then in this order, the “Glory to God in the highest” and a *trisagion*, forty *Kyrie eleisons* and the prostrations, twelve *Kyrie eleisons* and dismissal.

15. At the midnight service it is necessary to sound the wood semantron and for the assembled brothers to sing together from the beginning the psalm, “[Blessed are] the blameless” (Ps. 118 [119]), and after one Gloria [to sing] the Alleluia three times according to the rule, and after the three Glorias [to sing] the “Have mercy upon me, O God” and the Alleluia three times, a *trisagion* and the *troparion* of the day, and at the Gloria again the *troparion* of the saint, whoever it is according to custom. At the “And now” [sing] the “Behold the bridegroom,” the “Lord have mercy upon us” and then the “praise becomes thee, O God” (Ps. 64 [65]) and to recite the entire *kathisma* because the psalm, “Let God arise” (Ps. 67 [68]), and likewise also the remaining psalms herald in advance the incarnation of the Lord and his passion.

Concerning the psalm “Let God arise” (Ps. 67 [68]), it is said in the *Gerontikon* that the demons fear no other psalm so much as the “Let God arise,” as even the demons themselves confess.⁵ Then [to recite] the Creed and then the *trisagion*. Also to recite the *troparion*, “O God of our fathers” and following at the Gloria [to recite] again [the *troparion*], if there is one, of a saint according to custom, and at the “And now” the “Suddenly will the judge come.” These are at the same time trinitarian hymns, midnight hymns [p. 26] and hymns to the Mother of God. It is necessary for these to be sung and forty *Kyrie Eleisons*, and to disperse. The midnight service must be sung in this way also in the remaining days of the entire year.

16. On the Saturdays, however, the “Apostles, prophets and martyrs” should be sung following the psalm, “[Blessed are] the blameless” (Ps. 118 [119]) and the “Remember, O Lord” following the Gloria, the “Behold the bridegroom” following the “And now,” and [the *troparion*] of the saints [whose commemoration is] customary, as already said [should also be sung] following the *kathisma*. “Suddenly the judge will come” [is to be sung] following the “And now.”

On Sundays following the psalm, “[Blessed are] the blameless” (Ps. 118 [119]), the resurrection *troparia* which follow that psalm are said. They are not, however, to be sung, but recited plainly and with contrition, just as also the psalms are and the entire midnight service. But if it is also fitting to sing the *troparia* following the psalm “[Blessed are] the blameless” in full voice and in a melodic mode for the purpose of wakefulness, let it be so to the glory of God. Following the *kathisma*, the *troparion* [is to be sung] to the appropriate mode, then the hymn to the Mother of God and dismissal.

17. Then it is necessary in this order to strike the semantron for matins and to light the lamps and cense, and for the brothers to be seated and if appropriate to read until the prescribed time when

the Gloria is given, and for matins to be begun. Since we commented above in the present [section of the] midnight office about the *kathisma* “Praise becomes thee, O God,” (Ps. 64 [65]) that the psalm proclaims in advance the passion of the Lord, accordingly since whoever is so inclined may fall into grief and gloominess and moreover into fear and whatever other [emotions] contained there [in that psalm], for this reason [this *kathisma*] seems [appropriate] for other [ordinary] days, or for whenever one is alone, if suitable.

But on Sunday and especially in churches for large gatherings of the congregation and on feasts of the Lord it seems inappropriate, just as the *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* maintain. For it says there as follows: “Anyone who fasts on Sunday is guilty of sin, since it is a day of resurrection, or [anyone] who grieves on Pentecost or in general on a holiday of the Lord.”⁶ These are the statements found there. Moreover, the sixth council, in the 75th canon, says that “neither [is it lawful] to say anything in addition which is not fitting and proper in church.”⁷

18. Nevertheless, let the previously written order of service for the Sunday midnight office as well as the one set down [in this chapter] be observed as is most fitting. It is as follows. It is necessary, as [it is] every evening, just as [p. 27] we wrote above concerning compline for the whole year, to conduct [the Sunday midnight service] in this order and as follows: to sing one trinitarian canon and to be dismissed and each depart. But at the midnight service [it is necessary] to signal with a slow beating [of the semantron] that [the brothers] may know and assemble in the church, when the Gloria has been given, to say the “Have mercy upon us, O God” and the “[Draw nigh], O God, to my help” (Ps. 69 [70]) and the “Glory to God in the highest,” and to sing two canons, one of the Mother of God and of the saint, whoever it is according to custom, and after the third ode a *kontakion* of the Mother of God, “Protection of the Christians,” in the second plagal mode, and the *oikos* similarly.

After the sixth [ode of the canon] of the aforementioned saint, the *kontakion* and the *oikos* [are to be sung], and at the conclusion of the canons the resurrection *kathismata*, then the psalm, “[Blessed are] the blameless” (Ps. 118 [119]). Afterwards the Alleluia and at the end the “Blessed art thou, O Lord, teach me [thine ordinances]” (Ps. 118 [119]:12–13) is sung, and the resurrection *troparia* [which follow] the psalm, “[Blessed are] the blameless” (Ps. 118 [119]) [sung] in [appropriate] mode, then the “Alleluia, Alleluia, Glory to thee, O God” three times.

Then you must begin to sing the *idiomela stichera* in the second plagal mode aloud as before, with melody neither in the forbidden full voice nor again hushed, but in medium voice, as they sing these in the [monastery of] the holy wonderworker Symeon: [the *troparion*], “The [life of all that was hung] on the wood of the cross” (look for this in the *Triodion* on Thursday of the third week); the verse, “O Lord, rebuke me not in thy wrath” (Ps. 6:1); the *troparion*, “Thou art terrible, O Lord”; [the verse], “Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy great mercy” (Ps. 50 [51]: 1); the *troparion*, “I possess no repentance”; [the verse], “The righteous shall flourish as a palm tree” (Ps. 91 [92]:12); [the *troparion*], “O admirable father of the desert”; the verse, “Light is sprung up for the righteous” (Ps. 96 [97]: 11); [the *troparion*], “Divine grace hovered”; the verse, “Blessed is the man that fears [the Lord]” (Ps. 111 [112]: 1); [the *troparion*] “Holy father”; [the

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verse], “[Their voice is gone out] into all the earth” (Ps. 18 [19]: 4); the Gloria; the “And now”; [and the *troparion*] “The undefiled and wholly blameless.” Look for these in the *sticheraria* and elsewhere.

Then [you must sing] a *trisagion* and then in this manner a *troparion*, “Have mercy upon us, O Lord, have mercy upon us,” in the same voice and melody as before, and again the Gloria [and the *troparion*], “Lord have mercy upon us, for we have trusted in thee”; the “And now”; [and the *troparion*], “[The gates] of compassion”; and the priest does the *ektenes* and the rest [do] twenty *Kyrie Eleisons*; then the dismissal and they are seated.

The reader reads until they light the lamps. Then [it is necessary] to announce matins, as we wrote before. But when it is not a feast, or Sunday or Saturday, it is necessary to do prostrations [p. 28] at the beginning, middle and end of the six-psalm set just as in the other assemblies according to the rule of the monks of Stoudios, except not for the whole six-psalm set, but at the beginning, middle and end three [prostrations] each.

19. It is necessary always to observe the verses, in vespers [to intercalate] six verses and to sing [after them] the *stichera* of the *menaion*, all three of them twice, and after the *prokeimenon* [to sing] the *stichera* of the *oktoechos*, and at matins [to intercalate] twelve verses and to sing three canons. It is necessary always to sing the first hour combined with matins; likewise the *mesorion* [must] also be combined with matins always as the day begins.

If it should happen that [you] make a mistake about the hour and dismiss [the assembly] earlier, it is necessary to waive the first hour with its *mesorion* and rest until morning; or again, if for some reason it is advantageous to do [the first hour], then [it should be done] in this way: while the brothers are assembled, to sing the first hour with its *mesorion*, sometimes with prostrations, sometimes without prostrations, in accord with what is acceptable for the day according to the rule of the monks of Stoudios.⁸

When the first hour is sung separately at the end of matins, it is necessary to make the three single genuflections full ones and to disperse, but to make the rest of the genuflections at the dismissal of the first hour. But to begin with, the genuflections are, according to the Jerusalem rule, to be done in common during every service, since the *typikon* there says that “After the completion [of the office] three full separated genuflections [should be made], then twelve slow ones, so that the brothers can perform them at an equal pace, then when they have rested a little and said a mental prayer, [they should do] three prostrations and twelve *Kyrie Eleisons*.”⁹ This is the Jerusalem order.

After this, according to the order of the Black Mountain, a “Glory be to the Father” is necessary and three full separated genuflections, on behalf of those who have mercy on us, and serve us, and have served us. Then a “Glory to thee, O God, my hope” and the priest [says] the prayer and dismisses [the service].

As a general practice, the genuflections should all be done in meticulous accord with the rule as it specifies in the *typikon* of the Jerusalemites¹⁰—both those genuflections in the midst of the services, that is at the “Holy is God” and at the “Come let us worship,” and those at the remaining places must be done meticulously according to the rule without fail whenever the day permits it.

Also, in the same manner three genuflections on behalf of those who have mercy on us, and serve us and have served us. It is necessary to make all the genuflections to the ground in these cases, according to the rule of the holy fathers. [p. 29]

20. It should be known that in the present *typikon* there is no all-night vigil at all, neither on a feast nor on Sunday, but [it has only] the order of the offices for the year, for compline, the midnight service, and matins, according to the order of the monks of Stoudios and the Holy Mountain¹¹ and in general according to the legislation of the cenobitic constitutions. I do not say this to disparage the churches' vigils that are in accord with God's will and from God (Heaven forbid!), but intending to establish the present *typikon* as a good witness in accord with the tradition of the cenobitic rules from the *Ascetical Treatises* of Basil the Great¹² and from the *Life* of Saint Pachomios¹³ and [the tradition] of the monastery of the monks of Stoudios and the other ancient cenobitic monasteries.

Concerning the reading of the psalms

21. It should be known that on the Saturday of Renovation [Easter week] there should be no reciting of psalms, nor, according to the rule of the monks of Stoudios, on Resurrection Sunday, but on the same Sunday at vespers the "Blessed is the man" (Ps. 31 [32]) begins. On Monday following Low Sunday¹⁴ at matins the "I will give thanks to thee, O Lord" (Ps. 110 [111]) [is to be sung] in the first mode. In the evening at lamplighting, the "To thee, O Lord" (Ps. 24 [25]) is begun. On Tuesday at matins one *kathisma* is sung. In this manner the psalmody is sung throughout all of Pentecost. Two readings are read, from All Saints to¹⁵ the twenty-sixth of September it is necessary to sing at vespers "To the Lord when of the sorrowful" [and] at matins two *kathismata* and two readings according to the Jerusalem rule, and until Great Lent [to sing] two *kathismata* and three readings at matins, and at vespers "To the Lord when of the sorrowful" according to the rule of the Studites and [that of] the Holy Mountain.¹⁶

During Great Lent on Monday of the first [two] weeks two *kathismata* are sung and three readings at matins. One should read through a single *kathisma* each hour according to the rule of the saints. From the third week [of Great Lent] three *kathismata* are sung at matins and also three readings and at vespers "To the Lord when of the sorrowful" even up to Holy Wednesday.

On Saturdays and Sundays, two *kathismata* each day are sung: on Saturday "The Lord said to my Lord" (Ps. 109 [110]) and "The sinless ones," on Sunday "I will give thanks to you, O Lord" and "I love you very much, O Lord" and this is always sung on Saturday and Sunday.

On each Saturday at vespers and on Easter Sunday "Blessed is the man" [p. 30] is sung according to the order of the holy fathers. From Holy Wednesday on the Psalter is left out, and in this holy week there is no singing. At no other time of the year do we celebrate in this way.

22. It is necessary to know that in the Studite *typikon* there is no great doxology, neither on Sunday nor on a great holiday, but on those days are said *stichera* on the "Of the praised." Similarly on the *stichophon*. On the minor holidays only the *stichera* are said on the *stichophon*, as on other [simple] days. But in the Jerusalem *typikon* it is different. For on every Sunday there is a great doxology as

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well as for the whole of Pentecost, from Christmas to St. Basil's day, and from Epiphany to the end of the holiday.

On the other great holidays that are only one day and on Saturdays and on middle holidays are said the *stichera* on the "Of the praised" as well as on the *stichophon*. On the other minor holidays and also on other [simple] days the "Of the praised" is not said for the *stichera*, but only on the *stichophon*. Here and in all that follows it is necessary to proceed according to the Jerusalem rule in the order for the entire year. No other order is written in the present *typikon*.

23. It is necessary to have written *typika*, I mean both Studite and Jerusalem, and from them to keep the tradition of the holy fathers firmly in all respects.

Of particular psalmody

24. It is necessary to know that brothers are not permitted to eat alone in the cell [except] for the one in particular who has the permission of the superior [to eat] outside of the refectory. In the same manner, according to tradition, neither prayer nor singing properly should be done alone, but everyone together. In the cells singing is only fitting when it is expressed for comfort, prayer or the raising of conscience. In addition to the common singing at [p. 31] vespers, each one must sing "Blessed is the man" and the *kathisma* "God have mercy on us" in his own cell from the Monday [after the Sunday] of the blessing of the breads¹⁷ through to the fifteenth of August, and forego genuflections as much as possible due to the decreasing length of the nights, and must nevertheless still appear at the tasks. Except for Saturdays, Sundays, and Pentecost and the said holidays [it is necessary] to perform genuflections or some other devotions. From the fifteenth of August until the end of September, it is fitting to add the hymn, "We pray to you, O Lord" as well as genuflections. From the beginning of October until St. Philip's day,¹⁸ it is good to add "I love you, O Lord," that is, a third *kathisma*, or "*Kyrie eleison*." [It is fitting] also not to forego genuflections.¹⁹

Starting from St. Philip's, he who is able to keep vigil longer on account of the long nights must go to the workshop and light the lamp or anything else that is appropriate, and each one must either read or work, as he prefers to do, depending on his capability, and when he wishes, having completed [his task], depart unhindered to rest. But when he departs for rest, if there is no one else left there, he must extinguish the lamp. Thus each must do, lest the lamp burn on unnoticed and the oil be wasted. This must be done because the brothers are not allowed each to light a lamp in their cells.

25. On Monday of the first week of Lent it is necessary to perform fifty prostrations in the cells, as we also said before, and as many others as each is able, but first these fifty in private as an offering to God with the three *kathismata* and the "Have mercy upon me, O God," until the evening of Holy Friday.

26. But on Holy Saturday until vespers is signaled, [it is necessary to perform] as many prostrations privately as each is able to do. [It is necessary] to forego these until All Saints²⁰ in accordance with the legislation of the holy synods. But this Saturday also has prostrations, just as it has severe fasting.

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27. On the week of Renovation [Easter Week], the psalmody described above is suspended, and the “Christ is risen,” just as the rule specifies, is sung with the psalmody appointed for Easter week in the church, just as they are also in the other churches, but [they are sung] in the cells with the “Christ is risen” and the rest, that is, the “Having beheld the resurrection of Christ,” just as the hours are sung, each in this way then being free [to do] as he prefers. [p. 32]

28. Afterwards, throughout the entire [remainder] of the year, as we have already said, this is how [you] must sing in the cells, [following] only the above written rule in accordance with tradition. But if a brother because of work or otherwise because of a reasonable excuse or necessity [is unable to attend the services], it is necessary to do what is appropriate.²¹ But in all other [cases] it is necessary to sing together in common in the midst of [the rest of the brotherhood], as was written before.

During the long [winter] nights, just as we also said before, or even during the other [nights] if one wishes again to spend more of the night awake in any way, and has no desire either for reading or again for work, but only for singing psalms, there is nothing to hinder personal psalmody in this manner which we stated above, if it is conducive to the salvation of the soul, either in the cell or outside of the cell, all year long, whenever each desires, according to what the preference of each person is.

In the great feasts likewise and in Pentecost and in general there is nothing to hinder psalmody, either in the cell or outside of the cell, if it also contributes, in accord with what we said before, to the salvation of the soul, for many are the devices of the devil. Nevertheless, everything must also be in accord with the will of the one who presides [in the monastery] by God’s will, just as we also said before. For the angel of God in the writings according to the great Pachomios, after ordaining the common prayers [to be conducted] in the midst of the congregation, spoke as follows: “For those who are perfect have no need of legislation in their cells; let them devote themselves in their cells wholly to living by the legislation of God.”²² Nevertheless our blessed and holy ancient fathers set aside half of the night for rest and half for keeping vigil, and therefore it is necessary for each one to do what also benefits [him] from vespers on.

29. One should know that, just as we also wrote before concerning ecclesiastical order and psalmody,²³ it is necessary for the *typikon* to contain in writing the remaining [regulations] of the monks of Stoudios and of Jerusalem, and from them to observe the traditions of the holy fathers as is fitting and the traditions of the cenobitic canons pertaining to practice for all aspects of the monastic life.

It is necessary to have the entire *Life* of our holy father Pachomios in writing, as also the *Constitutions of Cenobitic Monasteries* by Saint Cassian the Roman,²⁴ [p. 33] as well as the *Ascetical Treatises* of our holy father Basil, since they contain canons and rules for regulation of cenobitic monasteries. For the divine fathers do not accept the monastic life in any other way, but only if it is in accord with the legislation in the *Ascetical Treatises* of Basil the Great and the other holy fathers, as well as [with] the law of our holy father Pachomios, as the founder and protector of cenobitic administration.

It is necessary to have these in writing and to practice their ordinances as much as possible.

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Nevertheless it is also necessary to have in writing all the rest of the Christian traditions, both of monks and clerics, likewise of laity and generally every Christian body, from the traditions of the holy and inspired fathers. Concerning dogma [it is necessary], to begin with, [to have in writing] the decrees of the holy councils and the rest of the holy fathers regarding [doctrines] contrary to the faith, but first of all in every respect [to have] the commands of the Lord and their interpretations. For the latter are set forth in the book which is compiled out of the providence of God and called *The Interpretations of the Commands of the Lord*.²⁵ For in no other way is it possible for me in my zeal to say more than this, that it contains the commands of the Lord and I know for sure that it possesses their appellation. It is necessary to have this [book] for every sort of teaching, as well as the other books, as many as possess sound teachings. Outside of these we do not receive from our holy and inspired fathers that any other strange or alien writing has authority besides the teachings of the holy and inspired fathers.

Concerning the Divine Liturgy

30. It should be known also concerning the holy liturgy of God that on Saturday the liturgy must begin at the start of the fourth hour in order that the refectory may be set at the beginning of the fifth hour. On Sunday the liturgy must begin at the beginning of the third hour, so that the refectory may be set at the beginning of the fourth hour. Similarly also on the great feasts of the Lord, such as those of the Mother of God and of Christ, as well as for the two for the birth and beheading of [St. John] the Forerunner and that of the two holy apostles Peter and Paul. All of these must be performed as on Sunday.

On the medium feasts²⁶ it is necessary [p. 34] that the liturgy begin at the beginning of the fifth hour, so that the refectory may be set at the beginning of the sixth hour. On the minor feasts²⁷ and other days the liturgy ought to begin at the beginning of the fifth hour and be concluded in its own proper time. But the refectory must be set at its own proper time each day, whether a fast day or an ordinary day. That is, everyone [must] depart after the liturgy and reassemble again when it is time for the refectory. This is the necessary procedure when they are going to eat at the ninth hour or at night. It is necessary to do the liturgy and meals this way also for the short fasts²⁸ as distinct from Lent, for Lent has a different rule, that is valid everywhere.

31. This order of the holy liturgy we are taught partly from the *typikon* of the monks of Stoudios, as well as [from that] of Jerusalem and the Holy Mountain, in accordance with what is ordained for the fast of the Holy Apostles, and partly from the *Life* of St. Thalassios, in accord with what it says there about how it was revealed to the saint that “until the sixth hour the liturgies of the Christians are carried up into heaven but if a liturgy is celebrated thereafter, it is not carried up until the morrow.”²⁹ These are the testimonies concerning the divine liturgy; but we also consider this chapter [included] herein to be a written testimony just as we were taught. Let him who knows best consider [it].

32. Concerning the minor feasts, as we said before,³⁰ we were taught from the *typikon* of the Holy Mountain to sing the “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]: 27) [on those feasts], as it says there. Concerning eating and drinking, as on other feast days, they do not break fast, nor again on the

fast days. These things are appropriate when it happens that a fast day and a minor feast coincide. But the feasts of the Lord, that is Holy Thursday, Holy Saturday, Christmas and Epiphany, have a different rule for the liturgy.

Concerning quantities and kinds of food and drink

33. It should be known that he who is serving the brothers [in the refectory] must strike the wood semantron and that all must assemble and depart to the refectory, reciting the psalm, “I will exalt thee, my God, my king” (Ps. 145 [146]:1) and be seated, with piety of conduct and word, and [p. 35] with the rest of the ritual in accordance with the rule. The reader must begin the proper antiphon, then pronounce the verse of the blessing for the food set on the tables, and for each serving he must say the “Glory to thee, Christ, [our] God, our hope, glory to thee” and so on, and similarly the verse. The reader must read until he who is serving should raise a *Panagia*. Then the reader offers up a prayer and blessing. The same person ought to wash the dishes and the other utensils according to the rule of the Holy Mountain, for it is his duty.

There ought to be great scrupulousness, just as was handed down to us from the holy fathers,³¹ that in the refectory no word whatsoever be spoken except for the verses and the reading, but for any absolute necessity whatsoever the superior [may speak] with discretion or anyone else who has good reason, as necessary. For the divine fathers also say this, that in such matters equal attention and honor must be paid to the holy altar and to the refectory of the brothers.

34. It should be known that from Easter until All Saints, [and] the whole week of Easter, they must eat at the same hour as they eat on Easter Sunday. We do not mean [that they must eat] the [same] amount, however, but the [same] quality, if they have it. But if they do not have it, it is not necessary to be concerned according to the word of the Lord. (cf. Matt. 6:25)

35. Starting with Monday of the Blessing of the breads³² after singing the third hour in its order, then the sixth hour in its order and its proper time, it is necessary to sing also the select verses from psalms. Blessed bread³³ must be handed out and this alone may be eaten. The blessed bread of Pentecost must weigh twelve *exagia* and this alone must be eaten so that Pentecost might not be called a fast. After singing the ninth hour at its proper time, then it is necessary to eat a full meal according to the tradition of the holy fathers. But if there is liturgy, it must be at the third hour, as on Sunday, and [it is necessary] to give the blessed bread similarly.

After singing the service of the sixth hour at its proper time and then the ninth in its proper time, it is necessary to eat a full meal, as also we said before. But if it is beneficial to take the blessed bread and eat it at the sixth hour, let it be so. This ordinance must be observed throughout the entirety of Holy Pentecost except for [the feast of] Mid-Pentecost and [the feast of the] Ascension or any other occasion with good reason. [p. 36]

36. Let us examine whether this distinction in the case of Pentecost and the feasts as well is acceptable. We shall find the canon of Theophilus of Alexandria where it says, “Whenever the fast of Christmas vigil or the vigil of the Epiphany falls on a Saturday or Sunday, let them eat a small snack of dried food at the time that the liturgy takes place during the day, but at night let them eat

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a full meal so that it might not be called a fast. Thus we refute, they say, the heresies which exist in such matters and do not hinder our abstinence as long as we are fully zealous for it and do it.”³⁴ But nevertheless, in spite of the weight that we stated before, let the blessed bread that is distributed [during Pentecost] be given out in a small portion only, if appropriate, so that it might not be called a fast.

Just as we also said before, we refute the errors that are in such things, just as the above-quoted canon says to taste of some small snack. We do this if it is allowed, but if not, let us be taught what is best, accepting the testimony again from the divine scriptures.

37. According to monastic rule, we ought to say again that on Tuesday and Thursday it is necessary to eat two dishes, one a soup [of legumes] cooked with olive oil, and the other boiled [vegetables] without oil. But if a little cheese or egg or fish should happen to be available on these days, it should be eaten without worry, but the portion of cheese per person ought to be weighed out at eight *exagia*, the *exagion* that is of a standard *holokotimon* and the [portion of] oil at one and a half an *exagion* per person at each setting.

This rule ought to be valid at all times, even when both are eaten, unless there is some special refreshment from some Christ-loving guest, and in order not to offend the one offering it, it is necessarily appropriate to waive the standard and again in such a way as not to act heedlessly or carelessly, but [to do] what is appropriate to the glory of God and not for blasphemy. But if it should not in fact happen thus, always on the days appointed it is necessary to abide by these same standards and measures for cheese and oil and of the other foods, and frequently, if it is also acceptable, to reduce these [quotas] and not to increase them, as Basil the Great in his *Ascetical Treatises* ordained, saying that “One must partake of everything on occasion, just enough to show to those who are watching . . .”³⁵ So much for that [subject].

[p. 37]

Concerning those doing penances

38. On Monday, Wednesday and Friday it is necessary to eat one course, that is, boiled [vegetables], without olive oil, and another course of dry food. On those Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays of Pentecost, as we also said before, it is necessary on the occasion of a refreshment [provided by] a friend, to break fast, just as [is done] on other days, with respect to both the time [of eating] and the food, except for those doing penance and not partaking of communion. Those doing penances do not [ordinarily] break fast with respect to cheese and egg, but break fast in all foods on Wednesdays and Fridays of Pentecost.

On Sundays and the feasts of the Lord [it is necessary] to eat the two dishes with olive oil. But if as frequently happens Christ should send also something else and it is not appropriate to the two dishes, it is necessary to eat three. It is not lawful for this to be in effect perennially on the basis of this rule, but if it should happen as a matter of necessity, just as we have said, this rule must be observed on Saturdays and Sundays and the other feast days all year long in addition to Pentecost.

If there should happen to be wine, it should not, according to the rule, be given on any day except Sunday, a feast of the Lord, or of necessity as a refreshment [offered] by a friend. Wine is to be served, then, all year on these days, at one measure [per person], or frequently two or at most

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three, no more. For we said two or three measures not for a rule, but when it happens as a matter of necessity, just as we also said above concerning three dishes on Sunday or a great feast. Since just as with regard to food the two servings were to be valid, but frequently only one, so also with wine. The two measures of wine and frequently the single measure are always to be valid, if it falls on the appointed days, just as we always said.

As St. Symeon the Wonderworker says, “A monk’s boast is abstinence from wine. But if he does drink wine, let him imbibe [only a] little on account of bodily illness.”³⁶ Likewise another of the saints, Poemen himself, great in word and in deed, says that “Drinking wine is absolutely not for monks.”³⁷ Therefore, on any other day of the week, according to the pronouncement of the saint [only] a little is to be drunk, on account of some unavoidable illness, on any day whatsoever, if there is any and it is given to us, for the sake of therapy.³⁸ [p. 38]

Also the divine canons order that it is fitting to measure undiluted wine [in the amount of] a one cup’s measure into twenty separate cup-measures in dilution.

[The following six chapters, missing from the Greek manuscript, were supplied by Benešević from a Slavonic translation [R] that has a different chapter numeration.]

[37R]. Likewise it is fitting throughout the whole year to keep this regulation about cheese and oil and wine and all both by measure and by law in the same way that our holy fathers have advised, saying, “Everything by measure and by law.” Likewise, St. Ephraem says, “Great is the unhappiness where the legislated laws do not prevail.”³⁹ We say this according to order.

[38R]. At the end of Holy Pentecost, from All Saints through to [the feast of the] Holy Apostles,⁴⁰ on Tuesday and Thursday it is fitting to eat only boiled [vegetables] without oil and other dry foodstuff at the ninth hour. On Monday, Wednesday and Friday dry foodstuff is fitting—bread and water and the like. It is fitting to eat two portions, more if they are available. When they eat boiled [vegetables], it is fitting to eat with them different servings, so that thereby there are two dishes.

[39R]. About small and great holidays, it should be added below in its [appropriate] place. From the [feast of the] Holy Apostles through to St. Philip’s, on Tuesday and Thursday one should eat two [meals of] boiled [vegetables] if available, juice without sweetening, and boiled [vegetables] both without oil. However, one should eat at the ninth hour according to the tradition of the holy fathers, as St. Symeon the Wonderworker expresses, saying “Let the monk fast no less than [until] the ninth hour.”⁴¹ Similarly in the *Life* of our most blessed father Pachomios, the angel says according to the cenobitic tradition that “At the ninth hour when many want to eat, make three prayers.”⁴² Also all the holy fathers preached this, [namely], that at the ninth hour the monks always eat.

[40R]. For these simple days, if some refreshment comes from some Christ-loving person and if the person who brought it is still there or is bringing it, [it is] to be eaten for the glory of God, so as not to offend the bringer, as was said above. If the bringer is not present, then it is fitting to keep

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it for Saturday or Sunday or a holiday because one should not break or violate the traditional fast of the holy fathers.

If it is a fast day, it is not fitting to give the refreshment to the bringer when he comes except on a simple day or if some blessing is nevertheless necessary. If a holiday falls on a fast day it is fitting to permit it for the other's sake, in witness of the holiday that happens to fall then, whether it is a minor or a great [holiday], when it agrees with the love of the other according to the tradition of the holy fathers.

[41R]. If the bringer [of the refreshment] is not present and the holiday falls on a fast day, it is still more fitting and likewise it is pleasing to God in his glory and not to God's detriment. For it is not fitting and again unfortunate simply to permit this and to commit a great offense against our Lord's holy fast, which was laid down to Christians from the holy apostles and divine fathers and the holy councils by the Holy Spirit, and likewise all the more against our own traditions when we wish to permit these things without divine truth or some blessed reason.

As it has been stated above, on Tuesday and Thursday if it is useful to eat without oil, so be it. If it is not useful, then one should eat with oil, even though such is outside the tradition of the fathers, if it is to the glory of God and salvation of the soul and for the sustenance of the body.

[42R]. Thus it is fitting to accept this rule, except clearly for Lent and the other fasts as well. For it is read in the *Ascetic Treatises* of Basil the Great, and it is said there how the small *typikon* requires that food be served to the brothers for their sustenance during a fast, and also to keep [the fast] in praise and not in disdain.⁴³ If you want, turn to read [it for yourself].

So be it, and even on those days when it is not so, still the monks observe a complete abstinence from meat, and from this it is known as by the true word that for the sake of sustenance [it is permitted]⁴⁴ to partake of olive oil also on such days. Likewise in the *Life* of our father among the saints, Pachomios,⁴⁵ [p. 40] the founder and standard of cenobitic monasteries, you will find word for word that when accused, the cooks said in their defense that every day except for fast days they served sixty pints of olive oil for the food for the brothers. That was the multitude of the people.

Therefore, as we said before, it is reasonable so to eat, if it is also beneficial. For thus some in the manner of the oil-abstainers⁴⁶ think up other things to eat better than condiments, just as Basil the Great also noted in his *Ascetical Treatises*, and forbade this.⁴⁷ So much for that [subject].

43. On Monday, Wednesday and Friday after vespers, it is necessary to eat and to set the refectory in accordance with the tradition of certain holy fathers. It is necessary to eat dry foods—bread and water and anything of the sort, if it is available, and to eat in accordance with the tradition and legislation of the holy councils. Let this also be scrupulously observed, and if it is convenient to eat after vespers on fast days, as we said also before, let it be so. But if it is not convenient, [then] in accord with the rule of the other days let the meal be at the ninth hour as the divine fathers ordained in keeping with the sacred canons.

44. Concerning vegetables and fruit it is necessary that practice be in accord with the rule of the great monasteries in the following fashion. Lentils, beans and chickpeas, when they are [simply] boiled, one heaping wine measure per brother, and one level wine measure⁴⁸ of rice for each one. But when they are cooked in a soup,⁴⁹ it is to be half of all these. The same must be done also for the other legumes similar to these, as appropriate.

As with clothing, however, so too with legumes and fruits. Some are easily procured, while others are more scarce, as Basil the Great also says concerning all these things.⁵⁰ The things easily procured and the things that fill essential need must be selected according to the season. As for dry food, raisins and olives, [let there be] some of each for each person: one heaping wine measure per person of olives, but a level one of raisins. Similarly also six whole nuts per person, and dry medium figs per person but [portions of] the small and large ones differ. It should be the same also for the other fruits like these, and similarly for the rest, [p. 41] as we also said above concerning cooked legumes.

All these [regulations about portions] for things both cooked and raw, when they are dry, are fitting. But when the season has fresh [vegetables and fruits], both the food and the amount differ. Fresh vegetables, both cooked and raw, as well as *almaia* and likewise other foods similar to these, that are suitable for fast days and are properly prepared and meet the essential needs, [must be apportioned] as is appropriate.

For thus governed by the grace of God we are delivered from greed, in accordance with what one of the saints says, namely, "That which exceeds what is needed is greed." Hence also the apostle includes this passion when he enumerates the things that separate us from the kingdom of God, saying that "The greedy shall not inherit the kingdom of God" (I Cor. 6:10). To be "greedy" is applicable to every matter. All these things the cenobitic rules have transmitted, regarding both non-dry and dry foods, and they appointed the amount of all these [foods] with accuracy, both for recognition of consistency and on account of the scandals and other temptations that sprang up against those who desire to live harmoniously in company with many persons.

45. The person who lives the solitary life follows a different tradition and regulation, obviously in accordance with the strength of his body and his soul's guidance. All these [cenobitic regulations] are not scrupulously observed among the [hermit] monks. For every day the great Chariton of Jerusalem in the account of his life gives only bread and salt and water for food to the monks and says that this is the royal road.⁵¹ Likewise, St. Ephraem says that "When you practice abstinence, you will not be concerned about much provisioning, being satisfied with what is at hand; you fulfill your essential need with biscuits and a few lentils or other legumes or fresh vegetables."⁵²

Basil the Great, writing to St. Gregory the Theologian concerning monks, says that "In general, just as with regard to clothing, necessity was the primary consideration, likewise with regard to food, bread will fill the need and water will cure thirst for a healthy man, and any food that grows from seeds [p. 42] can sustain bodily strength for practical necessities."⁵³

St. Neilos says that "Living in accord with nature both for us and for animals is itself decreed by the creator; 'for behold I have given you,' says God to humankind, 'every grass of the field; it will be for food for you and for the beasts.' If, having received a common mode of life with the beasts, we turn this in our thoughts into a more profligate life, how would we not with good reason

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be judged more unreasonable than those [beasts], if indeed the beasts live by the law of nature, not disturbing any of the things ordained by God, but we, who are honored with reason, in every way live outside of the ancient legislation? Since, accordingly, every fault follows from greed, let us annihilate this temptation and let us discipline ourselves in poverty.”⁵⁴

46. Consider this saying and law of the saint, for it is not for monks only, but also for those who live in the world and how much more fully is it fitting for monks. The divine apostle, nullifying the perverse greed of the body that is in accord with its very nature, says, “Make no provision for the flesh, to gratify its desires” (Rom. 13:14). But many other such [rules] of the divine fathers are united in the Lord in the *Book of the Interpretations of the Commands of the Lord* in chapters 60 and 61 and 62 and in other chapters.⁵⁵ The saints observed these things. For these reasons, if there does not happen to be olive oil, one must use for that purpose whatever else is at hand. But if not even this is possible, one should not be concerned, [since it is a matter] of necessity.

47. On Saturday at the completion of the fourth hour and the beginning of the fifth, it is necessary to set the refectory and eat two dishes with olive oil, both the legume soup and the boiled vegetables, just as we said above. If Christ should send a little cheese or egg or fish, it is to be eaten to the glory of God. One must not be preoccupied [with the subject of food], just as the divine fathers handed down and the Lord himself says, “Do not be anxious about what you eat” (Matt. 6:25; Luke 12:22) and so on. Similarly also the apostle restrains excessive preoccupation saying that “If we have food [p. 43] and clothing, with these we shall be content” (I Tim. 6:8).

Likewise, on Sunday at the completion of the third hour, it is necessary to set the refectory and eat two dishes. But if Christ should send something else that does not fit with two dishes, three are to be eaten of necessity, just as we said before. It is not necessary to have this [determined] in a rule, but simply by coincidence, when it happens. They must also have an evening meal on Saturday and Sunday and on the feast days, as appropriate, on each of which the quick collation is somewhat restricted.⁵⁶ The same holds also with wine, as we said before.

48. On the great feast days like the great feasts of the Mother of God and Christ and the birth and the beheading of [St. John] the Forerunner, as well as that of the two apostles Peter and Paul, on whatever day [the feast] falls, whether a Monday, Wednesday or Friday, it is necessary to do as follows. On the feasts of Christ and the Mother of God as well as the two feasts of [St. John] the Forerunner and that of the two holy apostles Peter and Paul, the rule for Sunday should be observed, except during Great Lent.

49. On the medium feasts [it is necessary] to set the refectory at the sixth hour and at night. As for the food, it is necessary to eat in the same fashion as on the other days, only to set the refectory at the sixth hour on account of the feast. But if it should fall on a fast day, it is necessary to eat dry food twice, that is, at midday and in the evening. If it is fitting, let it be vegetable soup with nothing else, if it will please God; or even with something else, if it is not suspect as a risk to the soul.

50. On the minor feasts it is necessary to eat at the ninth hour, as on the other days, once a day. But if it should fall on a fast day, [it is necessary] to eat dry foods as on the ordinary day, one meal for

the day on the ninth [hour]. This holds if they eat in the evening, but if they eat at the ninth hour, let it be as is fitting. For on account of the feast, mealtime is scheduled earlier, so that in accord with what is fitting for each feast, by cutting down on each feast the customary time [that the monks have to wait before] eating, relaxation may take place, lest on the pretext of a feast, indeed of feasts, abuse be introduced and the abstinence be broken that is the fruit of the Holy Spirit according to the apostle (Gal. 5:22), or conversely [the celebration of] feasts be dishonored on the pretext of abstinence. But if it is fitting, let there also be cooked food without olive oil at the minor feasts, [p. 44] if God be pleased, or even with olive oil, when it is not suspect as a risk to the soul.

51. The precise specification for this interpretation of [rules regarding] food at the feasts is the purpose of the holy fathers who passed these things down, which indeed the treatise has set forth and which has been conformed to the *Book of the Interpretations of the Commands of the Lord*, fifty-eighth chapter.⁵⁷ For there it has all knowledge of the feasts set side by side with the words of the divine fathers.

52. Men in my position have the custom of naming of their own will certain days as feasts of the saints, [days] which are not reckoned by divine scripture as feasts, which is dangerous, whenever it would work out to the dissolution of the canonical fast, that is, Wednesday or Friday and Lent. For Monday has little danger, except for those doing penances and not taking communion, but for others [this custom] is observed without danger.

53. It is necessary to follow the feasts appointed by the fathers scrupulously and with fear and the knowledge of God in matters of food, both in the ordinary days, [and] all the more on fast days. For nowhere in the canonical scriptures are found changes of diet prescribed for the feasts, but just as it says in the *Gerontikon*, “Do not consider celebrating the feasts by drinking wine, but as a rebirth of the mind and cleansing of the soul. By gorging yourselves with food and wine you rather provoke the saint for whom the feast was founded.”⁵⁸ Again, someone else says, “If your mind tells you to make different foods for a feast, do not heed it, since [if you do], you feast in the Jewish way. For those people prepare these things and all such foods and set their mind on distinguishing and knowing.”⁵⁹

Taking our selections concerning the feasts from the divine scriptures we fitted them together in the above-mentioned divine treatise, the *Interpretations of the Commands of the Lord*, a book for edification. But also in the *Divine Ladder* it says, “There is no feast on earth for true monks.”⁶⁰ Other [sayings] concerning these matters [are found] in the discourse concerning the gladdening grief⁶¹ and in the treatise concerning fasting, as well as in Gregory the Theologian on “Christ is Born.”⁶² [St. John] Chrysostom in his [discourse] *On the [Epistle] to the Corinthians*⁶³ and all the fathers define and teach how the feasts of the Christians are conducted. The [writings] of [p. 45] John the Faster⁶⁴ and the rules of the monasteries do not agree exactly either with the sacred rules of the holy fathers themselves or [with those] of the other teachers in the holy scriptures or with any other canonical writing. But let the reader consider and let what is pleasing to God be done. So much on this topic.

54. In the fast season of St. Philip it is necessary to do as on the fast of the Holy Apostles, except

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to eat at night during this time because of the shortness of the days. Nevertheless, if this meal is inappropriate, let it be at the ninth hour as always. Christmas and Epiphany must be in accord with the rule, but if the vigils fall on a Saturday or Sunday, since there must not be a fast, it is necessary during the day at the time of the liturgy to eat only the blessed bread that is customarily given in the church, nothing else, and at night to eat a full meal, as the canon of Theophilus of Alexandria declares.⁶⁵ For the latter says there regarding this subject to take a full snack after the dismissal of the liturgy, and thus to await the evening assembly and [then] to eat a full meal. For thus we refute some of the heresies.

55. We mentioned the twelve days of Christmas and the days of Pentecost. But if Christ should send a little cheese or egg, it is necessary to keep [some] of these and to taste a little bit of these every day on account of certain heresies, even if it is a Monday, Wednesday or Friday. Likewise, it is necessary to do the same thing during the week before the [week] of Meatfare during which the Armenians fast [in honor] of Artzibourios.⁶⁶ For it is the tradition among some to break the fast [during this week] in refutation of the heresy of the Armenians.

After the ninth hour on Wednesday and Friday [it is necessary] to taste a little cheese if it is appropriate. But if it is not, let us be taught what is best. Likewise on Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare week. For on these two days of Cheesefare week, just as we said, it is necessary to eat cheese at the time of the common meal according to the custom of the fathers. For the canon of St. Nikephoros of Constantinople says the following: “That it is necessary for monks to fast on Wednesday of Cheesefare week and on Friday and to eat cheese after the dismissal [of the liturgy] of the Presanctified [Gifts], wherever they happen to be.”⁶⁷ This canon also refutes the dogma of [p. 46] Jacob and the heresy of the *Tetraditai*.⁶⁸ Thus says the canon of the saint.

56. On the first day of Lent one must not eat at all according to the rule of the Holy Mountain,⁶⁹ but on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday one piece of bread is to be eaten and water, nothing else, except salt with the bread if it is beneficial. For St. Theodore the Studite in his *Catechesis* of the Great Friday of the first week [of Lent]⁷⁰ approves of eating every day on the appointed hour, even on these days, and cites as witnesses all the God-bearing fathers and God himself.

We do likewise from Tuesday of the first week on, but on Friday evening [on the vigil] of the [feast] of St. Theodore,⁷¹ it is necessary to eat a [legume] soup without olive oil, some other dry food, plus bread and water, nothing else. On Saturday and Sunday, just as we also said above, it is necessary to manage always without cheese and egg and fish. For these things belong to the rest of the Saturdays and Sundays of the year outside of Lent. But within [Lent] olive oil is to be eaten on Saturday and Sunday, and on Sunday it is the rule that wine, if it is available to us, is to be drunk to the glory of God.

On the Monday of the second week and from then on through the entirety of Lent outside of Saturdays and Sundays it is fitting to eat dry food according to the regulation of the sacred canons, as the council of Laodicea specifies in the fiftieth canon regarding eating dry food in Lent.⁷² Fruits, olives, and vegetables may be eaten if they are available, all uncooked.

These [regulations] are not in disagreement with the cenobitic rules. Nevertheless, one who reads the *Life* of our holy father Pachomios, the founder of monasteries, will find there as he

studies that when those who had kitchen duty stopped working and were not cooking anything, the saint accused them and rebuked them, not about any other day, but about Saturday and Sunday, speaking as follows to the one in charge of this duty: “Why do you do this when the commands of the holy fathers order vegetables to [p. 47] be cooked for the brothers on Saturday and Sunday?”⁷³ So much for that [subject].

57. All year long it is not permitted to fast on Saturday and Sunday, but it is dangerous, and all the more [dangerous] to fast on Saturday and Sunday in Lent, on account of the dogma of the so-called *Eustathianoï*⁷⁴ and *Markianistai* and *Lapetianoï* and *Messalianoi*. For the Saturdays and Sundays are in a separate category. Likewise, the sacred canons ordain for Lent eating dry foods, and for Saturday and Sunday again [they ordain] the appropriate breaking of fast.⁷⁵ So much for that [subject].

Concerning mid-Lent week

58. On Wednesday of Mid-Lent Week, fast is not to be broken, for [this] is found in the *typikon* of Stoudios.⁷⁶ It specifies eating dry foods for this whole week, beyond what is the rule for other weeks. Likewise on [the day of] the Great Canon it is not permitted to break fast, because it is rather a day of grief and not a feast. Likewise also on both days—that is, Mid-Lent [Wednesday] and the day of the Great Canon—the Alleluia is sung and not the “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]: 27).

59. [On the feast] of the Forty Holy Martyrs⁷⁷ and [that of] [St. John] the Forerunner,⁷⁸ one course without olive oil is to be eaten—the [legume] soup, that is, and fruits if there happen to be any, one [meal] per day after vespers. But if these feasts fall in the first week, it is necessary not to break fast, but to observe [these feasts] during the week of Cheesefare, just as they do on the Holy Mountain and elsewhere. For when the feast of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple⁷⁹ falls in the first week, they do not break fast, but celebrate it in advance during the week of Cheesefare. All the more is it necessary [to celebrate] these [feasts] also [in advance], just as the sacred canons specify that it is necessary to celebrate on Saturday and Sunday.

For the holy council of Laodicea says in the fifty-first canon as follows: “That it is not necessary in Lent to celebrate [the actual day of] the birth of the martyrs, but to commemorate the holy martyrs on Saturdays and Sundays.” So says the holy council. But if they fall after the first week, they are celebrated on whatever day they fall, in every era and every place.⁸⁰

60. On the feast of the Annunciation,⁸¹ the two dishes must be eaten with olive oil, and likewise, fish, if there happens to be any, [p. 48] must be eaten on whatever day [the feast] falls. But on any other day of Lent, fish is not to be eaten, just as the sacred canons state. If there happens to be wine on that day, it is necessary to drink it according to the rule, which we also cited before;⁸² but it is necessary to eat [only] once a day, after vespers.

61. On Friday on the vigil [of the feast] of [St.] Lazarus, it is necessary to eat one dish, the [legume] soup, that is, without olive oil, and fruits if there are any, and bread and water.

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62. On Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of Holy Week [it is necessary to eat] bread and water and raw vegetables or salt, one of the two, at evening just as the sacred canons specify.

Concerning Holy Thursday

63. On Holy Thursday, it is necessary to eat the [legume] soup without olive oil and [to eat] other dry food, [for on this day] the “Alleluia” is sung and not the [psalm], “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]: 27). The difference [in the regulations] regarding the food on Holy Thursday is as follows. The sacred canons specify dry foods, as on the preceding days of Lent. For the council of Laodicea says concerning Holy Thursday in the fiftieth canon as follows: “That it is necessary on Thursday of the last week of Lent not to break fast, thereby dishonoring all of Lent, but to fast with dry foods on every day of Lent.”⁸³ Thus says the holy council.

Nevertheless, the divine [St. John] Chrysostom in one of his discourses says as follows: “If you break fast on the preceding days, break fast also on this one; but if it is not permitted to break fast on those days, do not break fast on this one either, but rather tighten your fast.”⁸⁴ So says Chrysostom.

But the *typika* of the great monasteries, that is, of Stoudios and Jerusalem, as well as those of the Holy Mountain (I know not where they got the tradition from), say to eat [legume] soup and boiled [beans] with olive oil and to drink wine according to the rule.⁸⁵ We have compared this difference in diet of the former and latter [regulations] and have set it down here, so that [our] conscience may not be sullied at all in either case.

64. On Good Friday, if it is possible, one ought not eat, just as the fathers specify. Nevertheless, we do not have this command [p. 49] not to eat then according to any canon, nor as an absolute, but the fathers established it [to be done] to the extent of the ability of each. For this reason if it is possible to sustain a fast for the two days, Friday and Saturday, it is good and acceptable. But if not, at least on Saturday, then on Friday bread and raw vegetables are to be eaten with water. Nevertheless, each one [should do] as he is able and as he wishes.

65. On Holy Saturday, it is necessary to eat at the completion of the third hour of the night, in accord with the tradition of the fathers. It is necessary, however, to sound the semantron simultaneously with the sunset and to dismiss [the service] when it is concluded. It is necessary to bake the common bread [for Holy Saturday] on Holy Thursday—[which must not], however, be of fine quality—so that [on Holy Saturday] the necessary fast and [church] service will not be cut short.

It is necessary to eat this common bread with fruit in the refectory on Holy Saturday according to the rule of the Holy Mountain.⁸⁶ But if there happens to be wine also, it is necessary to drink it according to the rule. But the oblation bread for the church must be baked separately on Holy Thursday.

66. It should be known that in the *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*⁸⁷ and elsewhere as well the fathers specify that the faithful must fast until the cock crow. But the holy Sixth council specifies

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until midnight.⁸⁸ The *typika* of the great monasteries, that is, of Stoudios and Jerusalem and the Holy Mountain,⁸⁹ say to complete the order of offices until the end of the third hour of the night and to eat as follows: to eat nothing else except bread and fruit and a little wine, I suppose for the sake of not subverting the apostolic and canonical hours. But others of the fathers said to sound the semantron at dusk, and by the time the order of the offices is completed, the fourth hour will have come.

67. After comparing all these [traditions regarding Holy Saturday], we pronounced to our own brothers just as we set it down above. Nevertheless, according to the word of the fathers it is necessary to sound the semantron simultaneously with the setting of the sun, and dismiss [the service] when it is concluded.

68. It should be known that in Lent or whenever a fast day falls, it is necessary to eat raw vegetables, if they are available, instead of fruit, sometimes one, sometimes the other. As for the amount of the servings of dry food, [i.e.,] both of [raw] vegetables and fruits and [p. 50] other kinds [of food], what we said above concerning non-dry foods applies also to these two servings [of raw vegetables].⁹⁰ Similarly, when days occur that call for two kinds of food, one non-dry, and one dry [the same rule applies].

69. It should be known that all year long, both on the part of the one who is in charge of the refectory and on the part of the brothers, there must be scrupulous observance of the following: that no one will touch anything at an inappropriate hour and time before the refectory is set, neither any food whatsoever nor water, until the blessing be given in the church and they take their seats in the refectory, just as also St. Cassian says in the *Cenobitic Constitutions*,⁹¹ and Basil the Great in his *Ascetical Treatises* and [just as] the other fathers have passed down.⁹²

70. It is necessary that blessed bread be given in the church each day, just as it declares in the *Ascetical Treatises* of Basil the Great⁹³ and as they do here on the Black Mountain, whether they conduct the liturgy or not, after the dismissal, when the brothers are about to eat. But it must not be according to the rule for Pentecost regarding size, but an extremely small piece, so that they partake of it from faith and not take it for granted and scorn it. For he who scorns the things that are considered small (which they are not) because he feels superior to the small, will also scorn those that are considered great, and moreover, even God himself. Then he will be left by him [God] to fall into the hands of his enemies. But it is necessary to eat the blessing in the refectory at the beginning, before you partake of anything else.

Outside of the refectory, it is not permitted to eat food at all, except those taking communion [who are permitted to drink] a small sip from the water or, if it is fitting, a little from the wine. Likewise he who conducts the liturgy [may partake] up to the same amount, nothing more whatsoever. But when the brothers arise from the table, with respect to water alone they are not restricted, and each ought to take as much as he can, but with respect to other [food] it is not permitted [to take] anything.

71. It is also necessary to know that, just as we said before concerning psalmody, that according to

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tradition there must be no regulation in the cenobitic monasteries except the singing of psalms in common, not even for a single service, but all [singing of psalms] must be communal, unless somehow [it were], with reasonable justification, for the benefit and salvation of a soul and in the manner that we already prescribed⁹⁴ and with the consent of the superior. [p. 51]

72. In the same way also for food. According to tradition, it is not permitted to eat anything in private, unless for the sake of extraordinary self-discipline and struggle or for some other good reason at the exhortation of the spiritual president for the salvation of souls, and not through the maleficent activity of demons.

This is neither inappropriate nor unattested, but we even have abundant scriptural testimony in the *Ascetical Treatises* of Basil the Great, as when he says that “Food must be in accord with one’s labor and contribution.”⁹⁵ Again in the writings about St. Pachomios a varied diet was permitted by the holy angel.⁹⁶ In general, many others of the saints, among both men’s and women’s cenobitic monasteries, practiced extraordinary fasting and vigil. There is no hindrance, only let it be for the sake of [ascetic] exertion, if indeed it is conducive to the glory of God and not for blasphemy and for injury of the soul.

Concerning the collation of the priest and the others

73. It should be known that with respect to collation in church only those who take communion may partake of the collation privately at the sacristy, consisting of a little of the water only or of the wine if it is fitting, and a small piece of blessed bread—but the others not at all—just as the divine [St. John] Chrysostom permitted those partaking of the communion to taste a little something for the sake of a rinse.

As for the [phrase] “privately at the sacristy,” in this rule [it means] just as they also do [at the Monastery of St. Antony]⁹⁷ on the mountain of St. Auxentios in the rule about eucharistic wine. The priest must do likewise whenever he conducts the liturgy. But if it is a day when the liturgy is not at meal time, and someone happens to receive communion, he must because of the communion have water alone as collation, water from that which they mix in the divine cup [of the eucharist], and only a very little for the sake of blessing, just enough to rinse the mouth, or again wine, if it is fitting, in the same amount.

The priest who acted as the celebrant must do the same. But it is necessary to eat the blessed bread at meal time, just as we have said above, and let no pretense find place. This should be done whenever the liturgy takes place [at hours] different from the hours when the brothers eat.

74. To do this is appropriate on fast days, just as [p. 52] it also says in the *typika* concerning the fast of the Holy Apostles, that the liturgy is on the sixth hour, but the *typikon* of the monks of Studios says that “every Wednesday and Friday we celebrate the ninth hour.”⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the sacred canons penalize those who break fast because they do not take it seriously and not those who practice the will of God with greater virtue, and especially regarding the divine liturgy and communion, since it is a command of the holy apostles to celebrate the liturgy on Wednesday and Friday,⁹⁹ and since it is the command of the same apostles to fast on Wednesday and Friday.¹⁰⁰

On account of this the rule regarding collation was established for both purposes. It is neces-

sary to do well by the ill and aged and weak as appropriate, just as Basil the Great ordained in his *Ascetical Treatises*.¹⁰¹

Concerning clothing and shoes and every bodily need

75. It should be known that, just as the divine fathers specify regarding the food of the monks to pursue the plain and simple, so also [the rule] must apply with respect to clothing, as Basil the Great, in his *Ascetical Treatises*, decrees in detail every appropriate need of monks.¹⁰² It is necessary also for us to observe this rule as much as possible.

Each of the brothers ought to have two tunics, one old patched one, and another one in good condition for dress occasions, whatever kind of *rasa*¹⁰³ are made locally and are cheapest on the domestic market, as the divine fathers handed down. If on the local market foreign ones are found more cheaply, they are to use these. In general, it is necessary to pursue in every matter that which is most free from distractions and fancy work and [is] very simple.

Likewise, [each of the brothers] ought [to have] a heavy cloak, again the cheapest possible, as well as a pair of boots that serve both inside and out on the road. But there is need for such things most of all on the road, likewise in the winter for warmth, but in summer they are not very necessary, just as the fathers specify. Moreover, the divine [St. John] Chrysostom speaks specifically concerning this in his [discourse *On*] [p. 53] *the Epistle to the Philippians*.¹⁰⁴

Likewise, one pair of sandals, such as are available extremely cheaply, and a small cloak like the [two] tunics, poor both in quality and price. Also another garment for use in winter, and in general anything else necessary to one's proper monastic rank, one of each to each monk, that suffice well both inside and outside, just as the divine fathers handed down, especially Basil the Great in his *Ascetical Treatises* concerning all that pertains to both clothing and shoes, that "the least fancy and poorest and sufficient for the purpose of need—this is to be chosen in each season."¹⁰⁵ This is the regulation of Basil the Great for everything.

Each one is to have a monk's cap, with a cloth cover like the garment, and this he must keep. When some brother is about to abandon the brotherhood, and receives also every possible medicine, as the Lord handed down, and still is not eager to be cured, then, in accord with the word of the Lord, "Let him be to you as a gentile and a tax collector" (Matt. 18:17). The following is to demonstrate clearly the habit of such men: the superior must tear off the cloth of the monk's cap, and seize it for himself, or take back to himself the whole cap, recalling unto himself, as it were, the grace and blessing that he had granted, just as the Lord says, "And if [the house] is not worthy of peace" (Matt. 10:13) and so on.

St. Cassian in the regulations of the *Cenobitic Constitutions* says that those at the point of renouncing [the monastic life] and not making progress be stripped completely of the clothes of the monastery and dressed again in the clothing of the world which [each one] was wearing when he came, and thus be dismissed.¹⁰⁶

76. We know even now a similar small rule that is said to be in the holy monastery of lord Antony on the mountain of St. Auxentios, opposite Constantinople. For during the night and day vigil during the reading when all the monks are seated, they weave each with his own hands what among us are called *raso* braids, on the one hand in order to stay awake and listen to the lectures,

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and on the other to have these as a blessing, since they were made at the time of the common [p. 54] assembly in the church. These they attach to the outer garments of the brethren, as is the custom among monks.

If one of the brothers is about to leave the monastery and be severed from the brotherhood, they offer every appropriate remedy to him, and if he heeds and abandons the [intended] departure, well and good. But if not, they take back nothing else except this: they tear off the braids from all of his outer garments and seize them, as if to seize the blessing given by them, and they dismiss the brother without this blessing.

77. In keeping with this rule of the ancient fathers, such as the writings of St. Cassian, which we mentioned, as well as recent practices and the knowledge that we also mentioned above from the Gospel passages, it is necessary for us to keep some small part [of the defector's habit]. If appropriate, the superior may even take away [the defector's] cloak, and clothe [the defector] with an outsider's [lay person's] [cloak] if [the defector] is an *abbas*; but if not, to take only the monk's cap and [for him] to wear another [of the kind worn by] outsiders; or at least [to take] the cloth which serves as a cover and thus to dismiss him. In the case of a novice take this [the cloth of the monk's cap] as appropriate and dismiss them in the manner which we have stated.

It is necessary to do this not simply, like the superior in the *Paterikon*¹⁰⁷ who took the entire habit of the brethren, but with the full knowledge of God and with spiritual discernment to take these things and thus to relegate [the defector] to worldly existence. He must, however, be dressed like those outside the monastic community. For it is inappropriate to wear the habit of the rule when living outside doing foreign work, and to bear the name [of monk] only in appearance. Nevertheless, if it also is beneficial for the salvation of the soul and God is pleased at this, let it be. But if not, whatever is good and pleasing to God, let this be to his glory and not blasphemy.

Concerning the monastic officials and other occupations of the brethren

78. It should be known that those who serve in the holy monastery must observe the rule just as we have received it from the holy fathers, both from the *Ascetical Treatises* of Basil the Great and the *Life* of our holy father Pachomios, and from the *Cenobitic Constitutions* of St. Cassian the Roman and the [p. 55] other holy fathers. They must, that is, take a turn of service. In [the *Life*] of St. Pachomios¹⁰⁸ the holy angel decreed that they should change [duties] every three weeks, but in [the writings] of St. Cassian,¹⁰⁹ every week. Likewise in the *Ascetical Treatises* of Basil the Great.¹¹⁰ But because of the difference [in these writings] regarding the [number of] weeks [for from one Holy Spirit is the rule, and there is nothing to prevent for some good reason changing the time limits], it is necessary for each of the brothers to do kitchen duty and serve the rest [of the brethren] for a month at a time, and then for another to receive the duty and serve the brethren in turn, just as the Lord says and exhorts to serve and love one another. But if the superior understands that someone is serving well and is worthy of the duty, and that he is both benefiting personally from it and benefiting [the brotherhood] in his performance of the duty, he ought to leave him in that duty. For indeed this is not inappropriate, but according to the tradition of the holy fathers, just as St. Cassian says in the *Cenobitic Constitutions*.¹¹¹

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79. It should be known that if a community service is strenuous, it is necessary to work at it up to the third hour, but until the sixth hour for much lighter duties that do not involve toil and labor, if indeed [such duties] are to be found. But if they are not found, it is necessary to be occupied within the monastery in handiwork or anything else that is acceptable. But if they happen to be outside of the monastery, as we also said before, it is necessary to work until the sixth hour, but from the sixth hour they do not go outside for such tasks, but must be occupied inside the monastery in handiwork and study of the divine scriptures and in lessons.

In general, each must strive for salvation in whatever way he chooses. Self-control and the rest of his discipline may not be broken on the pretext of his work, nor again on the pretext of self-discipline may his work be granted a reduction, but it is necessary to do here as is appropriate and as we have ordained in writing. But if the duty is necessary, he who is able ought to work the appropriate amount and more, to get through as much as he can of the excessive labor without injury. In this way again it is necessary, whenever he is not outside at heavy work, to occupy himself in handiwork and study of the divine scriptures and anything else that might be appropriate.

80. A house, that is, a cell, ought to be dedicated for the sake of [p. 56] handiwork, and those engaged in the appropriate handiwork ought to be assembled there and work under [. . .] in accord with the rule of the *Cenobitic Constitutions*.¹¹² But one of the brothers, attested for his virtue, ought to preside and supervise, sometimes reading to the working brothers, sometimes paying attention and silencing them due to idle talking, sometimes leading in a psalm with the rest repeating it after him, and sometimes working with them. In general, both outside in heavy work and inside in handiwork he ought to be observing and taking charge, as well as teaching the unlettered the divine scriptures.

Likewise, whenever the superior is not present, he must attend to the spiritual duties in place [of the superior]—if he is capable—and simply to spiritual matters alone, not physical ones also. But if he is competent for both, he must in both capacities serve and follow the divine purpose of the superior and his conduct which is lawful and in accord with the divine scriptures, until the superior perceives that he is worthy of these duties. If the superior perceives accurately and truly, with fear of God, that this person is not capable of working in this capacity, and if God so pleases, he must replace him and put another in his place, if he has [another]. But if there is not someone capable of this, forego this service until the time when a person worthy of this duty be found.

81. The precentor must read in the refectory, if he is able, or whoever is good at it, or someone else who knows how [to read]. The reader must wash the dishes and so on as well, in keeping with the rule of the Holy Mountain.¹¹³

82. It should be known that all the brothers must work, as was said above, each at whatever craft he is skilled at. Those who are able must work the earth for the appointed time and after this [must] work at handiwork. But those who are not able to work the earth must each work at different tasks as appropriate in accordance with the saying of the apostle: “He who does not work,” he says, “let him not eat” (II Thess. 3:10). For the administration and the requirements of the brothers ought to be provided by themselves. But if some handiwork does not cause a brother to rejoice, or

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again if he fails to learn something due to deviltry or [p. 57] wickedness, it is necessary to assign him to heavier working of the earth, if his body and constitution are sound. [If] he is weak in body and constitution, let him be assigned to other duties as appropriate, just as the divine fathers ordain, so that he may not be unproductive among the other brothers and an occasion for scandal, as the Lord says, “O wicked and slothful servant” (Matt. 25:26) and so on.

83. Just as we said before concerning psalmody and nourishment,¹¹⁴ that when there is good reason they may be done individually in private, and we demonstrated from the divine scriptures that this was reasonable, so also in the same way with respect to working, let each one, in accord with the lawful command and urging of the superior, work individually in private at what is appropriate to him, if it is to his own good and not for an unreasonable motive. For if you look up the *Life* of our holy father Pachomios, you will find this there frequently, in particular in the case of that person who worked two mats of rushes a day privately in his cell with corrupt reasoning and vainglorious zeal.¹¹⁵ Likewise again many others of the saints practiced and taught this virtuously with right rationale. The holy fathers very specifically taught us this: that as far as we are concerned the Lord and his blameless mother provide our daily fare and the rest of the necessary requirements of the body on the basis of our just labors and personal work.

84. It is not to our interest to accept in the monastery any possession whatsoever that introduces tasks foreign to the purpose of cenobitic life—especially since [we are] susceptible to passions and spiritually weak—but we should indeed avoid it and shun it like deadly venom, just as we corroborated in compiling very many chapters about such things from the divine scriptures in another work, the *Interpretations of the Divine Commands of the Lord*, in chapters 44 and 46 concerning poverty,¹¹⁶ and in various other treatises [in that work] in agreement with the purpose that we loved, and sanctioning those who keep this divine purpose.

The chapters [in that work] are legally valid and comprehensive and do not [apply to] particular or special [circumstances]. For those things that were done or spoken particularly or specially in some way should not [p. 58] be taken as comprehensive or legally valid testimonies. Therefore we did not integrate in these [rules] the sources that are particular and special, but compiled those that are comprehensive and legally binding into a whole composition in the Lord, and in particular, we compiled such as are harmonious with the commands of the Lord, like the above-mentioned book containing the commands of the Lord.

Nevertheless, the monastic life professes to a greater degree what the world professes. The worldly life professes the commands of the Lord, but the monastic life both professes death from the world and pledges to God life crucified in its submission and tonsuring. This is the comprehensive command and tradition of the monks. We take care first of all to confess these things here, and not only here, but also every place where it is appropriate, but especially here.

We ought to follow those teachings and traditions of St. Symeon the Wonderworker, the great illuminator of the whole world, which during his life he committed to his disciples, since we have our dwelling in his country and place, and not introduce other fathers and teachers from any other country over him, especially within [the country] of such an illuminator, nor indeed any teachings that seem contradictory and opposed to the teachings and traditions of the saint.

For the teachings of Gelasios in the *Paterikon* and the like are particular and special. If they are appropriate at all, they are appropriate not to us but to others, those similar to him first of all and to those to whose ways they are appropriate, as God alone knows and as is acceptable to his goodness. Nevertheless, let us consider also the following about father Gelasios, what freedom from passion he must have attained in such matters for that old fellow ascetic of his to have said, “Your thoughts are devoted to the embroidery needle more than the thoughts of Gelasios to the land.”¹¹⁷ So much for that [subject of possessions] here. Elsewhere he demonstrated in many matters the freedom from passion that was at work in him. For what law courts and other worldly occupations did this man not enter maintaining freedom from passion in these situations? For this reason I said before that for us who are susceptible to passions, these [teachings of Gelasios] are inappropriate.

In these regulations we did not collect together special teachings in these [rules] on the grounds that [such teachings] are partial and not comprehensive. For where [p. 59] in these special and particular chapters can be realized the Lord’s comprehensive command—I do not mean to the monks but also to the men of the world—which says, “To him that takes away your goods do not demand them back, and to him that would sue you and take your coat, give your cloak as well” (cf. Luke 6:30; Matt. 5:40, 42) and the like? Nevertheless, let the person who is capable and who supposes that he speaks the truth and thinks that he will defend himself against the rejection of the commands of the Lord and the other divine scriptures ponder this issue. For myself, I am negligent and careless and guilty of many sins, and would that I might defend myself against them, but I suppose not. Let this suffice concerning these things.

85. We were taught that whenever possible, money or anything else offered from outsiders either directly or indirectly by chance should not be accepted, except as the divine fathers in the divine scriptures allow.

86. One must not receive any of the female sex in the monastery at all. For we did not receive this [practice] from the divine fathers at all, and our own nature teaches us not to accept it at all. We do not allow them to be in the area subordinate to or surrounding the monastery at all, whether to be inside of the monastery or outside, nor to come inside at all for the sake of service or any other cause whatsoever, nor again outside [may one] tend them or be served by them, whether grazing animals or work animals, whether birds or quadrupeds.

If not outside, all the more [do we reject] entrance inside of the monastery, whether beast or human female; but in particular the race of women is the “bitter lure” just as the divine fathers handed down. We are not so disposed [towards them] because we hate our race (God forbid!), since it is absolutely demonic to hate and reject the creation of God; for we have been born from them. But just as the divine fathers say, “Salt by nature is born from water; but when salt is mixed with water, it is dissolved; thus also is the male mixed with the female.”¹¹⁸

Concerning the fast of the Mother of God

87. It should be known that the fast of the supremely glorious Mother of God is not [p. 60] put in the right written order in the present *typonikon*, but at the end, because there was still a question

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when this was published, and a controversy over some matters was involved. But we must keep this [fast] in accordance with what we have received, since we have the testimonies from the holy scriptures. These written testimonies concerning this fast we have set forth more fully elsewhere, in another essay in the *Book of the Interpretation of the Commands of the Lord*.¹¹⁹

For this [fast] is proclaimed in the tome of the Synod of Union as well as in the address of John, metropolitan of Nicaea to the *katholikos* of Armenia.¹²⁰ But it is necessary for those who are in the monastery to keep this [fast] from the beginning of the month of August, that is, from the feast of the Holy Maccabees.¹²¹ For it is inappropriate [to start the fast] without a feast day. But if it is even possible [to start] from the preceding Sunday, let it be so, but [it must start] at least on an ordinary day and not on a fast day—that is Wednesday or Friday—so that our divinely inclined conscience might not be sullied.

Subsequently [fasting] must be observed until the feast of the Mother of God¹²² in accordance with the rule for the other feasts. With respect to food and drink, it is necessary for us to do just as [we do] on the fast of the Holy Apostles and Christmas, as far as the kind of food is concerned.

On the feast [of the Transfiguration] of the Savior,¹²³ just as they recommend celebrating the feast of the Holy of Holies [Presentation of the Mother of God]¹²⁴ for two days, that is, the feast and the afterfeast, on account of the fast, so also must we do here.

On the day of the feast [of the Transfiguration] of the Savior, it is necessary to break fast for everything, if it is possible. Otherwise, let it be like the feast of the Holy of Holies [Presentation of the Mother of God], but let the afterfeast be as appropriate. But if for some good reason afterfeast [hymns] are sung for several days, nothing hinders both keeping the fast and singing the afterfeast hymns, just as we often find in the other afterfeast celebrations of the great feasts, except for the first day after the feast.

88. Accordingly, if we find any lawful written testimonies from the holy fathers forbidding this [fast], we, too, urge that it be abandoned. But if not, it is wrong and inappropriate and moreover dangerous [to disregard] what has been written down and ordained by the holy fathers, and without scriptural testimony [p. 61] to obey men and to wander hither and thither each according to his own desires.

Concerning the feasts at which “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is sung

89. It should be known that the feasts herein comprise three orders: great, medium and minor. This is not without witness, but [comes] from the divine scriptures, just as we also noted above in the sections concerning food and drink and liturgy. For those which have general assemblies of the people and evening lections, and again in the morning the hymn, “Let everything that has breath [praise the Lord]” (Ps. 150 [151]:6) and a Gospel reading are classified as great feasts of the Lord.

Regarding the medium and minor orders, we are taught from the *typikon* of the monks of Studios and the Holy Mountain how they differ concerning [the celebration of] the hours and the prostrations and labor. Whoever knows better with [the help of] God, let him consider it.

We say here at least that the great feasts of Christ and the Mother of God, and the two of [St. John] the Forerunner, that is, the birth and the beheading, and that of the two holy and illustrious

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apostles Peter and Paul, are marked by the sign of the cross surrounded by a halo; the medium feasts only with the sign [of the cross]; and again the minor ones have only triple-point signs [*kentemata*].

On the minor feasts there are no genuflections in church nor any common fasts, but both may be done privately. On the medium feasts they may not be done in the church at all, but privately when it is approved; for this is more accommodating with respect to both genuflections and to fasting. But on the great feasts there are no genuflections nor fasting at all, neither in the church nor in the cell at all. Likewise there are no genuflections in the entirety of Pentecost at all, neither in the church nor in the cell privately, according to the rule which they keep. The rest of the Sundays of the year [are observed] as the sacred canons decree.

The Month of September has 30 Days

Beginning of the Indiction and [Minor Feast] of St. Symeon the Ancient

- [Minor Feast] 2. St. Mamas
- [Minor Feast] 3. St. Anthimos [p. 62]
- [Minor Feast] 5. The holy prophet Zachariah
- [Minor Feast] 6. The archangel Michael
- [Minor Feast] 7. Forefeast [of the birth] of the Mother of God
- [Great Feast] 8. Birth of the Mother of God
- [Minor Feast] 9. Sts. Joachim and Anne
- [Minor Feast] 13. [Commemoration of] the consecration [of the church] of the Holy Resurrection [in Jerusalem]
- [Great Feast] 14. The Holy Cross

Scholion: Note this—the fast of the cross is comprehensive, as some pass the tradition down, regarding kinds of food, but not regarding the hours.

- [Minor Feast] 15. St. Nikitas
- [Minor Feast] 16. St. Euphemia
- [Minor Feast] 20. St. Eustathios
- [Minor Feast] 23. [Commemoration of the] silence of Zachariah¹²⁵
- [Minor Feast] 24. St. Thekla
- [Medium Feast] 26. The holy apostle John the Theologian
- [Minor Feast] 28. St. Chariton
- [Minor Feast] 30. St. Gregory of Great Armenia

The Month of October has 31 Days

- [Minor Feast] 1. St. Ananias
- [Minor Feast] 2. St. Cyprian
- [Minor Feast] 3. St. Dionysios
- [Minor Feast] 6. The holy apostle Thomas
- [Minor Feast] 7. Sts. Sergios and Bakchos
- [Minor Feast] 9. St. James the son of Alphaios

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- [Minor Feast] 18. The holy apostle Luke
- [Minor Feast] 21. The blessed Hilarion
- [Medium Feast] 23. The holy apostle James the brother of God
- [Minor Feast] 24. St. Arethas
- [Medium Feast] 26. St. Demetrios the Great Martyr

The Month of November has 30 Days

- [Minor Feast] 1. The holy *Anargyroi* [Sts. Kosmas and Damian]
- [Minor Feast] 7. St. Paul the Confessor
- [Medium Feast] 8. [The feast of] the incorporeal [archangels] [p. 63]
- [Minor Feast] 11. St. Menas
- [Minor Feast] 12. St. John the Merciful
- [Medium Feast] 13. The revered [St. John] Chrysostom
- [Medium Feast] 14. St. Philip the Apostle
- [Medium Feast] 16. St. Matthew the Apostle
- [Great Feast] 21. The Mother of God's [Entrance into] the Holy of Holies
[Presentation in the Temple]
- [Minor Feast] 22. Afterfeast
- [Minor Feast] 25. St. Clement of Rome and [St.] Peter
- [Medium Feast] 30. St. Andrew the Apostle

The Month of December has 31 Days

- [Minor Feast] 4. St. Barbara
- [Minor Feast] 5. Our blessed father Sabas
- [Medium Feast] 6. Our blessed father Nicholas
- [Medium Feast] 9. The conception of St. Anne
- [Minor Feast] 13. St. Eustratios
- [Minor Feast] 17. The holy prophet Daniel and the three youths
- [Medium Feast] 20. St. Ignatios
- [Minor Feast] 21. Christmas forefeast

It is a fast, but from Christmas to Epiphany there are no genuflections in church, but there are in private.

It should be known that some are in the habit—I know not how—of breaking fast and other related rites not on the day when the office of the feast [of Christmas] begins, but [in advance] during the forefeast of Christmas.¹²⁶ The traditions of the fathers do not so ordain, but rather they prescribe that exertions be intensified during these days. For indeed the divine [St. John] Chrysostom says so in one of his discourses, [that] on the blessed Philogonios which was delivered¹²⁷ and is still read five days before Christmas. For he says the following: “The appointed period of these five days is enough, if you fast and are watchful and keep vigil, for most sins to be prevented.”¹²⁸ He who comes upon the rest that follows, moreover, in the rules of the great monasteries—especially in the ancient [rule] of Jerusalem that was handed down by the fathers—they do not ordain that [p.

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64] [the psalm] “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]: 27) be sung but the Alleluia, even after the forefeast. These written witnesses as well as the rules that have been handed down to us and are still customary we wrote down just as we found them. But let one who happens upon these things consider, and if something is good and pleasing to God, let it be done.

The Month of January has 31 Days

- [Great Feast] 6. Holy Epiphany
- [Medium Feast] 7. The commemoration of [St. John] the Forerunner,
until the closure of the feast
- [Minor Feast] 14. The holy fathers [of Raithou]
- [Minor Feast] 16. [Adoration of] the venerable chain of the apostle Peter
- [Minor Feast] 17. St. Antony
- [Minor Feast] 18. Sts. Athanasios and Cyril
- [Minor Feast] 20. St. Euthymios
- [Minor Feast] 22. The holy apostle Timothy
- [Minor Feast] 23. St. Clement of Ankyra
- [Medium Feast] 25. St. Gregory the Theologian
- [Minor Feast] 27. The deposition of [the relics of] [St. John] Chrysostom
- [Minor Feast] 28. St. Ephraem
- [Minor Feast] 29. The deposition of [the relics of] St. Ignatios
- [Minor Feast] 31. Sts. Cyrus and John

The Month of February has 28 Days

- [Minor Feast] 1. St. Trypho
- [Great Feast] 2. The presentation of Christ in the Temple
- [Medium Feast] 3. St. Symeon the Receiver of God
- [Minor Feast] 24. Finding of the Head of [St. John] the Forerunner

The Month of March has 31 Days

- [Minor Feast] 9. The Forty Holy Martyrs [of Sebasteia]
- [Great Feast] 25. The Annunciation of the Mother of God

The Month of April has 30 Days

- [Medium Feast] 23. St. George the Great Martyr
- [Medium Feast] 25. The holy apostle Mark
- [Medium Feast] 30. St. James the son of Zebedee

The Month of May has 31 Days [p. 65]

- [Minor Feast] 2. St. Athanasios
- [Medium Feast] 8. The holy apostle John the Theologian
- [Medium Feast] 10. The holy apostle Simon the Zealot
- [Minor Feast] 15. Our holy father Pachomios

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- [Minor Feast] 21. Sts. Constantine and Helen
- [Minor Feast] 24. St. Symeon the Wonderworker

The Month of June has 30 Days

- [Minor Feast] 8. St. Theodore the Commander
- [Medium Feast] 11. The holy apostle[s] Bartholomew and Barnabas
- [Minor Feast] 14. The holy prophet Elisha
- [Medium Feast] 19. The holy apostle Jude
- [Great Feast] 24. The birth of [St. John] the Forerunner
- [Great Feast] 29. The holy apostles Peter and Paul
- [Medium Feast] 30. The Holy Twelve Apostles

The Month of July has 31 Days

- [Minor Feast] 1. The holy *Anargyroi* [Sts. Kosmas and Damian]
- [Minor Feast] 2. [Deposition of] the venerable robe of the Mother of God [in Blachernai]
- [Minor Feast] 8. St. Prokopios
- [Minor Feast] 11. St. Euphemia
- [Minor Feast] 13. The archangel Gabriel
- [Minor Feast] 15. Sts. Kyrikos and Iulitta
- [Medium Feast] 20. The prophet Elijah
- [Medium Feast] 22. St. Mary Magdalene
- [Minor Feast] 25. The dormition of St. Anne
- [Medium Feast] 27. St. Panteleemon

The Month of August has 31 Days

- [Minor Feast] 1. The Holy Maccabees
- [Minor Feast] 2. The deposition of the relics of the protomartyr Stephen
- [Minor Feast] 5. Forefeast of the Transfiguration
- [Great Feast] 6. The Transfiguration of the Savior
- [Minor Feast] 7. Afterfeast [p. 66]
- [Major Feast] 9. The holy apostle Matthew
- [Minor Feast] 14. Forefeast of [the Dormition of] the Mother of God
- [Great Feast] 15. Dormition of the Mother of God
- [Minor Feast] 17. Afterfeast
- [Minor Feast] 24. Finding of the relics of the holy apostle Bartholomew
- [Great Feast] 29. Beheading of the venerable [St. John the] Forerunner
- [Minor Feast] 31. [Adoration of] the venerable girdle of the Mother of God

90. In the week before Meatfare week, which the Armenians observe also as a fast [in honor of] Artzibourios, there is no fasting at all by some, either on Wednesday or Friday, neither for cheese nor for anything else, refuting the heresy of the Armenians. But among us, if this is permitted, let there be just a little cheese after the ninth hour on Wednesday and Friday, according to the regula-

tion for Cheesefare week, eating on these two days a little cheese for the refuting of the heresy. But if it is not [permitted], let us be taught what is better.

Similarly during Cheesefare week, on Wednesday and Friday according to the tradition of the holy fathers there is partaking of cheese and egg after the dismissal of the [liturgy of] presanctified [gifts]. This similarity is on account of the dogma of Jacob and the heresy of the *Tetraditai*. For the canon of St. Nikephoros of Constantinople says as follows, “that it is necessary for the monks to fast on Wednesday of Cheesefare week and on Friday and to eat cheese after the dismissal of the presanctified, wherever they may be.” This canon refutes the dogma of Jacob and the heresy of the *Tetraditai*, and thus let it be the rule.

91. Abstinence is observed throughout the whole of Pentecost. But as the sacred canons prescribe, there are no fasts nor complete genuflections—neither in church nor privately in the cell—according to the regulation that the rest of the Sundays of the year have. Abstinence, since it is necessary, is always appropriate, but fasting is inappropriate at certain seasons and days, as are also genuflections and praying while standing up. For [p. 67] fasting is one thing, and abstinence is another. Fasting is not touching anything at all, but abstinence is touching a small [amount] and again holding [oneself] back.

[Concerning the Feast of Holy Epiphany]

92. It is necessary for us to know this concerning [the feast of] Holy Epiphany that the *typikon* of the Great Catholic and Apostolic Church handed down by the holy fathers prescribes blessing of the water¹²⁹ once, and only at vespers. Likewise also the *synaxaria* and the divine Gospels themselves and the *Apostolos* and the readings of the *prophetologion* handed down in common usage and likewise among monks the *typika* both of the monks of the famous monastery of Stoudios and of Jerusalem enjoin it for vespers only and nothing more.¹³⁰ But today we see some [doing it] at vespers and matins.

In this [matter] I have not met with any scriptural testimony. But if any among those who are painstaking finds scriptural witness concerning this, let him illumine us, because to imitate [a practice] in divergence from divine scripture brings great danger, and even more by [the fact that] on account of not following the divine scriptures we were handed over to the nations. But if there is inspired knowledge that Christ was baptized once and not a second time, I do not know. Let him who has divine knowledge illumine us.

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of our translator, Robert Allison [RA], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. That is, on feast days; see [89] below.
2. (4) *Stoudios* [3], [4]; *typikon leitourgikon* of the Sabas monastery, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 3 (Petrograd, 1917), p. 362.
3. (4) *Stoudios* [2]; Sabas *typikon*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 3, p. 370.
4. Feast of St. Peter and Paul, June 29; feast of the birth of the Forerunner, June 24; feast of the beheading of

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- the Forerunner, August 29.
5. See Ioannes Moschos, *Pratum Spirituale*, PG 87.3, cols. 320AB.
 6. *Constitutiones apostolorum* 5.20.19, ed. F. X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, vol. 1 (Paderborn, 1905), p. 301.
 7. *C. Trull.* (692), c. 75 (R&P 2.478–79).
 8. Cf. (4) *Stoudios* [A10].
 9. Sabas *Typikon*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 3, p. 371.
 10. Sabas *Typikon*, ed. Dmitrievsky, vol. 3, p. 371.
 11. (4) *Stoudios* [2], [4], [10], [11], [12], [13], [18], [19], [20], [21], [22], [A36]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [2], [3], [4], [9], [29].
 12. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 37 (LR 37), PG 31, cols. 1009–16.
 13. Nikon is actually referring here to Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, chap. 32, ed. Cuthbert Butler, *The Lausiaca History of Palladius*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1898–1904), p. 92.
 14. *Antipascha*. [RA]
 15. Greek text breaks off at this point; Benešević supplements with a Russian text, presumably based on the medieval Slavonic recension for which see Biography of the Author, B. His Works, above.
 16. Cf. (4) *Stoudios* [4]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [3].
 17. The first Sunday after Easter, for which a special office for the blessing of the breads is prescribed; see J. Phountoulis, “*Artoklasia*” *TEE*, vol. 3 (Athens, 1963), col. 288.
 18. November 14, a medium feast in [89] below.
 19. The Greek text resumes here.
 20. Sunday after Pentecost.
 21. The implication is that the monk should sing the psalms in his cell or at work.
 22. Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, chap. 32, ed. Butler, p. 93.
 23. In [24] above.
 24. John Cassian, *De institutis coenobiorum*, ed. J. C. Guy, *Institutions cénobitiques* (Paris, 1965); the Greek translation is in Pseudo-Athanasios, *Epistolae I et II ad Castorem*, PG 28, cols. 849C–906B.
 25. Nikon, *Hermeneiai ton theion entolon tou Kyriou (Pandektes)*, for which see the discussion above in Biography of the Author, B. His Works.
 26. The feasts marked with a simple cross in the liturgical calendar in [89] below. [RA]
 27. The feasts marked with a triple point (*kentema*) in the liturgical calendar in [89] below. [RA]
 28. The *mikrai tessarakostai*, the fast of St. Philip (Christmas fast), and the fast of the Holy Apostles (Sunday after Pentecost to June 29). [RA]
 29. Halkin, *BHG* 1702 = Theodoret, *Historia religiosa*, PG 82, cols. 1452–56.
 30. In [3] above.
 31. Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae brevius tractatae* 180 ([SR 180]), PG 31, col. 1204B.
 32. *Ton artoklasion*: Monday of the second week after Easter. See fn. 17 above.
 33. *Eulogia*: bread blessed separately and distributed in church.
 34. Theophilus of Alexandria, *Prosphonesis*, c. 1 (R&P 4.342).
 35. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 18 ([LR 18]), PG 31, col. 965; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [51].
 36. P. van den Ven, ed., *La vie nouvelle de S. Syméon Stylite le jeune*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1962), p. 26, lines 102–3.
 37. Poemen, *Apophthegmata patrum*, *Apophth.* 19, PG 65, col. 325D.
 38. Another gap in the Greek text is filled by Benešević from the Russian version; the latter’s [37] through [42] do not correspond with the numeration of the chapters in the Greek text and so have been labelled here as [37R], [38R], etc.
 39. Unidentified quotation.
 40. That is, during the fast of the Holy Apostles.
 41. Van den Ven, *Vie nouvelle*, vol. 1, p. 28, lines 131–32.

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42. Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, chap. 32, ed. Butler, p. 92.
43. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 25, PG 31, cols. 1413–16.
44. The Greek text resumes here.
45. *Vita S. Pachomii*, ed. F. Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii vitae graecae* (= Subsidia Hagiographica 19) (Brussels, 1932), p. 138.
46. Apparently a reference to an otherwise unknown ascetical sect.
47. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 25, PG 31, col. 1413C.
48. A [*krasobolin*] *riglon* (“level cup”), as opposed to a *krasobolin gomaton* (“full cup”; for the meaning of *gomatos*, see Kriaras, *Lexiko*, s.v.). The word *riglon* is not in the dictionaries, but it probably stands here for *regla*, a wooden bar used to level the surface of a dry measure. See E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologische Quellen* (Thessalonike, 1982), p. 162.
49. *mageiria*; the same word is used in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [63] to describe a soup, the so-called holy broth. In this chapter, Nikon distinguishes between *xerophagia* (“dry food”), i.e., uncooked food, or food without any condiments or relish added (see Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.vv., *xerophagia*, *xerophageo*) and *hygrophagia* (lit. “moist food”). The latter is not in the dictionaries, but it obviously means food prepared with olive oil and other condiments.
50. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 19 ([LR 19]), PG 31, cols. 268–69.
51. Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita S. Charitonis*, PG 115, col. 909C.
52. Unidentified quotation.
53. Basil, *Ep.* 2, ed. Y. Courtonne, *Saint Basile: Lettres*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1957), p. 12, lines 20–24.
54. Nilus of Ankyra, *Liber de monastica exercitatione*, PG 79, cols. 804CD, 805A.
55. See summary in Clercq, *Textes juridiques*, p. 65.
56. A reference to the distribution of the “blessed bread,” the amount of which was reduced on Sundays and holidays because the third and the sixth hours were combined; therefore an additional meal (a collation or “light snack” of bread and water) is prescribed in the evening. [RA]
57. See summary in Clercq, *Textes juridiques*, pp. 64–65.
58. John Klimakos, *Scala paradisi* 14, scholion 5, PG 88, col. 873C.
59. Unidentified quotation.
60. John Klimakos, *Scala paradisi*, 7, scholium 13, PG 88, col. 824A.
61. John Klimakos, *De luctu qui gaudiam creat*, PG 88, cols. 801D–816D.
62. Gregory of Nyssa, *In diem natalem Christi*, PG 46, col. 1129B.
63. John Chrysostom, *Homilia in I Cor.* “*Nolo vos ignorare*,” PG 51, cols. 241–42.
64. John IV, patriarch of Constantinople (582–595), *Peri metanoias kai enkrateias kai parthenias*, PG 88, cols. 1337–78.
65. Theophilus of Alexandria, *Prosphonesis*, c. 1 (R&P 4.342).
66. Monophysite Armenians fasted on Wednesday and Friday of the first week of the *Triodion* (the three-week period preceding the Great Lent). Byzantine polemicists derided this practice, claiming that it commemorated the death of Artzibourion (or Artzibourios), the favorite dog of the Armenian teacher and holy man, St. Sergios. See J. Phountoulis, “Artzibourion,” *TEE*, vol. 3, cols. 269–71.
67. Nikephoros I, patriarch of Constantinople (806–815), *Kanon* 79, ed. J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1858), p. 398.
68. Jacob Baradaeus (d. 578), the Monophysite bishop of Edessa and founder of the Jacobite church. See T. E. Gregory, “Jacob Baradaeus,” *ODB*, p. 1029. The *Tetraditai* were an early Christian sect better known as *Tessareskaidekatitai* (Quartodecimans). They celebrated Easter on the same day as Passover, on the 14th day of the Jewish month Nisan, and if Easter happened to fall on a Wednesday (*Tetarte*), they refused to break the fast prescribed by the canons for Wednesdays. See Matthaios Blastares, *Syntagma* (R&P 6.61).
69. Not so in (11) *Ath. Rule* [25], but cf. (22) *Evergetis* 10].
70. Cf. (4) *Stoudios* [33].

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71. The first Saturday of Lent is dedicated to the memory of St. Theodore and his miracle of the *kollyba*. [RA]
72. *C. Laod.*, c. 50 (R&P 3.217).
73. *Vita S. Pachomii*, ed. Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii* (above, fn. 45), p. 138.
74. The *Eustathianoï* were followers of Eustathios, bishop of Armenian Sebasteia, who was condemned by the council of Gangra (ca. 341). One of the reasons for his excommunication was that he advocated fasting on non-fast days. See R&P 3.96. On the *Messalianoi*, an ascetic movement who emphasized prayer as the most effective instrument of purification, see T. E. Gregory, "Messalianism," *ODB*, pp. 1349–50. The *Markianistai* and *Lapetianoï* were Messalian sects named after their leaders. See K. I. Dyobouniotes, "Mesalianoi e Masalianoi," *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia* (Athens, 1931), 16, p. 932, col. 2.
75. Scholion of John Zonaras on *C. Laod.*, c. 50 (R&P 3.217).
76. (4) *Stoudios* [30].
77. March 9, a minor feast in [89] below.
78. February 24, a minor feast in [89] below.
79. February 2, a great feast in [89] below.
80. *C. Laod.*, c. 51 (R&P 3.218).
81. March 25, a great feast in [89] below.
82. See [30] above.
83. *C. Laod.*, c. 50 (R&P 3.217).
84. Quotation not found in the works of John Chrysostom.
85. For the Holy Thursday diet, see (4) *Stoudios* [30]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [26].
86. Cf. (11) *Ath. Rule* [26].
87. *Constitutiones apostolorum* 5.18, ed. Funk, vol. 1, p. 289.
88. *C. Trull.* (692), c. 89 (R&P 2.512–13).
89. (4) *Stoudios* [A30], [B30]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [26].
90. See chapter [44].
91. Pseudo-Athanasios, *Epist. ad Castorem I*, PG 28, col. 857D.
92. Pseudo-Basil, *Poenae* 21 (?), PG 31, col. 1309A, and the quotation attributed to Basil of Caesarea in John Klimakos, *Scala paradisi* 14, scholium 20, PG 88, col. 877B.
93. Unidentified quotation.
94. In [24] above.
95. Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 20.3 [LR 20.3], PG 31, col. 973C; Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 4.1, PG 31, cols. 1348A–49A.
96. Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, chap. 32, ed. Butler, p. 88.
97. For this foundation, originally known as the Monastery of St. Stephen, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 47.
98. (4) *Stoudios* [29].
99. Not in *Constitutiones apostolorum*, ed. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, vol. 1 (Paderborn, 1905), nor in *Canones apostolorum* (R&P2).
100. *Canones apostolorum*, c. 69 (R&P 2.88).
101. Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 20.3 [LR 20.3], PG 31, col. 973C.
102. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 30, PG 31, col. 1420C.
103. *raso*, the black outer garment or robe of the monk's habit.
104. Cf. John Chrysostom, *In Epist. ad Philippenses* 2, PG 62, cols. 253–54.
105. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae brevius tractatae* 210 ([SR 210]), PG 31, cols. 1221–24.
106. Pseudo-Athanasios, *Epist. ad Castorem I*, PG 28, col. 855C.
107. Unidentified quotation.
108. *Vita S. Pachomii*, ed. Halkin, p. 18.

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109. Pseudo-Athanasios, *Epist. ad Castorem I*, PG 28, col. 860D.
110. Basil's *Regulae brevius tractatae* 156 [SR 156], PG 31, col. 1184CD indicates the opposite; officials are to retain their positions if their performance is satisfactory.
111. Pseudo-Athanasios, *Epist. ad Castorem I*, PG 28, col. 860D.
112. Not in Pseudo-Athanasios' Greek version of Cassian.
113. Not in our text of (11) *Ath. Rule*, but cf. [21].
114. In [71] and above.
115. *Vita S. Pachomii*, ed. F. Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii* (as in note 45 above), p. 159.
116. See summary in Clercq, *Textes juridiques*, pp. 54, 55.
117. *Apophthegmata patrum*, PG 65, col. 152C.
118. Unidentified quotation.
119. See Nikon, *Pandektes*, chap. 57, as summarized in Clercq, *Textes juridiques*, pp. 61–63.
120. *Tome of the Council of Constantinople (920)* = Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 669, ed. L. G. Westerink, *Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople: Miscellaneous Writings* (Washington, D.C., 1981), p. 66, lines 114–16; Euthymios of Peribleptos, *Oratio seu invectivus contra Armenios I*, PG 132, col. 1200; for the attribution of the latter work, see Beck, *KTL*, pp. 533, 598, with V. Grumel, “Les invectives contre les Arméniens du ‘Catholicos Isaac,’” *REB* 14 (1956), 174–94.
121. August 1, a minor feast in [89] below.
122. August 15, a great feast in [89] below.
123. August 6, a great feast in [89] below.
124. Nov. 21, a great feast in [89] below.
125. Cf. Luke 1:5–23, 57–65.
126. Starting on December 21 instead of December 25.
127. *ei tis kai errethe*: the text is corrupt here.
128. John Chrysostom, *De sancto Philogonio*, PG 48, col. 754.
129. *photizein*, “to illumine,” apparently refers to the ceremony of blessing the water which constitutes the main event of the feast of the Epiphany, and which developed from the early practice of baptizing catechumens on the feasts of Epiphany and Easter. Known as the *mezas hagiastos*, it takes place both on the vigil of Epiphany and on the following morning. Controversy over the repetition of the ceremony is attested as early as the mid-fifth-century decree of Peter Gnapheus, patriarch of Jerusalem, which held that the blessing of the waters should be celebrated only at vespers. It is to this controversy that Nikon undoubtedly alludes in this chapter; he makes reference to readings from the prophets which are part of the office of *hagiastos*. See G. Bekatoros, “Megas hagiastos,” *TEE*, vol. 6 (Athens, 1962), cols. 227–29.
130. (4) *Stoudios* [B37], [A38].

Document Notes

- [8] Performance of the office at Easter. See also [27] below; cf. treatment of the Easter office in (4) *Stoudios* [2] and (11) *Ath. Rule* [2].
- [9] Obligatory performance of the office. Cf. (10) *Eleousa* [6], [8] and (22) *Evergetis* [4].
- [10] Performance of the first, third and sixth hours. See [19] below and the treatment of these offices in (4) *Stoudios* [A10], [B14], [33], [A36], cf. [27]; (10) *Eleousa* [7]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [7], [8]; (22) *Evergetis* [4]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [32], [33]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13]; (30) *Phoberos* [9]; (32) *Mamas* [47]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]; and (34) *Machairas* [31], [36].
- [11] Performance of the ninth hour. See the treatment of this office in (4) *Stoudios* [A10], [B14], [27], [29], [32], [33]; (10) *Eleousa* [7]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [7], [8]; (22) *Evergetis* [6]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [35]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15]; (30) *Phoberos* [12]; (32) *Mamas* [47]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]; and (34) *Machairas* [42].
- [12] Timing of vespers. See treatment of this office in (4) *Stoudios* [2], [A3], [13], [26], [30], [31], [33],

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- [A37], [B38]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [3], [8], [9], [10], [26], [27]; (22) *Evergetis* [6], [35]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [35]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15]; (30) *Phoberos* [12]; (32) *Mamas* [47]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]; and (34) *Machairas* [43].
- [13], [14] Performance of compline. See the treatment of this office in (4) *Stoudios* [2], [10], [18], [19], [20], [21]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [2], [3], [4], [9], [29]; (22) *Evergetis* [6], [7]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [36]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15]; (30) *Phoberos* [12]; (32) *Mamas* [47]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]; and (34) *Machairas* [44].
- [15], [16] Performance of the midnight office. See the treatment of this office in (22) *Evergetis* [6]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [38]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15]; (30) *Phoberos* [12]; (32) *Mamas* [47]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]; (34) *Machairas* [45], [46]; and (44) *Karyes* [9]. There is a regulation of the Sunday midnight office in [18] below.
- [17] Performance of matins. See [19] below and the treatment of this office in (4) *Stoudios* [2], [B3], [A4], [10], [11], [12], [13], [18], [22], [A36]; (22) *Evergetis* [4], [6], [7], [10], [13], [35]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [39]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15]; (30) *Phoberos* [13]; (32) *Mamas* [47]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]; and (34) *Machairas* [48].
- [18] Sunday midnight office. See [15], [16] above with cross-references, and (44) *Karyes* [10].
- [19] Additional regulations for matins and the first hour. See (22) *Evergetis* [4] for a similar provision for genuflections at the end of matins.
- [20] No provision for all-night vigils. For the contrary provision, see (22) *Evergetis* [8], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [19], and (30) *Phoberos* [16].
- [21] Easter and Lenten psalmody. The prescriptions here are idiosyncratic except for the Easter Sunday psalm, for which see (4) *Stoudios* [3].
- [22] Authoritativeness of the Jerusalem *typikon*.
- [23] Endorsement of the Stoudite and Jerusalem *typika*. (26) *Luke of Messina* [10] has a similar endorsement; see also [29] below.
- [24] Ban on private psalmody and eating alone in cells; evening activities. See [69], [71], and [72] below, with (22) *Evergetis* [9], [22] and related documents. Note that in (4) *Stoudios* [26] reading took place before the vespers service.
- [25], [26] Performance of prostrations in cells. See (11) *Ath. Rule* [4] for another Lenten provision of this sort; cf. (4) *Stoudios* [A6], [B7], (11) *Ath. Rule* [6], [20], and (22) *Evergetis* [4].
- [27] Special psalmody for Easter week. See [8] above with cross-references.
- [28] Encouragement of private devotional observances. See similar provision in (22) *Evergetis* [4] and related documents.
- [29] Endorsement of the Stoudite and Jerusalem *typika*. See also [23] above.
- [30], [31] Timing of the liturgy. See the treatment of this issue in (4) *Stoudios* [27], (11) *Ath. Rule* [8], and (22) *Evergetis* [10].
- [32] Coincidence of fast days and minor feasts. For the rule for minor feasts, see [50] below. Dietary concessions for great feasts are discussed below in [48].
- [33] Refectory procedures. Cf. (4) *Stoudios* [28], (11) *Ath. Rule* [21], (22) *Evergetis* [9], (27) *Kecharitomene* [40], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [21], (30) *Phoberos* [21], (34) *Machairas* [62], (43) *Kasoulon* [15], and (58) *Menoikeion* [8].
- [34] Diet from Easter to the feast of All Saints. Cf. (4) *Stoudios* [A29], [B29], (11) *Ath. Rule* [22], (30) *Phoberos* [28], (34) *Machairas* [74], and (43) *Kasoulon* [10].
- [37] Diet on non-fast days. For the diet on Tuesdays and Thursdays, see also (4) *Stoudios* [29], (11) *Ath. Rule* [22], (23) *Pakourianos* [8], (27) *Kecharitomene* [46], (28) *Pantokrator* [12], (32) *Mamas* [17], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], (39) *Lips* [32], (43) *Kasoulon* [2], [5], and (58) *Menoikeion* [8].
- [38] Diet on fast days; on Sundays and feasts of the Lord; abstinence from wine. For the diet on regular fast days, see [43] below and also (11) *Ath. Rule* [30], (7) *Latros* [8], (27) *Kecharitomene* [46], (28) *Pantokrator* [12], (30) *Phoberos* [16], [17], [19], (32) *Mamas* [17], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], (34)

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- Macharias* [77], (36) *Blemmydes* [11], (39) *Lips* [32], (43) *Kasoulon* [5], (45) *Neophytos* [C4], (55) *Athanasios I* [5], and (58) *Menoikeion* [8]. For the Sunday and festal diet, see discussions in [47], [52], [53], and [57] below.
- [37R] Preservation of the regulation of cheese, oil and wine. The reference is to the regulation of these commodities in [38] above.
- [38R] Fast of the Holy Apostles. Cf. treatments in (4) *Stoudios* [29], (11) *Ath. Rule* [23], (22) *Evergetis* [10], (23) *Pakourianos* [10], (27) *Kecharitomene* [48], (28) *Pantokrator* [12], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [63], (30) *Phoberos* [29], (31) *Areia* [T5], (32) *Mamas* [18], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], (34) *Machairas* [76], (43) *Kasoulon*, (58) *Menoikeion* [8], and (60) *Charsianeites* [17].
- [39R] Diet from the feast of the Holy Apostles to fast of St. Philip. Cf. treatments in (4) *Stoudios* [A29], [B29] and in (11) *Ath. Rule* [24].
- [43] Diet for the meal on regular fast days. See [36] above, with cross-references.
- [47] Diet on Saturdays and Sundays. Cf. discussion of weekend meals in (23) *Pakourianos* [8], (28) *Pantokrator* [12], and (43) *Kasoulon* [2], [4]. See also [38] above and [57] below.
- [48], [49], [50] Diet on great, medium, and minor feasts. Nikon's prescription of the Sunday diet for great feasts means that regular weekly fast days will not be observed. The distinctions drawn here between feasts of different magnitude are not found elsewhere in the monastic foundation documents. See [51] below for justification.
- [51] Reference to Nikon's *Interpretations*. See resume of *Pandektes*, chap. 58, in Clercq, *Textes juridiques*, pp. 64–65.
- [52] Patronal designation of feasts criticized. Cf. discussion in (55) *Athanasios I* [5].
- [53] Discussion of patristic authorities on observance of fasts. Nikon advances a conservative argument against contemporary practice, which was strongly inclined to suspend fasts for the celebration of feasts; see, for example, (27) *Kecharitomene* [48].
- [54] Fast of St. Philip. (4) *Stoudios* [A29], (11) *Ath. Rule* [24], (22) *Evergetis* [10], (23) *Pakourianos* [10], (27) *Kecharitomene* [48], (28) *Pantokrator* [12], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [28], (30) *Phoberos* [30], (32) *Mamas* [18], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18] all make similar provisions; cf. (43) *Kasoulon* [3].
- [55] Use of cheese and eggs during the week before Meatfare and Cheesefare week. See also [90] below and (30) *Phoberos* [19], (32) *Mamas* [19], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19], (34) *Machairas* [78], and (36) *Blemmydes* [11] for this observance and its motivation.
- [56] Lenten dietary observances. Cf. treatments in (4) *Stoudios* [30], (11) *Ath. Rule* [25], (22) *Evergetis* [10], (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (28) *Pantokrator* [12], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [25], (30) *Phoberos* [28], (32) *Mamas* [18], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], (34) *Machairas* [67], [69], (43) *Kasoulon* [9], [23], and (58) *Menoikeion* [8].
- [57] No fasting on Saturdays and Sundays. See also [47] above, with cross-references.
- [58] Fasts not to be broken on Wednesday of mid-Lent week or for the Day of the Great Canon. Cf. the divergent traditions in (4) *Stoudios* [A30], (22) *Evergetis* [10], (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (34) *Machairas*, and (43) *Kasoulon* [22].
- [59] Diet for the feasts of St. John the Forerunner and the Forty Martyrs. (4) *Stoudios* [A30] provides for the regular celebration of these feasts regardless of when they occur, as do (22) *Evergetis* [10], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [26], and (34) *Machairas* [70], while (30) *Phoberos* [28], (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (28) *Pantokrator* [12], (32) *Mamas* [18], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18] all restrict celebration in various ways.
- [60] Diet for the feast of the Annunciation. The celebration of this feast was generally considered a legitimate reason to suspend Lenten dietary restrictions; see (4) *Stoudios* [31], (7) *Latros* [5], (22) *Evergetis* [10], (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (28) *Pantokrator* [12], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [26], [27], (30) *Phoberos* [28], (32) *Mamas* [18], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], (34) *Machairas* [71], and (43) *Kasoulon* [24].
- [61] Diet for the Friday before the feast of St. Lazarus. Cf. (43) *Kasoulon* [16], [23], which allows the superior to grant a concession of wine on this day.

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- [62] Diet for first days of Holy Week. (30) *Phoberos* [28], (43) *Kasoulon* [9], and (58) *Menoikeion* [8] all make a similar provision.
- [63] Diet for Holy Thursday. Nikon contrasts the stricter provisions of the earlier canonical authorities with (4) *Stoudios* [30] and (11) *Ath. Rule* [26], but sides with the latter.
- [64] Diet for Good Friday. The relatively strict (30) *Phoberos* [28] follows the same approach of a recommendation of total abstinence with a limitation of bread and water and raw greens. (22) *Evergetis* [10] indicates that the exertions of the Easter vigil service obliged the monks to take some food on this day.
- [65], [66], [67] Diet for Holy Saturday. As Nikon indicates, there was no uniform dietary observance for this day; see discussions in (4) *Stoudios* [30], (11) *Ath. Rule* [26], [27], (22) *Evergetis* [10], and (30) *Phoberos* [28].
- [69] Prohibition on eating between meals. See also [24] above and [70], [72] below.
- [70] Regulation of the size of the blessing; no other food to be consumed outside the refectory. For the blessed bread, see also [73] below and the treatments in (4) *Stoudios* [27], [B37], [A38], and (43) *Kasoulon* [8]; for the restriction of eating to the refectory, see [24], [69] above and [72] below.
- [71] All psalmody to be communal. Cf. [24] above; the exception is for commemorative services for the dead.
- [72] No private eating. Cf. discussions in [24], [69], and [70] above. The implication is that fasters will be supplied with minimal provisions (i.e., bread and water) in their cells at the superior's discretion.
- [73], [74] Collation restricted to partakers in communion. Cf. [70] above.
- [75] The monks' clothing. Cf. similar provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [A37], [B38]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [35]; (22) *Evergetis* [25]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [52]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [52], [62]; (30) *Phoberos* [44]; (32) *Mamas* [28]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28]; and (34) *Machairas* [102], [103].
- [76], [77] Procedure for defrocking a monk. Cf. the provision in (2) *Pantelleria* [20].
- [78] Rotation of work assignments. Prescribed for novices in (22) *Evergetis* [37], (27) *Kecharitomene* [30], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55], (30) *Phoberos* [51], (32) *Mamas* [22], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22], and (34) *Machairas* [56]; for all monks in (37) *Auxentios* [7] and (39) *Lips* [17].
- [79] Hours for manual labor. Cf. provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [33] and (11) *Ath. Rule* [29].
- [80] The work supervisor. Cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [27], (34) *Machairas* [86], [104] and (37) *Auxentios* [7] for officials with similar responsibilities. As here, a specific place for manual labor is set aside in (45) *Neophytos* [18].
- [81] The prompter and his duties. Contrary to the implication here, (11) *Ath. Rule* [21] assigns the refectory reading to the ecclesiarch; cf. (4) *Stoudios* [28].
- [82] Necessity of manual labor for all. This strong endorsement fails to find an endorsement in contemporary documents, but see (45) *Neophytos* [C6].
- [83] Pursuit of individual crafts endorsed. (34) *Machairas* [120] provides for confiscation of unauthorized crafts. (45) *Neophytos* [C13] prohibits private profit-making occupations.
- [84] Importance of monastic poverty. Cf. hostility to individual property in (3) *Theodore Studites* [2], (11) *Ath. Rule* [34], and (22) *Evergetis* [22].
- [85] Rejection of outsiders' donations. (23) *Pakourianos* [20] is also skeptical; (19) *Attaleiates* [30], however, is less critical.
- [86] Ban on women and female animals. See (3) *Theodore Studites* [5], [16], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31], and (22) *Evergetis* [38], [39] for similar sentiments.
- [87], [88] Fast of the Mother of God, August 1–14. Among the other Byzantine monastic foundation documents, only (30) *Phoberos* [31] and (60) *Charsianeites* [C17] recognize this fast. For this fast, see V. Grumel, "Le jeûne de l'Assomption dans l'Église grecque. Étude historique," *EO* 32 (1933), 162–93.
- [89] Festal calendar. Designed to correlate with dietary regulations for great [48], medium [49], and minor [50], cf. [32] feasts as established above.
- [90] Diet during Meatfare and Cheesefare week. See [55] above with cross-references for these observances.
- [91] No fasts or genuflections during Pentecost. Cf. earlier discussions above of the ban on fasting: [17],

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[36], [38], [55], [70] and on genuflections: [24], [89].

[92] Feast of the Holy Epiphany. Cf. (4) *Stoudios* [B37], [A38], and (27) *Kecharitomene* [72].

21. *Roidion*: *Typikon* of Nikon of the Black Mountain for the Monastery and Hospice of the Mother of God *tou Roidiou*

Date: first decade of the 12th c.¹

Translator: Robert Allison

Edition employed: Vladimir Benešević, *Taktikon Nikona Chernogortsa* (Petrograd, 1917), pp. 68–80.

Manuscript: Codex Sinaiticus graecus 441 (St. Catherine’s Monastery)

Other translations: Arabic, Slavonic²

Institutional History

In the current state of research, the history of this foundation, dedicated to the Mother of God *tou Roidiou*, “of the Pomegranate,” is poorly understood.³ Nikon’s charge of its spiritual care perhaps was part of his assignment to reform the monks of North Syria that had originally been entrusted to him by the patriarch of Antioch Theodosios III (1057–1059), subsequently confirmed by the exarchs of the patriarchate during the long interregnum of 1059–1089. Nikon is known to have taken refuge in this monastery after the Seljuk conquest of Antioch in 1084. It was located in Armenian territory ruled by the Tzatoi who were Chalcedonian in their faith.⁴ Nikon is known to have been active during the patriarchate of the militantly reformist John V the Oxite (1089–1100), better known as John of Antioch; the particular reform program Nikon pursued at this foundation fits in well with what is known about the latter’s own program from his tract against the *charistike*, *De monasteriis laicis non tradendis*.⁵ The references to Franks in [B3] and to the foundation’s role [B2] in facilitating the travel of pilgrims to Jerusalem, however, suggest that the document dates from after the Crusader conquest of the Holy City in 1099. Solignac (“Nicon,” col. 319) maintains that Nikon died here; this was sometime in the first decade of the twelfth century.

Analysis

This remarkable document is not an idealized portrayal of a foundation at the time of its creation, like (19) *Attaleiates*, nor a proud summation of an institution’s way of life by a leader of a later generation, like (4) *Stoudios* or (22) *Evergetis*. Rather, like (12) *Tzimiskes* and (15) *Constantine IX*, it portrays a monastic community at a point of crisis. In the last-named Athonite texts, representatives of the emperor mediated a program of reforms with the active support of at least some of the resident monks. Here, Nikon, representative of the patriarch of Antioch, possibly the fervent monastic reformer John V the Oxite, imposes a reform against the wishes of the foundation’s monks. The document enables us to observe the foundation at an awkward point, as Nikon’s reform program—including the revival of cenobitical life, the easing out of officials termed “spiritually destroyed,” and the redirection of the foundation’s income to “correct” purposes—has been

determined but has not yet been implemented. Instead, certain circumstances, perhaps including the monks' active opposition, have forced Nikon to make the best of what was from his perspective a bad situation. By examining the compromises he announces in this document, we gain valuable insight into how some recalcitrant institutions in the process of being reformed operated at the beginning of the twelfth century.

The document is divided into two sections, a brief *typikon* [A] and a longer *Treatise* [B] addressed to the foundation's residents.

A. *The Typikon*

The addressee of the *typikon* was an unnamed individual [A1], cf. [A5] who had been appointed by the secular ruler (also unnamed) to look after the physical needs of the monastery. This addressee was probably a protector (cf. Nikon's own title in [A2]); a *charistikarios* seems unlikely, particularly if John V, the most notable contemporary opponent of the *charistike*, was the patriarch responsible for the appointment. Nikon had also been appointed [A1] by the patriarch, specifically to look after the spiritual affairs of the foundation. The abandonment of common meals in the refectory and other aspects of the cenobitic life, glimpsed elsewhere in (9) *Galesios* [147], [189] a half-century earlier, had been completed [A1] long ago here. After condemning [A1] previous superiors as "spiritually destroyed," Nikon declares [A4] the office (and its presumably irremovable incumbent) to be superfluous. Other reputable officials (who were not Nikon's own appointees—cf. [B1]) were to minister [A1] to guests in the refectory and to attend to the church. The foundation had originally been endowed [A2] with landed properties intended to support the church and hospice, much like (16) *Mount Tmolos* [1]. Nikon anticipated [A2], [A5] additional (and unencumbered) gifts for this purpose from the addressee. This was necessary because the current residents, *kelliotai* and "others" (possibly the imposed guests known as *katapemptoi*), had established [A2] entitlements to some of the revenues of the earlier endowed properties.

Nikon charges [A2] a steward with handling the distributions to the foundation's residents (cf. the arrangements for the payment of salaries and other gratuities in (19) *Attaleiates* [33]), but he was unwilling to allow [A3] this official any authority over the hospice or the church "for the sake of freedom from offense and scandal." Citing a regulation (*typos*) of the monastery of Symeon the Wonderworker (cf. (20) *Black Mountain* [84]), Nikon also rejects [A4], cf. [B19] the superior's right to any authority over these units of the foundation. Instead he prefers to rely [A3] on the administrator of the church and the head of the hospice (the *xenodochos*) to administer these parts of the foundation. Citing a regulation of another institution, the Jerusalemite monastery of St. Sabas, as precedent, Nikon hoped to establish [A3] the entitlement of the attendants in the hospice and the administrator of the church to support from the foundation's land holdings. He vaguely indicates [A3] his preference that those so supported should live and eat communally. Lacking an equivalent precedent, Nikon was uncertain about the right of others, e.g., those attendants who took care of the church, to a similar entitlement.

After payment of all these claimants, there may have been very little left over from the foundation's income to support [A1] its avowed purpose of providing hospitality to visitors; Nikon makes [A5] this a special responsibility of the protector along with support for the monks (perhaps those without specific incomes) "if it is appropriate and God is pleased." With his character-

istic humility and tentativeness, Nikon closes [A6] this first portion of the document with the declaration “If someone else knows the greater and pleasing and perfect will of God, let it prevail, and not these things.”

B. The Treatise Addressed to the Foundation’s Residents

In the second part [B] of this document, Nikon undertakes to address the very monks of whose leadership and lifestyle he was so critical in the *typikon* proper. This part starts with a discussion of appropriate hospitality to be extended to pilgrim monks and laymen [B2], Franks [B3], and dignitaries [B7], even unbelievers. The head of the hospice was to eat with or serve guests personally [B4], cf. [B8], except for Franks of “unsound thinking.” Nikon maintains [B5] that monks who wished to entertain guests privately in their cells must do so from their private resources.⁶

Refusing to acknowledge the validity of the kelliotic lifestyle for monks, Nikon declares [B6] that ordinarily “it is not permitted for a brother privately to possess anything at all, however small or large, neither for (entertaining) a friend nor for any other reason whatsoever.” Apparently powerless to institute a moral reform of the foundation’s current residents, Nikon evidently determined to recover the foundation’s assets from them by attrition. In [B11] we see Nikon pressuring the residents to get them to agree to donate these assets back to the foundation. Failing that, Nikon was prepared to authorize [B11] seizures of residents’ assets when they died. Through these confiscations, Nikon hoped to forestall claims by any of the other brothers or a lay relative to a deceased monk’s properties. Borrowing contemporary reform terminology, Nikon maintains [B11] that any such attempt to claim ecclesiastical property was sacrilegious (cf. (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 11]). In the meantime, Nikon attempted to limit what were in effect “beneficed” monks to a “self-sufficiency” of income, specifically “what befits monks.” The implication is that any additional revenue was to be confiscated for the benefit of the foundation.

Nikon seeks [B12], cf. [B11] to trade off pledges of memorial commemorations for residents who cooperated with his plans to reconsolidate the foundation’s original assets under its own management. He also encourages [B15] residents to make voluntary donations to the foundation before they died in the name of helping the “poor,” loosely interpreted to mean any visitor passing through who was in need of food and shelter. Nikon discourages [B17] the residents from acquiring additional private properties. After all this firmness of purpose, however, Nikon lapses into his typical ambivalence (or is it just pragmatism?) when he declares [B19]: “Ignore these things and others that I may say if they do not lead to the salvation of souls.”

Finally, Nikon provides [B20] contingency plans to be put into effect if it should prove to be impossible to eliminate or abolish the authority of the superior. Alluding perhaps to a court suit over the rights to manage the foundation’s endowed properties, Nikon urges that they be abandoned to the claimants (the superior’s relatives?) so that the foundation will be free to be managed by the Mother of God herself (see (19) *Attaleiates* [3] for the legal fiction of heavenly administration). The expectation that the foundation will be able to operate somehow without “any earthly revenues” is rationalized by reference to a bygone era when Sabas, the author of the regulation cited here and elsewhere [A4] in this document, was said to have managed without “receiving revenues or donations from the emperor or anywhere else.” This statement likely stems more from the reformer’s understandable sense of frustration at the entangling complications of financial

patronage than from any realistic recollection of the past. Yet as if to underline his determination to break free from these entanglements, Nikon concludes with a declaration of his willingness to forfeit even the hospice itself “if [it] is sought after in the manner of the lands.” The hospice is in that event to be replaced with another, presumably relying on the generosity of the protector for patronal support.

C. Relationship to the Monastic Reform Movement

In this, a later document than (20) *Black Mountain*, Nikon’s reform program and its indebtedness to the contemporary concerns of the reform movement is much more evident than in his earlier *typikon*. The hostility to non-cenobitic monasticism [B6], the denunciation of the alienation of ecclesiastical property [B11] as sacrilege, the reluctance to accept ownership of private property [B17] by monks, and the promotion of memorial services [B12] as an acceptable form of patronal privilege are some of the salient links to the reform program of Nikon’s Evergetian contemporaries (see discussions in Chapters Four and Five below). This document indicates how difficult of realization this reform program must have been, at least in pre-existing institutions affected by the powerful secularizing influences of the eleventh century. On the whole we see Nikon adopting a tough but still very pragmatic policy well matched to the difficult situation he faced in attempting to reform this foundation.

Notes on the Introduction

1. See discussion below in Institutional History.
2. For details, see (20) *Black Mountain*, Biography of the Author, B. His Works.
3. Nikon’s unpublished works appear to be the source for what little is known currently about this foundation: see Doens, “Nicon,” pp. 132–35; Kazhdan, “Nikon,” p. 1484; Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, vol. 4, pp. 155–68; Nasrallah, “Auteur antiochien,” pp. 151–52; and Solignac, “Nicon,” cols. 319–20. The foundation’s correct name of Roidiou, not Raithou, was first read by V. Grumel, “Le jeûne de l’Assomption dans l’Église grecque. Étude historique,” *EO* 32 (1933,) 174 (see above, (20) *Black Mountain*, Document Notes [87] [88]).
4. For general information on the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia in Cilicia and northern Syria, see C. Toumanoff, “Armenia and Georgia,” in *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, pt. 1, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 628–37.
5. See Grumel, “Nicon,” pp. 270–72; for an analysis of John of Antioch’s *De monasteriis*, see my *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987), pp. 186–92.
6. Cf. the contrary regulation, drawing on a common source, in (23) *Pakourianos* [8], in the context of a cenobitic monastery.

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Translation

[A] Another *typikon* by the same author well documented from the divine scriptures in the holy monastery of the supremely glorious Mother of God, concerning hospitality and the church and other necessary subjects conducive to the salvation of souls. Lord Jesus Christ our God, have mercy on us through the intercessions of her who gave birth to thee, the blameless Mother of God. By her [intercessions] we dwell [here] in thy name and [in the name of] thy blameless mother. If these things are in keeping with thy pleasure, establish them.

For the one charged by him who currently has secular authority to preside over the physical needs of the holy monastery of our blameless Mistress the Mother of God called locally *tou Roidiou*.

[A] 1. My spiritual brother. Behold, by the grace of God, just as at first, in spite of my unworthiness, God nevertheless entrusted [me] with spiritual affairs through the patriarchal see of the Catholic Church.¹ Recently again the ruler, he who rules and has authority [by the will of] God over secular affairs, entrusted to me, the unworthy, the whole spiritual administration [by the will of] God. What he did is worthy of his godly understanding and piety, as I often wrote to him. May God protect him and all of you under his rule from every evil thing. But although I also wrote to him before concerning the poor and strangers and friends and enemies who come to the monastery and likewise about the church and similar matters, I did not write to him concerning the refectory and cenobitic order, because just as we find in the sacred writings, this way of life disintegrated many years ago, and where they observe it still, they observe it for their own personal will and not as the cenobitic law and the will of God require. But the divine scripture [p. 69] decrees that "he saves who saves his own soul"² (Gen. 19:17).

Since I follow this injunction of the Holy Scripture and the rest of God's laws, and since, unworthy though I am, I was entrusted with spiritual matters, as I said before, for these reasons, with the help of God and our holy Virgin the Mother of God, there is no need any longer for a

superior. For just as we already said before concerning the cenobitic order, its inner dynamic was destroyed spiritually, and so [those holding positions as] superiors were spiritually destroyed, and are moved by carnal and illegal motives.

For this reason there is no need for a superior, but there is need for [monastic] officials to minister properly for God's satisfaction under the protection of our blameless and holy Lady, the Mother of God. They are to minister at the refectory to the visiting poor and strangers, both friends and enemies, and generally in all such circumstances as well as in the church, just as the law of God holds with the "You shall love the Lord your God and your neighbor as yourself" (Matt. 22:37).

[A] 2. Behold, the church and the house of hospitality: the one for the worship and correctness of right faith and praise of the love of God and so on, the other for the love of neighbor (and "neighbor" means all humankind) and for the "I was a stranger and you welcomed me" (Matt. 25:35) and other similar commandments of the Lord. As the Lord himself says, "On these two commandments depend the whole law and the prophets" (Matt. 22:40), [that is] on the love of God and neighbor. For these things the church was provided and the hospice; and for them were dedicated all the lands which were around the monastery, and whatever there was of any sort for the use of the church and the hospice, and also whatever you may offer.

This was provided by [the help of] God and the blameless Mother of God, and spiritual guardianship and management was entrusted to me, unworthy as I am, with the help of God, and [there is] no refectory or anything else central, because, as I said before, [the cenobitic order] is now destroyed and is not working for the salvation of the soul, but for harm. But if you provide the brethren individually each in his own cell anything [p. 70] that is fitting, let it be to please God, and may it be, as it pleases God, for your own salvation and theirs.

Since [some] brethren live in the place as kelliotic brothers, each taking care of himself, and also some other [persons], and [since], accordingly, something different is appropriate—namely, there is need for a steward [to be in charge of] this task and responsibility—let this be enacted to the pleasure of God, for everything that is autonomous and follows its own will is dangerous and disorderly, and is counted as wickedness, just as also the apostle, when enumerating the offshoots of evil, also numbers this one with the words, "disorderly and slanderers" (cf. Tim. 3:3), and so on.

[A] 3. The steward should have no authority at all over any matter whatsoever either internally or externally in the hospice, nor [any authority] in the church, for the sake of freedom from offense and scandal. But it is fitting for the one in charge of the church and the one in charge of the hospice each to take care of his respective duties.

Just as it is fitting according to the regulation of the monastery of our holy father Sabas,³ those serving in the hospice ought to be provided with their food and clothing and other necessities from there. Likewise, he who is in charge of the church—he alone since [only] he shares this service and occupation together with the host of the hospice—[ought to be provided] in like fashion with all his bodily requirements. As for [their] dwelling and eating together, let what is acceptable for the salvation of the soul [be done].

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On the other hand, with regard to whether it is appropriate to provide from the dedicated land holdings for the nourishment of the attendants and those who take care of the church and so on, whatever [rules] are extant in writing in the divine regulations and laws, let them be [carried out] to the pleasure of God.

[A] 4. Just as was also written before⁴ concerning the superior that there is no need [of one], and seeking what is pleasing to God we established in writing the cause, here in turn, [we stated] what happens in reverse to those who seek their own will and not that of God, and to these are here added in writing with [the help of] God and the blameless Mother of God that, just as written concerning the steward before,⁵ so [be it] also concerning the superior, [namely] that in the church and in the hospice let him have no authority over the church and hospice in accordance with the regulation of the monastery [p. 71] of our holy father and wonderworker Symeon.⁶ From now on let no one harass my humility on account of these things.

[A] 5. Behold, my spiritual brother, this I contributed to the spiritual [life of the brotherhood] and the salvation of the soul, and this was appropriate for me. To the extent that I was able I did it with [the help of] God and our blameless Lady the Mother of God. But since you were entrusted to minister to physical needs, be not careless, but carry out whatever you were commanded and above all what is conducive to God's satisfaction with respect to the need for administration of the poor and the strangers and sojourners as well as the brothers individually, if it is appropriate and God is pleased.

The Lord himself protect you and all those with you and him who rules with [the consent of] God. Yes, yes, we exhort the one who rules by divine [authority] and his divine piety and all of you who are under him, and even if we are unworthy, still we advise you not to be careless regarding salvation of the soul, and through the intercessions of the supremely glorious Mother of God by which we dwell as sojourners [we pray], let God shield and protect all for the salvation of soul and body. Amen.

[A] 6. All these things, whatever I knew, I wrote. But if some one else knows the greater and pleasing and perfect will of God, let it prevail, and not these things. But if also God is pleased with these, then let them prevail. Behold, by the grace of God I am innocent of every impending danger from every side.

[B] *Treatise* by the same author to those dwelling in this holy monastery

[B] 1. My spiritual fathers and brothers, since I dwell here in your midst and for this reason you asked me, both you and others, what is conducive to the salvation of souls; I, as you see me, am careful to expound to the best of my ability the holy scriptures if anyone asks me. Moreover, because it is my duty from the patriarchal see of the Catholic Church, [to expound the scriptures] comprehensively to all, how much more is it fitting for me [to expound them] to you who are close to me, since I dwell here in your midst? But now since you also selected and [appointed] the one

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who will administer the hospice, it is fitting to remind you, my beloved [brethren] in the Lord [p. 72] of what is appropriate with [the help of] God and our blameless Lady the Mother of God by whose help we dwell as sojourners. It is as follows:

[B] 2. There is a regulation from the holy fathers, if a foreign monk or layman from another place passes through toward Jerusalem or departing to some other place, to keep him and host him for three days of rest, and after this to give him a blessing of bread and dismiss him. But if he is ill, keep him until he recovers, but if he wants to depart promptly, to provision him and feed him and give him blessing and dismiss him. It is necessary for foreigners to eat with the host of the hospice what is appropriate for each day, whether a fast day or an ordinary one, and whenever the meal-time happens to be. Unless it should happen that the foreigner recovers and is eager to depart, and [then] it is necessary to provision him and dismiss [him] on whatever day it falls, as I also said above.

[B] 3. But if he is a Frank, host him one day and give him blessing and dismiss him. But if he is ill, keep him until he recovers. But nevertheless, if it is also appropriate for the Franks to rest for the three days and it is necessary for the salvation of soul and body, let it be so. But to all persons let whatever is pleasing to God be; but at least let nothing unpleasing to God prevail.

[B] 4. The host of the hospice should not eat separately apart from the foreign monks or lay persons, unless those being offered hospitality are many and he wishes to serve them, except for the Franks due to the unsoundness of [their] thinking. Nevertheless [he should eat] even with these, if [their] thinking is sound.

[B] 5. If one of the brothers should invite a guest, it is fitting [for that brother] to serve him from [the contents of] his own cell. But if, on the other hand, it is a friend [of the brotherhood], the host of the hospice ought to invite him and, if there is need, he ought to host him three days. But if a brother brings another [guest], it is necessary for that [brother] to serve him.

[B] 6. This regulation regarding a brother's bringing [someone] to his cell is on account of its not being a cenobitic community, but each brother separately takes care of his own [cell], and the need of a hospice is administered separately. [p. 73] It has nothing at all in common with the brothers, nor again do the brothers have any authority over the hospice whatsoever, not anything in common with the hospice, except for what is conducive to the salvation of the soul in accord with the love and command of Christ. But the cenobitic law and canon has another tradition. It is not permitted for a brother privately to possess anything at all, however small or large, neither for [entertaining] a friend nor for any other reason whatsoever. Let this suffice on this topic.

[B] 7. It is necessary to give all persons blessing, whenever they depart, just bread only. But if the visitor is from among the dignitaries of the world, it is necessary to attend to him and serve him whatever he might be, whether a believer or an unbeliever, as the Apostle says: "Give all men what is owed, honor to whom honor is due, respect to whom respect is due, tax to whom tax is due"(cf. Rom. 13:7).

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[B] 8. As for the hospice host's eating with the guests, as we said above,⁷ if it is appropriate, let it be so, but if it is not beneficial for any good reason, let what is beneficial and fitting be done, only let all things be done to the pleasure of God. I, unworthy as I am, am agreeable to things that are pleasing to God. But if the hospice host is striving for greater fasting and abstinence, let him extend to the guests the appropriate hospitality, but let [him] himself do as Abraham, the archetype of hosts, did in the Old [Testament], who served as host, but did not eat together with them, and so on, as is written (Deut. 18:8) and as some of the fathers in the New [Testament] did.

Nevertheless it is necessary that the hospice host be watchful and exacting, lest, owing to carelessness, the occasion of the command of hospitality lead to injury to the soul, as it also says in the divine *Ladder*, that "Gluttony follows upon hospitality, and fornication upon love."⁸

[B] 9. It is necessary also [that the hospice host be watchful and exacting] concerning the feast that it is the custom to celebrate herein on the Dormition of the supremely glorious Mother of God, that it not be celebrated in disregard or ignorance of its purpose, as indeed has become the custom among carnal persons, and indeed is for blasphemy and not to the glory of God. But as the great Gregory the Theologian [p. 74] decrees in the *Discourse on Christmas*⁹ how the feasts of Christians ought to be, [that is] not with revelry and inebriation and the rest, but with psalms and hymns and what he says there. Every divine scripture thus defines this rule for feasts.

[B] 10. The things appropriate and necessary to the nourishment of the flesh are what is available, as also the Lord permitted the arriving crowds to eat barley bread that was on hand. Indeed, as Basil the Great says, "Being able through miracle to welcome the multitudes with abundance of foods, but giving to us a prototype and model in such things."¹⁰ Basil the Great himself in his *Ascetical Treatises* prescribes in compliance with these things, and so does every other divine scripture.

So it is necessary for us to follow and emulate the holy scriptures and [the prescription of] "only what is available"—bread and a single course of boiled legumes with olive oil in the evening on whatever day [the feast of the Dormition] falls because of the assembly of the congregation, and on the next day two courses of mashed legumes and vegetables boiled or [served] in whatever manner is acceptable.

Holy scripture does not urge us to be concerned with a side dish and wine. But if it is given by someone and God bestows it, again even in this case it is still necessary to [eat] these things to the glory of God, in accordance with what is appropriate and pleasing to God—not in the evening, but on the morrow, on the very day of the feast, as also the regulation and tradition holds regarding the remaining feasts of the Lord that have anticipatory fasts. But if God does not bestow it from someone else, as we said before, nothing else [is to be eaten]. But if some lover of Christ offers something for sustenance, let these not be received in the evening, but let the donor hold these until the next day and then let him give these things free from offense.

The following was left out, and it must be added because it is necessary:

[B] 11. If one of the brothers is dying, in this case it is necessary to cooperate with him for the

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salvation of his soul, and if he so chooses, if he possesses anything, he who is in charge of the service of the church and the hospice must lock the cell of the dying man and offer everything [p. 75] to the hospice and to the church. [He must] lock the cell lest any of the brothers or even the heirs from ignorance or boorishness or even from jealousy fall into the sin of sacrilege and offend against God, because such things are dedicated to God and are put aside for the sustenance of the needy and for the church for the redemption of the soul of the deceased, as the Lord pronounced in all the divine scriptures.

We are not speaking of persons who have excessive [possessions] such that through these means harm takes place, but of persons who possess self-sufficiency and what befits monks, nothing more, and if it is fitting, [let this be done] at the time. Only let all these [procedures] be to the glory of God for the salvation of the soul, and not for blasphemy of God and for injury to the soul. But if also it leads to injury for the soul, let such things not be.

If, however, a fellow brother also cohabits with [the dying man], he has authority over whatever belongs to [the dying monk's] lot. But if his [spiritual] father cohabits with him, let what is fitting and pleasing to God prevail. If the dying man chooses to act in accordance with all that was written above, he must also [express his] cooperation and consent in a written document and in whatever other way God is pleased. But if the dying brother does not so choose, we do not set forth these things according to any commandment or tradition, but in accord with personal will and preference . . .¹¹ we stave off harm to those who serve God.

Let there be no concurrence or advice in any other way on such matters, because the laws of God do not permit monks to administer such matters on account of the evils that lie ahead. Nevertheless, just as above [we spoke] about those who have excessive possessions, [so here] in order not to shut the door to their salvation, [we say let them do] as we said above to the rest, or [let them do] as they choose. But we say that they must avoid harming the soul, and to all those who are so inclined [we say] to do precisely what we said.

[B] 12. If there is a priest in the monastery, let there be liturgies for the deceased on the third, the ninth, and the fortieth days and on the anniversary, in accord with tradition among orthodox Christians. But if there is no priest in the monastery, it is necessary to send out eucharistic offerings [p. 76] where there is a priest and to offer them on behalf of the deceased. But within the holy monastery let what is appropriate prevail, as we also said above.

[B] 13. These things were issued with [the help of] God in keeping with the intent of the divine scriptures. For your information, then, we cite explicitly the divine scripture as well as tradition. It says in the *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*, "let the third and ninth and fortieth days and the anniversary be celebrated on behalf of the deceased; and let donation be given to the poor from [the deceased's] possessions for their [the deceased's] redemption."¹² It says here only "to the poor," nothing more. But in the regulations of the holy apostles Peter and Paul concerning the invitations [extended] by lay people to lay people for commemorations on behalf of the deceased, it says to clergy, "When you are invited to commemorations of [lay people], eat in an orderly fashion and with fear of God, so that you can intercede on behalf of the departed; for being elders and deacons of Christ you ought always to observe moderation both for the sake of yourselves and for others, so that you may be able to admonish the disorderly."¹³

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So with respect to this subject in divine scripture, in the former passage it speaks about the poor only, nothing else, and thus to a public where there is no permanent hospice; but in the latter [it speaks] about priests and clergy and not about the common people and conducting memorial feasts. Hence it appears that [the divine writings] permit only priests and deacons who celebrate [the memorial service] to eat and the rest to be given to the poor. So, as we said also above, [it is addressed] to laymen and to a community, at that, where there is no permanent hospice. For the things dedicated to hospices are in perpetuity for the nourishment of the poor. But if it is fitting [to adopt] some particular [procedure] in this case also, let it be so, as long as it is pleasing to God.

[B] 14. Let us speak also about things which exist from common custom among the fathers without attestation in the divine writings, just as also in the *Gerontikon* it tells how, when they were at such a feast, the *Abba* John Kolobos was there too, and as they were seated one of the brothers laughed and the *Abba* John said to him, “Are you laughing, [p. 77] brother? Don’t you know that you are eating the memorial repast and you ought rather to be weeping because you ate the memorial repast?”¹⁴ Here also we cited things without attestation of divine scriptures. Since in eating the memorial repast he was to weep, it seems that such [customs] have no legal sanction and justification.

For all these reasons let him who is able with [the help of] God to know what is the perfect will of God and what is to God’s satisfaction consider what is best. For without the divine scriptures I can neither do nor teach anything; but by interpreting the divine writings in which the will of God is revealed, by the grace of God I do not defile my ministry. Yet if a practice is observed, whether by believers or unbelievers, if harm is suspected, it is necessary for all the writings to declare it. If they permit these things to be, behold, all is well; but if they do not, it is necessary to abandon them on account of injury to the soul, just as also the Lord said that “to the one that seizes your goods, do not demand them back, and to the one wishing to sue you and possess your coat, give your cloak as well” (cf. Luke 6:30; Matt. 5:40, 42) and so on similarly. For one ought not to endure pretexts for sin to the point of injury to the soul.

[B] 15. If someone who is healthy chooses to make a charitable donation to the poor, we say—as advice, not as a decree—to make this donation to the hospice for the sake of freedom from care, because often a monk falls into harm in such cases. I mean, into [the habit of] making his virtue manifest and seeking to have a name prominent among men, [and thus] conceit and other vices of the soul [follow] especially among the [spiritually] weak. Then [is fulfilled] the saying of the Lord stating that “You do not have reward from your father who is in heaven” (Matt. 6:1) because of snatching and seeking the glory of men and not of God, because he who desires to escape such dangers needs great spiritual power. But let the reader consider correctly the rest.

Again frequently he who gives charity does not know with certainty who are truly poor from those who are pretending, and falls, just as Basil the Great says: “Associating with the greedy and increasing their vice.”¹⁵ The Lord did not say, “I had and you gave to me” [p. 78] and so on, and he did not say “when I was full you nourished [me],” but “you saw me hungry and you fed [me],” and so on.

For these reasons at the hospice whoever passes through there, whoever he may be, whether poor or rich, he is certainly at that time still in urgent need of food and shelter, and the command

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of the Lord is completely fulfilled that says, “For I was hungry and you gave me food, a stranger and you welcomed me” (Matt. 25:35) and the like. Besides, the donation is given in secret and is not just temporary, but it also abides for the future.

We say this as advice for those who are still living and healthy and choose early [in life] to make charitable donations. But if it is not beneficial thus [to make charitable donations], let what the Apostle says be, “Test all things, hold fast what is good, abstain from every form of evil” (I Thess. 5:21).

[B] 16. One should not keep any kind of animal whatsoever, neither birds nor quadrupeds, except those that hunt the loathsome [mice]¹⁶ [which should be] male for the sake of freedom from care. Indeed, it is necessary to place one’s hope in God and in the blameless Mother of God, and not in animals and lands. As God himself and the blameless Mother of God provide whenever there is need, at any time, let it be.

[B] 17. Nor again is it necessary to acquire possession of additional lands besides those already in existence now, since they do not contribute to the benefit of souls, but rather to [their] harm, and God is not pleased. It is necessary to give up these [possessions], all of them, just as we said above.¹⁷ When the above-written rule applies, let a donation to the hospice be given either after death or while in good health, if this happens to be appropriate and they choose [to make the donation]. But if the regulation does not apply, again in this case let the best thing be done so long as God is pleased.

[B] 18. Whatever else I left out, I will be living here in your midst, and indeed even if I am unworthy, still as one whose service is to the word, if you command something and ask me about what is conducive to salvation of souls, to the extent of my ability, as long as [p. 79] my soul is unharmed, I will not neglect to speak the word of God from the divine scriptures.

[B] 19. But you and all others, ignore these things and others that I may say if they do not lead to the salvation of souls, just as also the Apostle says, “If we or an angel from heaven evangelize you beyond what you have received, let it be anathema” (cf. Gal. 1:8). But if they are conducive to the affairs of God, heed them, you and all persons, just as the Lord says, “Whoever hears you, hears me” (Luke 10:16). All of the above were established with good reason for the glory of God and his blameless mother, the Mother of God, in whom we dwell.

Since, just as it was also written above concerning the office of the superior that it lacks legal authority, as the truth showed, and the cause [for its lack] in the present time was written above, therefore here at the end this is written again for assurance and confirmation as well as for completing everything written above and for our exoneration. Because just as the office of superior is no longer legally valid nor in accord with the order that is grounded in the divine scriptures, for this reason [we declare that] it should not be permitted to exist at all in violation of the divine scripture. But if it should be established in a wholly tyrannical manner by those who do not fear God, just as also was written before, let it not have absolute authority either in the church or in the hospice, just as was also written above,¹⁸ but rather let the person in charge of the church and [the

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one in charge of] the hospice, [administer them] in accord with the rule of the church and the hospice of the monastery of our holy father Symeon the Wonderworker, except not separate and [not] provided for separately as there. But just as from the beginning it was written and decreed in the rule of the two divine commands,—that is [love for] God and [for] neighbor—so let them be provided for together and just as was written before. Let those serving in the hospice and the person who controls the church—the latter alone because he shares this duty and occupation with the hospice host—be provided with every bodily need. As for their dwelling and eating together, what is acceptable for the salvation of the soul should be done.¹⁹ [p. 80]

[B] 20. It is necessary for the sake of assurance to append such stipulations even a second and a third time²⁰ for refutation and condemnation of those who rule tyrannously, [namely, the stipulation] as was written above, that [the superior] have no authority at all in the church and over the hospice. But if those who seek a pretext [to seize] the surrounding consecrated lands should offer in support of their claim that in earlier times those places were under the authority of the incumbent, let sin not find in this way an occasion for an attack in the person of those who control the church and the hospice. Rather, it is necessary to cede these [lands].

Nevertheless, just as God is pleased, so also let all things now be just as [when] the church and the hospice took their start in such matters from our blameless Mistress for her virtue and glory and that of her Son, and let them abide in this way, and not in sin and blasphemy.

Let the Mother of God herself, if she wishes it, manage in this fashion and without any earthly revenues, just as was written above, according to the rule of our holy father Sabas—when conditions were not those of today, but those when he was still living. For he himself did not receive revenues or donations from the emperor or anywhere else, as his biography records.²¹ But if the hospice building is sought after in the manner of the lands, it is necessary to cede it, too, and establish another. Therefore, let there be nothing in common between the [hospice] building and anything else whatsoever for the sake of freedom from scandal. By the intercession of the supremely glorious Mother of God, and all the saints. Amen.

Notes on the Translation

1. The patriarchate of Antioch; see also [B1] below.
2. *sozei ho sozon ten heautou psychen*. This is a misquotation of Gen. 19:17: *sozon soze ten seautou psychen*: “Save thine own life by all means.”
3. Reference is obscure, but cf. Cyril of Skythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, chap. 32, ed. E. Schwartz (Berlin, 1938), p. 117, and (42) Sabas [8].
4. In [A1] above.
5. In [A3] above.
6. Not extant; see references to it in (20) *Black Mountain* [39R], [84], cf. [18], [38].
7. In [B4] above.
8. John Klimakos, *Scala paradisi*, PG 88, col. 1095.
9. Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio in diem natalem Christi*, PG 46, cols. 1127–50 at 1129B.
10. Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 19 ([LR 19]), PG 31, col. 969A.
11. Lacuna consists of part of a single word.
12. *Epitome Const. Apost.* 25, ed. F. X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, vol. 2 (Paderborn, 1905), p. 90.

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13. *Epitome Const. Apost.* 26, ed. Funk, *Didascalia*, vol. 2, p. 90.
14. Ioannes Kolobos, *Apophthegmata Patrum*, Ap. 9, PG 65, cols. 205D–208A.
15. Unidentifiable reference.
16. In other words, the only animals allowed are male cats which would protect the monastery from the *miara*; for the use of *miaros* (“loathsome,” “unclean”) in reference to mice, see Kriaras, *Lexiko*, s.v.
17. In [B15] above.
18. In [A4] above.
19. *Hos kai paradechetai pros soterian psyches*.
20. Cf. [A1], [A4] above.
21. Cyril of Skythopolis, *Vita Sabae* chap. 73, ed. Schwartz, p. 177, indicates the opposite.

Document Notes

- [A1] Description of new administrative arrangements. The circumlocution here and in the preface for the secular ruler suggests some awkwardness. Perhaps he was some local Armenian feudal lord. The declaration of the superfluity of the superiorship is repeated below in [A4] and [B20]; yet as [A4] indicates, he was evidently irremovable. The monastic officials mentioned here are probably the hospice host (*xenodochos*, for whom see [A3], [B2], [B4], [B5], [B8], [B9] and [B19] below) and the ecclesiarch (but not the steward; see [A3], [A4] below).
- [A2] Description of the existing kelliotic constitution. For earlier testimony to the kelliotic lifestyle, see (12) *Tzimiskes* [10], [18], [19], [20] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [37], [41], [43] ff. Kelliotic monks were generally looked upon with indifference or hostility by monastic reformers; see (28) *Pantokrator* [28], (32) *Mamas* [26], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26].
- [A3] Restriction of the steward’s authority; entitlements to financial support. Cross-referenced in [A4] below. For the support of attendants in a philanthropic foundation, see (16) *Mount Tmolos* [2], (28) *Pantokrator* [38], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [70], and (39) *Lips* [51].
- [A4] Restriction of the superior’s authority. Cross-references [A1] above; see also [B20] below. The restriction is unique in the monastic foundation documents. Nikon cites the lost regulation (*typos*) of the monastery of Symeon the Wonderworker here and in [B19] below for the independent administration of a hospice by a hospice host (*xenodochos*).
- [A5] Responsibilities of the lay protector. See (14) *Ath. Testament* [6], [7], (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [12], [14], and (18) *Nea Gephyra* [2], [3] for analogous provisions.
- [A6] Acceptability of alternative arrangements. For Nikon’s characteristic willingness to stand correction, see (20) *Black Mountain* [88], [92].
- [B1] Source of Nikon’s authority. Nikon refers to his patriarchal commission; cf. [A1] above and [B18] below.
- [B2] Limitations on hospitality to guests. See (42) *Sabas* [8], perhaps an influence on Nikon here; cf. (34) *Machairas* [117].
- [B3] Lesser hospitality to Franks. Catholic Franks are treated with some prejudice here and in [B4] below; so also in (42) *Sabas* [2].
- [B4] Host of the hospice to eat with his guests. See exceptions noted in [B8] below.
- [B5] Monks to entertain guests in their own cells. This, of course, is the converse of the usual cenobitic legislation forbidding “secret eating” in cells, for which see (20) *Black Mountain* [24], [69], [70], and [72] along with (22) *Evergetis* [9], [22] and related documents. (60) *Charsianeites* [C4] is also opposed to entertainment of visitors in cells.
- [B6] Separate financing of the hospice and individual cells. Depending on the circumstances of their foundation, dependencies might have their own endowments, as in (28) *Pantokrator* [27], (31) *Areia* [M10]; but they could also be supported by the principal foundation, as in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [37], (24) *Christodoulos* [A24], (48) *Prodromos* [11].

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- [B7] Special hospitality for dignitaries. This is an implicit rejection of (3) *Theodore Studites* [23]. See also (26) *Luke of Messina* [3], [8]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [17]; (34) *Machairas* [117]; and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [20].
- [B8] Permission for the hospice host to practice fasting and abstinence. This is in spite of his general obligation to eat with his guests as described in [B4] above; see also the treatment of this issue in (44) *Karyes* [12].
- [B9] Regulation of the feast of the Dormition. See also [B10] below, (22) *Evergetis* [11], which instructs its monks to celebrate this feast in a “splendid and sumptuous manner,” and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [10].
- [B10] Specific provisions for the festal diet. Cf. the dietary prescriptions for feasts in (28) *Pantokrator* [12].
- [B11] Foundation to inherit property of deceased monks. Nikon indicates that this and the following chapters are later additions to [B]. (59) *Manuel II* [2] makes the same provision. (14) *Ath. Typikon* [44] and (42) *Sabas* [4] both reject any notion of their monks having proprietary rights over cells, but (12) *Tzimiskes* [18] provides for compensation to monks for their improvements upon changing superiors.
- [B12] Obligation to perform commemorative liturgies for the departed. Cf. provisions for these observances in (22) *Evergetis* [36], (23) *Pakourianos* [30], (27) *Kecharitomene* [70], (30) *Phoberos* [50], (32) *Mamas* [39], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [39], and (34) *Machairas* [157].
- [B13] Canonical support for charitable donations to the poor. For charitable donations in conjunction with commemorative services for the dead, see (22) *Evergetis* [36], (23) *Pakourianos* [21], [30], (27) *Kecharitomene* [70], (28) *Pantokrator* [8], (32) *Mamas* [39], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [39].
- [B14] Patristic testimony for charitable donations to the poor. Here Nikon insists on an authoritative precedent for each contemporary observance; cf. (20) *Black Mountain*, Analysis.
- [B15] Benefits of making charitable donations to the hospice. Nikon is making a convoluted argument here for the advantages of donations to the hospice rather than directly to the poor; see also [B17] below.
- [B16] Ban on animals, male or female. Cf. Nikon’s ban on female animals in (20) *Black Mountain* [86]; see also (3) *Theodore Studites* [5], (12) *Tzimiskes* [22], [23], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31], [53], (15) *Constantine IX* [3], (45) *Neophytos* [19], (59) *Manuel II* [14], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C2].
- [B17] Exhortation to renunciation of property in favor of the hospice. Nikon returns here to the theme of [B15] above; for the sentiment against additional acquisitions of property, see also (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34], [45], [53].
- [B18] Nikon’s service as spiritual teacher. See also [A1], [B1], and [B14] for the nature of his responsibilities towards the foundation.
- [B19] Recapitulation of administrative arrangements. The administrative provisions of the *typikon*, [A1], [A3], [A4], are incorporated into the *Treatise* here.
- [B20] Contingent provisions. Like the author of (1) *Apa Abraham* [5], Nikon anticipates lawsuits from the lay relatives of the residents of this foundation; see also the treatment of this problem in (19) *Attaleiates* [34], [43] and (23) *Pakourianos* [18].

CHAPTER FOUR

Early Reform Monasteries of the Eleventh Century

“We instruct all in the name of our Lord God the Ruler of All that this holy monastery is to be independent, free of everyone’s control, and self-governing, and not subject to any rights, be they imperial or ecclesiastic or of a private person . . .” (22) *Evergetis* [12]

“I dare to say that [the monastery] was not completed with any other money belonging to someone else or as a result of any wrongdoing or even with forced labor, additional requisitions, and the service of my dependent peasants . . . but from my own rights and personal labors and zealous efforts.” (23) *Pakourianos* [1]

“No man in the world shall have power either to abolish and overthrow the aforesaid godly cenobitic rule of life in our monastery, or to attempt, for any cause or reason whatsoever, to enslave this monastery or any of its dependencies and set a debased stamp on its liberty.” (24) *Christodoulos* [A16]

There are three lengthy documents in this fourth group of Byzantine monastic foundation documents, all of which date from the turbulent last half of the eleventh century. These documents illustrate the early stages of the Byzantine monastic reform movement.

A. Typology of the Documents

Two of the documents in this chapter, (22) *Evergetis* and (23) *Pakourianos*, initiate the series of lengthy, complex founders’ *typika* that will continue throughout the rest of Byzantine history. They are by far the longest documents considered hitherto in our corpus, displaying a sophisticated treatment of the problems of Byzantine monasticism with considerable stylistic polish. Of the two, (23) *Pakourianos*, authored by the Komnenian military commander of the same name, is the better organized document, perhaps a benefit of close modeling on a now lost *typikon* of the Constantinopolitan monastery of *Panagios*. Also, unlike (22) *Evergetis*, it was probably composed nearly all at the same time, while the latter document was likely subject to continual re-editing throughout the last half of the eleventh century.

While (22) *Evergetis* was the more lastingly influential document, (23) *Pakourianos* ironically is a more modern one in terms of its organization. The latter’s use of a table of contents (a first among our documents), its division into chapters with summary headings, and its overall content and pattern of organization anticipate some of the features of twelfth-century *typika* like (30) *Phoberos*, (32) *Mamas*, (27) *Kecharitomene*, (28) *Pantokrator* and (29) *Kosmosoteira* even though all of these documents are textually related to (22) *Evergetis*. (23) *Pakourianos* is also

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exclusively a founder's *typikon*, while (22) *Evergetis* still shows a certain resemblance to hybrid *typika* like (4) *Stoudios* or (11) *Ath. Rule* with their inclusion of prescriptions for the performance of the canonical hours.

The third document in this chapter, (24) *Christodoulos*, is actually a collection of three shorter texts composed within two years of one another in 1091–93. The first of these, Christodoulos' *Rule* [A], is a highly autobiographical document like (13) *Ath. Typikon* with a relatively brief series of regulations recalling (10) *Eleousa*. Like his predecessor Athanasios the Athonite, Christodoulos had second thoughts about how to arrange for the governance of his foundation, which gave rise to his *Testament* [B] and his *Codicil* [C]. These last-named texts can be interpreted within the genre of the monastic testament as primarily transmissive documents, like (8) *John Xenos*, (14) *Ath. Testament*.

Despite these disparities, the three *typika* considered in this chapter have some important commonalities. All of their authors eagerly provide foundation histories and considerable autobiographical detail. Regardless of whether they relied on a model *typikon* or not, all of these authors speak in their own *typika* with distinctly personalized voices, full of commitment, emotion, and quirky idiosyncrasies. Much more so than their predecessors, then, these texts are literary documents, setting the stage for similar *typika* to come in succeeding centuries. Finally, the authors of these three *typika* all shared a commitment of varying degree to the principles of the monastic reform movement that was then sweeping the empire.

B. Principles of the Early Monastic Reform Movement

No Byzantine source speaks explicitly of an organized monastic reform movement. Instead, we have a number of key documents authored by contemporary reformers like John V the Oxite, Patriarch of Antioch, Leo, Metropolitan of Chalcedon, Nicholas Grammatikos, Patriarch of Constantinople, and others which address specific reformist objectives. Both these objectives and the careers of their promoters interlock in important ways towards the end of the eleventh century. Since many (if not most) of the reformers came from monastic backgrounds, it should not be surprising to find that the majority of the monastic *typika* from this era also reflect their concerns.

1. Institutional Independence and Self-Governance

First among these principles in importance was the assertion of the institutional independence and self-governing status of the monasteries represented by these three *typika*. The precise terminology can be traced back to (13) *Ath. Typikon* [12] in the mid-tenth century (see above, Chapter Two), and quite possibly preserved, however precariously, during the era of the *charistike*, by the monastery of *Panagios*, the superior of which at the beginning of the eleventh century seems to have been a disciple of Athanasios the Athonite.¹ In any event, (23) *Pakourianos* [3], modeled on the lost *typikon* of *Panagios*, asserts institutional independence in 1083, as (24) *Christodoulos* [A16] does a few years later in 1091. The authors of these two documents were anticipated if not actually influenced by (22) *Evergetis* [12], which claims independence and asserts that this status dated back to the monastery's foundation in 1048/49.

¹ For the likely link between Lavra and *Panagios*, see above, (11) *Ath. Rule* Institutional History, B.1.

2. Opposition to the *Charistike*

All of our authors were hostile to the basic premise of the *charistike* and other concessionary programs, namely that the management of ecclesiastical foundations for private profit was not incompatible with and perhaps even beneficial for the religious missions of these institutions. This hostility was characteristic of reformers and like-minded authors of this era. Yet since the *charistike* was both employed and defended by the emperors and the patriarchs until the very end of the century, our authors, unlike their twelfth-century successors or contemporary firebrand reformist agitators like John of Antioch, felt constrained to be discreet. Our authors were more concerned with keeping their own institutions out of future participation in concessionary programs rather than in leading the fight against them throughout the empire. Therefore, the author of (22) *Evergetis*, the core of which at least is earlier than the other two documents in this chapter, warns [12] against any attempt to subordinate the monastery to anyone while diplomatically omitting to mention the *charistike* specifically. The author of (23) *Pakourianos* [3] is similarly circumspect, though his intent is no less clear. The authors of two contemporary documents discussed earlier, (19) *Attaleiates* [8] and (10) *Eleousa* [18], however, are more specific in their condemnation of the *charistike*. On first examination, the author of (24) *Christodoulos* appears to be exceptional in actually appointing a *charistikarios* over his foundation in the *Testament* [B5], but the restrictions he imposes on this official's authority make it clear that a more benign form of internal protectorate (*ephoreia*) was his actual intent.

3. The Exercise of Self-Governance

At this early stage of the monastic reform, it was easier for founders to condemn external attempts to seize control of their foundations than to decide how to provide for the effective exercise of self-governance. Over a century before, Athanasios the Athonite stated his belief in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [20] that a superior chosen internally from among a monastery's own monks was an important safeguard against subordination of his foundation to an outside authority. Later, monastic reformers came to realize that upholding the authority of the superior was essential for reviving monasteries ruined by unscrupulous *charistikarioi*. Yet founders, with some justification, feared that this might lead in time to re-privatization under the auspices of an ambitious superior inclined to put the interests of his own family ahead of his responsibilities to the monastery.

Our authors appreciated the need to provide a means to make their declarations of institutional independence effective. They differed among themselves, however, over the extent to which they were willing to trust the superiors of their foundations. (22) *Evergetis* [14] in effect makes the superior, in consultation with the preeminent monks, the effective ruler of the foundation without precisely saying so. The author of (23) *Pakourianos*, fearing that unscrupulous superiors might attempt to privatize the foundation, orders [5] that the monastery's highest officials should "have no power to regulate anything on their own." Instead the *typikon* itself was to be authoritative and unchangeable. The author of (24) *Christodoulos* originally intended to use [A20] the "more prominent brothers," as a check on the superior's authority, but when later it appeared that his foundation was on the brink of failure, he decided to subordinate [C2] the superior as well as all the other officials of his monastery to the authority of his *charistikarios*.

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4. Reassertion of Control over Admissions

Sobered by a century of imposed candidates, both lay and religious, installed in monasteries by emperors and patriarchs as well as *charistikarioi*, monastic reformers of the eleventh century sought to reassert control over admissions to monasteries under their direction. One practical way to do this, endorsed by (22) *Evergetis* [37] and (24) *Christodoulos* [A26], was to insist on a probationary novitiate and careful examination of applicants who had been tonsured in another monastery.² Another approach, proposed by (22) *Evergetis* [23], was to decline to set a fixed number of positions for monks in the monastery for fear of having to take in candidates who were not sufficiently pious.

5. The Campaign against Administrative Corruption

The ruinous financial depredations of the *charistikarioi* formed an important part of the reformers' case against the *charistike*. Later on in the eleventh century, a series of bitterly controversial government expropriations of ecclesiastical property (see below, E. Historical Context, 2, 6, 11) added to the urgency of developing procedures to protect religious institutions from theft, both internal and external. All three of our authors shared this concern. In (22) *Evergetis*, corrupt or careless administration of financial affairs was prominent among the grounds for removal of the superior [18] as well as the steward [14] and other financial officials [22]. (23) *Pakourianos* [26] also sets strict standards of accountability for officials. (24) *Christodoulos* [A20] cites misappropriation and theft as justifications for the superior's deposition. (22) *Evergetis* [29] requires officials to reverence icons upon bestowal of their keys of office in an attempt to invoke heavenly sanctions against thievery. Assuming their landed endowments to be sacrosanct, both (22) *Evergetis* [19] and (23) *Pakourianos* [33] condemn improper alienations of movable properties as well, the former more vehemently than the latter, however. (24) *Christodoulos* [A21] provides for a system of receipts and audits of accounts to keep officials honest. Such precautions would become more widespread in the twelfth century.

6. Advocacy of Cenobitic Monasticism

Even though historically Byzantium had been home to several coexisting forms of monasticism, the reformers' critique of the *charistike* shows a strong bias towards cenobitic monasticism.³ Perhaps this was because where *charistikarioi* did not destroy monastic life entirely in those institutions under their control, they may have encouraged kelliotic or idiorhythmic arrangements in which they and the remaining monks divided up the assets of foundations into individual shares (cf. (21) *Roidion* [A2]). Be that as it may, our authors in this chapter share the reformers' cenobitic bias, especially the author of (22) *Evergetis*, who goes beyond communal living and eating arrangements to ban [22] servants and personal possessions and even correspondence with family members. On all these matters the legislation of (23) *Pakourianos* [4], [5], [8], [9] was more moderate, though (24) *Christodoulos* [A28] is closer to *Evergetis* in its requirements.

² See also, however, the preferential admissions policy for fellow Georgians adopted by the author of (23) *Pakourianos* [25], in which a novitiate is not mentioned.

³ For the pluralistic character of earlier Byzantine monasticism, see Alexander Kazhdan, "Hermitic, Cenobitic, and Secular Ideals in Byzantine Hagiography of the Ninth through the Twelfth Centuries," *GOTR* 30 (1985), 473–87.

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At this early stage in the reform movement, however, there was still some tolerance for alternative forms of monasticism. (24) *Christodoulos* [A23] permits solitaries subordinated to the cenobitic community, while (22) *Evergetis* was willing to allow [13] the superior (optionally) to live as a solitary. The hostility towards alternative forms of monasticism would intensify, however, in the twelfth century.⁴

7. Restriction of Patronal Privileges

Another important part of the reformers' critique of the *charistike* was the flagrant abuse of patronal privileges by the *charistikarioi*. By the late eleventh century, the unrestrained patronal privilege claimed by Athanasios the Athonite in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [16], viz, "I have absolute dominion, so that not even one person can gainsay my command," seemed incompatible with a foundation claiming to be independent and self-governing. Accordingly, our authors generally make restrained claims to patronal privileges. In (22) *Evergetis* the only trace of these is to be found in the provisions for posthumous commemorative services for the founders. The author of (23) *Pakourianos* claims a lifetime right [5] to appoint superiors and preferential admissions [25] for certain of his relatives in addition to the usual memorial services and charitable donations [21]. In (24) *Christodoulos*, however, the *charistikarios* is forbidden [B5] to introduce his relatives into that foundation, and the founder's nephews are excluded [B8] from any inheritance of patronal privilege. This author's scruples did not prevent him from requiring [B15] the foundation to accept his spiritual son and the latter's children as beneficiaries, foreshadowing similar exemptions from the usual reform principles by high-born benefactors in the twelfth century.

C. Varieties of Reform

1. The Radical Reform Outlook of (22) *Evergetis*

Despite their common indebtedness to the reform movement, our three authors clearly varied in the intensity of their commitment to it. Among them, Timothy Evergetinos, the primary author of (22) *Evergetis*, was certainly the most radical. In (22) *Evergetis* [17] he displays a hostility to aristocratic privileges and a hard-line approach to equality in food, drink and dress [26], even for officials, that are absent from or even contradicted by (23) *Pakourianos* and (24) *Christodoulos*. Our authors also part ways on other, difficult reform issues. The consensus breaker is often (22) *Evergetis*, whose author's fervent reformism leads him to provide [14] that a bad steward should be allowed to become superior if an amicable agreement cannot be reached on an alternative candidate. In this document's discussion of entrance gifts [37], a little of the same fanatic spirit shows through as the author asserts his willingness to give up entrance gifts from applicants in order to preserve monastic equality and thereby prevent claims for special privileges that might otherwise be made by generous donors. Yet the distinction between compulsory gifts (banned) and unconditional, voluntary donations (permitted) made here was to provide a decisive and lasting precedent for later reform institutions.

2. The "Middle and Royal Road" of (23) *Pakourianos*

In his introduction, the author of (23) *Pakourianos* explicitly states that his model rule of the

⁴ For this phenomenon, see (28) *Pantokrator* [27] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26].

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Panagios monastery appealed to him as a “middle and most royal road,” an evident euphemism for a lenient disciplinary regime confirmed by his own institution’s prescriptions [10] for the monks’ far-from-rigorous diet. Perhaps *Panagios*, probably an older document than even the earliest recension of (22) *Evergetis*, also took a more tentative, moderate approach to key reform issues, although the presence of a certain substratum of reform sentiments in (23) *Pakourianos* cannot be denied.

3. Reform under a Protector’s Direction in (24) *Christodoulos*

Of our three authors, that of (24) *Christodoulos* seems at first to have the least commitment to the principles of the reform movement, but primarily because of his decision in his *Testament* [B5] to impose a *charistikarios* on his foundation. Even if the restrictions attached to this office make this decision appear to be a less monstrous repudiation of reform principles than the odious title might otherwise imply, it must be admitted that Christodoulos’ emphatic subordination of the superior to the authority of this official further diminishes his reform credentials. Still, considered by itself as it was meant to be in 1091, Christodoulos’ *Rule* [A] is an undoubtedly reform-oriented document. It sides with (22) *Evergetis*, for instance, in ordering [A22] that monks should have no personal possessions except for necessary clothing. The subsequent deterioration in his foundation’s fortunes surely played an important part in motivating Christodoulos to devise a strong leadership for it in the *Testament*, though some reform principles had to be sacrificed. Even in that event, the independent status of the foundation is reaffirmed [B13] in the *Testament*. Ironically, it was the Christodoulouan model, a constitutionally independent foundation with a powerful protector (minus the ideologically negative title of *charistikarios*), which would provide the most popular model for institutional leadership in the twelfth century (see below, Chapters Five and Six).

4. Reform by Precedent in (20) *Black Mountain*

Though Nikon of the Black Mountain was discussed earlier (see Chapter Three), his *typikon* (20) *Black Mountain* deserves mention here as yet a fourth approach to the monastic reform of the late eleventh century. His work illustrates to an exceptional degree a willingness to allow authoritative precedents, be they from scripture, patristic literature, canon law, or even earlier *typika*, to shape his monastic legislation. Though none of our authors were willing to adopt such an extreme approach, all three show this characteristically reform-minded respect for precedents to some degree. (22) *Evergetis*, reflecting perhaps the interests of the founder Paul Evergetinos, author of an immense patristic *florilegium*, relies chiefly on patristic citations—including the Basilian *Ascetic Treatises*—for its guiding precedents. The author of (23) *Pakourianos*, as noted above, forthrightly admits the earlier *typikon* of the *Panagios* monastery as his model, while the author of (24) Christodoulos cites [A18] hagiographic literature of the patristic era, the imperial legislation of Justinian, [A26] the Basilian *Ascetic Treatises*, and canon law.

The reliance on precedent did not exclude another feature of these documents, namely the exaltation of the institution’s own *typikon* as the authoritative guide for the lives of these foundations. The much-copied provision in (22) *Evergetis* [43] for a monthly reading of the *typikon* and the repeated insistence of (23) *Pakourianos* [5], [18], [30] that even the superior cannot change the terms of the *typikon* serve to illustrate the point. The discussion of how to handle a situation in

which a founder's *typikon* actually contradicted canon law was left for another generation of reformers.

D. Other Concerns of the Authors

1. Preference for Liturgical Duties over Manual Labor

Following a long-standing trend that can be dated back as early as ninth-century Studite monasticism, these authors placed an emphasis on the performance of liturgical duties over manual labor. This can be seen in (22) *Evergetis* even though more monks were assigned [33] to various crafts and administrative functions than were consecrated for service in the church. In (23) *Pakourianos* [6], slightly more than half of the monks were assigned to liturgical functions, not including various officials who must have been responsible for directing them. Only the author of (24) *Christodoulos* attempted [A10] at first to operate his foundation without relying on the labor of married laymen and their families, a position which he was later compelled [A13] to abandon. Even so, he declares [A15] that “uninterrupted hymn singing” was a monk’s *raison d’être*, and though he allows [A22] monks to practice crafts, he was unwilling to permit a commercial trade in their handicrafts.

2. The Evergetian Formulation of Cenobitic Monasticism

As the most radical of our three documents, (22) *Evergetis* strikes its own, ultimately very influential path on many issues, emphasizing a sacramental life with daily liturgy and confession [7] and relatively frequent reception of communion [5]. It alone obliges [14] its superior to rule consultatively rather than in the traditional authoritarian style (cf. (23) *Pakourianos* [15]). It is also the only one of the three documents considered here to permit bathing [28] under certain circumstances, though other institutions would follow (22) *Evergetis*’ example in this regard in the twelfth century. (22) *Evergetis*’ unwillingness to allow [24] monks to have personal servants was much less popular in the next century, particularly among aristocratic founders who took the more indulgent view espoused here by (23) *Pakourianos* [4], which permits them to exalted personages.

3. Safeguarding Moral Purity

All three authors shared a concern to safeguard the moral purity of their monks by keeping them from sexual temptation, but they disagreed in identifying the most obvious threat. The author of (22) *Evergetis* feared women most of all, excluding them from participation in daily charitable distributions [38] and from visiting the foundation on other occasions [39] except for those who simply could not be excluded because of their eminence and nobility. (23) *Pakourianos* [23] does not allow women access to the foundation either, except on the feast of the Dormition. This author worried most about eunuchs and young boys, however, whom he bans [17] from his monastery even though he also sets up [31] a separate school for some of the latter where they could be trained to become priests. Both authors drew from the Studite and subsequent Athonite traditions for these prohibitions, but drew different conclusions as to which sex posed the greater problem. Taking a more extreme position, Christodoulos, as we have seen, tried to ban all married men, their wives, and their children from the island of Patmos where his foundation was located.

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4. Practice of Institutional Philanthropy

All of these authors shared at least an ideological commitment to institutional philanthropy. Both (22) *Evergetis* [38] and (23) *Pakourianos* [10], [21] provide for charitable distributions at the gates of their respective foundations, though since memorial donations were important fund-raising devices, it is important to remember that these were driven chiefly by financial considerations. More strictly altruistic were the infirmary for the sick in (22) *Evergetis* [41] and three similar facilities mentioned in (23) *Pakourianos* [29]. The author of (24) *Christodoulos* [A25] regretfully notes the insufficiency of resources which restrained him from prescribing specific charitable donations or obligations of hospitality.

5. Concern for the Welfare of the Dependent Peasantry

Of the works of the three authors, only (23) *Pakourianos* [1] displays the concern for the well-being of the dependent peasantry that was common to several other founders of this era, e.g., (9) *Galesios* [246] and (19) *Attaleiates* [39]. This concern pre-dated the monastic reform and was championed even by some traditional private benefactors like Lazarus of Galesios and Michael Attaleiates. Its notable absence in (22) *Evergetis* indicates, however, that it had not become a common principle of the reform movement itself.

E. Historical Context

The era during which these three documents were composed was relatively short, yet it was also one of the more tumultuous in the history of the Byzantine church, analogous to the last quarter of the tenth century (for which see above, Chapter Two).⁵

1. Imperial Support for *Evergetis*

(22) *Evergetis* [12] asserts that the famous reform monastery's independent and self-governing status dated from the time of its foundation by Paul Evergetinos in 1048/49, and that it had been confirmed by several emperors. This would indicate that Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55) and one or more of his successors had been supportive of *Evergetis* in the first perilous decades of its existence. Paul Evergetinos predeceased the emperor in 1054 and was succeeded as superior by Timothy, to whom (22) *Evergetis* is formally attributed.

2. Isaac I Komnenos' Confiscation of Ecclesiastical Incomes

Michael Keroullarios (1043–58),⁶ probably the most powerful patriarch of Constantinople in Byzantine times, played an important role in recognizing the insurgency that led to the accession of Emperor Isaac I Komnenos (1057–59) and was rewarded with a promise of non-interference in ecclesiastical affairs. This did not stop that emperor from carrying out an extensive confiscation of

⁵ For ecclesiastical politics under the Komnenoi, see Konstantinos Polyzoides, *Ho Vasileus kai hoi laikoi eis to en genei dioiketikon ergon tes ekklesias epi Alexiou Komnenou (1081–1118)* (Thessaloniki, 1979), and V. Tiftixoglu, "Gruppenbildungen innerhalb des konstantinopolitanischen Klerus während der Komnenenzeit," *BZ* 62 (1969), 25–72. The pre-Komnenian period discussed briefly here still lacks a thorough treatment.

⁶ For this patriarch, see A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios*, 2 vols. (Paderborn, 1925, 1930).

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ecclesiastical incomes despite substantial opposition.⁷ This experience may well have had an impact on early monastic reformers like Timothy Evergetinos, who also was then leading *Evergetis* as its superior. Soon thereafter, the emperor turned against Michael Keroullarios and was preparing his condemnation by a synod when the patriarch died suddenly in 1059. Isaac Komnenos was unable to ride out the ensuing popular resentment, and on the advice of the influential courtier Michael Psellos (a notable *charistikarios*), sought retirement as a monk in the Studios monastery in Constantinople.

3. *Evergetis*' Preservation from the *Charistike*

Timothy Evergetinos probably completed his work on (22) *Evergetis* during the reign of Emperor Constantine X Doukas (1059–67). Since he claims [3] that he greatly increased the size of the foundation during his tenure as superior, keeping *Evergetis* out of the *charistike* must be counted as one of his great achievements, seeing that influential courtiers like Michael Psellos and apparently even Michael Attaleiates, author of (19) *Attaleiates*, were at this time avidly seeking out grants under that program.⁸

4. Patrons' Pursuit of Immunities from Taxation

The calamitous defeat of the next emperor, Romanos IV Diogenes (1068–71), by the Seljuk Turks at Mantzikert in 1071 had a devastating impact on the fortunes of the Byzantine Empire. During the course of the next decade, the Turks overran most of the empire's Anatolian dominions. This was also a decade of dynastic instability that prevented the re-establishment of firm imperial rule. Michael Psellos' pupil Michael VII Doukas (1071–78) and Michael Attaleiates' patron Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–81) were the ineffective rulers during this troubled decade. Pressed for revenues from a severely geographically diminished tax base, the imperial government increasingly resorted to a huge number of arbitrary exactions in cash, specie, commodities, and labor services. These posed potential threats to all landowners, and made it especially difficult for patrons to calculate adequate support for religious foundations. Therefore, Attaleiates made sure to obtain imperial chrysobulls from these emperors, establishing or confirming tax immunities for his foundation, that are preserved in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 10], [INV 11].

5. Dissemination of Reform Ideology

Despite (or perhaps because of?) the political instability of the 1070s, certain reform ideas began to stir Byzantium's patronal classes and even the imperial bureaucracy. As we have seen (19) *Attaleiates* [14], dated to 1077, provides provisionally for the Rhaidestos foundation to become independent and self-governing (like *Evergetis*) in the event of the decease of the founder's family line. Also, the chrysobull of Nikephoros III, dated to 1079, condemns the theft of property used to

⁷ For these, see Michael Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1853), pp. 60–62; Michael Psellos, *Chronographia* 7.60, ed. Émile Renauld (Paris, 1926–28); and John Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum* 18.5, ed. L. Dindorf (Leipzig, 1868–75), along with the critical discussion of these sources by H. Ahrweiler, "Charisticariat et autres formes d'attribution de fondations pieuses aux X^e–XI^e siècles," *ZRVI* 10 (1967), pp. 20–21.

⁸ For Psellos' role as a *charistikarios*, see P. Lemerle, "Un aspect du rôle des monastères à Byzance: les monastères donnés à des laïcs, les charistikaies," *CRAI* (1967), 22; for Attaleiates, see (19) *Attaleiates* [19].

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endow a religious foundation as “sacrilege” [INV 11], implicitly rejecting the legitimacy of Isaac Komnenos’ confiscations twenty years earlier. The same key word appears in (22) *Evergetis* [19] in a discussion of the inalienability of immovable properties.

6. Alexios I Komnenos’ Ecclesiastical Requisitions

The ascent of Isaac’s nephew Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) as emperor re-established his family’s claim to the imperial throne on a more permanent basis. Pressed to raise money to pay for the hiring of mercenaries to turn back an attack on the Empire’s western frontier by the Norman prince Robert Guiscard, Alexios’ mother Anna Dalassena and his brother the *sebastokrator* Isaac asked Patriarch Eustratios Garidas (1081–84) to convene a synod to authorize the confiscation of consecrated vessels and works of art in certain patriarchal (i.e., public) churches in Constantinople.⁹ Typically for the period, both supporters and opponents of the proposal used citations from canon law to justify their positions on the requisitions.

7. Birth of the Chalcedonian Reform Party

The opposition of Leo, metropolitan of Chalcedon, to these requisitions touched off a bitter and ultimately decisive controversy on the consecrated status of ecclesiastical property.¹⁰ Leo’s “Chalcedonian” party of reformers included influential supporters from among the ranks of both the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the military leadership. During 1082–84, Leo and his supporters skillfully kept the emperor on the defensive, obliging him to issue a chrysobull (1082) forswearing future requisitions of this sort and to announce plans to make repayments to the foundations concerned on the basis of losses documented from examination of their inventories.

8. The Beginning of Patriarchal Reform Activity

Even the Patriarch Eustratios, whose deposition the Chalcedonians demanded, tried to show his reform sympathies in a different way by seeking in 1084 the repeal of certain grants of patriarchal monasteries under the *charistike*. Thus were linked two of the most emotionally charged elements of the reform program, the establishment of the inalienability of ecclesiastical property and the abolition of the *charistike*.

9. Context of (23) *Pakourianos*’ Composition

It was in the midst of the expropriation controversy that Gregory Pakourianos, one of Alexios Komnenos’ generals, composed (23) *Pakourianos* in 1083 for his monastery at Bačkovo on his Balkan estates. Although, as noted above, this document is modeled on the older, now lost *typikon* of the *Panagios* monastery, it was written for an independent and self-governing foundation

⁹ For the requisitions, see Anna Komnena, *Alexiad* 4–6, ed. Bernard Leib (Paris, 1967); A. Glavinias, *He epi Alexiou Komnenou (1081–1118) peri hieron skeuon kai keimelion kai hagian eikonon eris (1081–1095)* (Thessaloniki, 1972), provides a full discussion of the controversy.

¹⁰ For Leo of Chalcedon, see V. Grumel, “L’affaire de Léon de Chalcedoine. Le chrysobulle d’Alexis I^{er} sur les objets sacrés,” *EB* 2 (1944), 126–33, “L’affaire de Léon de Chalcedoine. Le décret ou ‘semeioma’ d’Alexis I^{er} Comnène (1086),” *EO* 39 (1941–42), 333–41, and “Documents athonites concernant l’affaire de Léon le Chalcedonien,” in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, vol. 3, ST (Vatican City, 1946), pp. 116–35; Pelopidas Stephanou, “Le procès de Léon de Chalcedoine,” *OCP* (1943), 5–64; and my own *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987), pp. 192–99.

[3] and reflects many moderate reform sentiments, e.g., the warning [33] against alienation of the foundation's movable properties.

10. Trial and Condemnation of Leo of Chalcedon

The abdication of Patriarch Eustratios in 1084 under pressure from the reformers led to the elevation of Nicholas III Grammatikos (1084–1111), in the course of whose long tenure of office the patriarchate was to join forces with the reform party. But at first Leo of Chalcedon refused to be reconciled unless the former patriarch Eustratios was formally condemned. The emperor had Leo put on trial before the patriarchal synod late in 1085.¹¹ On the day of the final session in January 1086, Leo made his fateful statement that he considered all alienations of ecclesiastical property, regardless of circumstances, to be cases of impiety, except for those transferred from one sacred employment to another (thereby permitting the continued use of *epidosis* but not the *charistike*). The emperor immediately objected to this “novel” doctrine as implicitly condemning all those who had approved of or benefited from alienations of ecclesiastical property in the past. Leo was condemned for insubordination and, in February or March 1086, deposed.

11. New Requisitions of Ecclesiastical Property

A new catastrophe, the Patzinak invasions of the empire's Balkan territories in 1086, took the life of the author of (23) *Pakourianos*. Alexios Komnenos resorted to a new requisition of ecclesiastical property including not only precious objects this time but also landed property. The deposed metropolitan Leo objected, but the emperor got the patriarchal synod to banish him to Sozopolis, where he remained in exile for the next eight years.

12. Reform Activities of Patriarch Nicholas Grammatikos

Meanwhile, Patriarch Nicholas Grammatikos began his own campaign to reform the *charistike*, starting with a requirement in 1086 that no more grants be accepted for registry without the attachment of a written inventory of the landed properties of the foundations being awarded to the *charistikarioi*.¹² This requirement was made retroactive in 1087, but enforcement proved difficult. In 1089, the patriarch's synod ruled in favor of Niketas, metropolitan of Athens, when that reform-minded prelate sought support for reversing grants made to *charistikarioi* who had abused the foundations turned over to their care.¹³

13. Imperial and Patriarchal Patronage of Christodoulos

Like Nicholas Grammatikos, Alexios Komnenos was anxious to show his sympathies for

¹¹ A record of the trial is preserved in the *Semeioma*, ed. I. Sakkélion, “Décret d'Alexis Comnène portant déposition de Léon, Métropolitain de Chalcédoine,” *BCH* 2 (1878), 102–28. See especially pp. 123–24.

¹² For the patriarchal reform program, see Jean Darrouzès, “Dossier sur le charisticariat,” in *Polychronion: Festschrift Franz Dölger* (Heidelberg, 1966), 150–65, and my own *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 199–207.

¹³ Venance Grumel, *Les registres des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1: *Les registres de 381 à 715* (Chalcedon, 1932); 2nd ed. (Paris, 1972), no. 952; ed. Th. Uspensky, “Mneniya i postanovleniya konstantinopolskikh pomestnikh soborov XI i XII vv. o razdache tserkovnikh imuschchestv (charistikarii),” *IRAİK* 5 (1900), 1–48, doc. 2, pp. 30–37.

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monastic reform even while rejecting the far-reaching demands of the Chalcedonian reform party. The monk Christodoulos, appointed as *protos* of the confederation of monasteries at Latros by Patriarch Kosmas I (1075–81) in 1076, abandoned his post three years later as the Seljuk Turks threatened the area. Nicholas Grammatikos finally accepted Christodoulos' resignation in 1087. A few years earlier in 1085, Alexios Komnenos had recognized the independent and self-governing status of Christodoulos' new monastic foundation on Kos. Later, when Christodoulos became disenchanted with this location, according to (24) *Christodoulos* [A9] the emperor tried to persuade him to attempt the reform of another monastery. When Christodoulos rejected this assignment, Alexios nevertheless granted him the island of Patmos in 1088 for the establishment of yet another monastic foundation. The emperor recognized the Patmos foundation's independent status too in his chrysobull of donation. The *Rule* [A] portion of (24) *Christodoulos* was drawn up to regulate the life of this foundation in May 1091.

14. John of Antioch's Alliance with the Reform Party

In the early months of 1091, however, the Patzinaks made common cause with Tzachas, the Seljuk emir of Smyrna, and for a third time Alexios Komnenos was forced to consider another requisition of ecclesiastical property. This time, John the Oxite, patriarch of Antioch, registered his objection in a tract and a memorandum to the emperor.¹⁴ John, who had been raised to the patriarchate circa 1089, also composed his famous tract *De monasteriis* about this time. This document, the most scathing indictment of the *charistike* to survive, is our principal source of (admittedly hostile) information on that embattled institution which so shaped Byzantine ecclesiastical history from the late tenth century through John's own times in the late eleventh century.¹⁵

15. Influence of *Evergetis* on the Reform Movement

The role, if any, of *Evergetis* in the bitter ecclesiastical reform controversies of the 1080s cannot be determined with certainty. John of Antioch's *De monasteriis* shows an indebtedness to the *Evergetis*' library of ascetic literature, however, which suggests that the institution played at least a useful supportive role. The possibility of a return influence of the ongoing reform upon *Evergetis* itself is also intriguing. The possibility exists that many of the most ideologically charged passages in (22) *Evergetis*, e.g., the terminology of "sacrilege" in the discussion [19] of the inalienability of the foundation's properties, were introduced into that document during a re-edition at this time. Also, both *De monasteriis* and (22) *Evergetis* [19], refer (the former actually, the latter hypothetically) to an earthquake, which might be the noteworthy one that occurred on December 6, perhaps in the year 1090.¹⁶ If so, this may confirm that (22) *Evergetis* was being revised at this

¹⁴ John of Antioch, *Logos eis ton basilea kyr Alexion ton Komnenon* and *Symboule pros ton basilea*, ed. Paul Gautier, "Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite contre Alexis I^{er} Comnène," *REB* 28 (1970), 5–55; cf. commentary by Grumel, "Documents athonites," pp. 132–34.

¹⁵ John of Antioch, *Oratio de monasteriis laicis non tradendis*, ed. Paul Gautier, "Réquisitoire du patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat," *REB* 33 (1975), 77–132. For this reformer, see V. Grumel, "Les patriarches grecs d'Antioche du nom de Jean (XI^e et XII^e siècles)," *EO* 32 (1933), 279–99, esp. 286–98, and Paul Gautier, "Jean V l'Oxite patriarche d'Antioche, notice biographique," *REB* 22 (1964), 128–57.

¹⁶ See John of Antioch, *De monasteriis*, 18, lines 588–90, with V. Grumel, *La chronologie* (Paris, 1958), p. 480 (for dating to 1090), and Gautier, "Réquisitoire," *REB* 33 (1975), pp. 80–86 (full discussion of dating).

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critical time and updated to reflect contemporary concerns like the alienation of ecclesiastical property.

16. Context of (24) *Christodoulos*' Composition

As noted above, the *Rule* [A] portion of (24) *Christodoulos* dates from the middle of this ideologically and politically troubled period. The pressure on Byzantium eased considerably when Alexios Komnenos, assisted by Cuman allies, crushed the Patzinaks at the battle of Levunion in April 1091. After Tzachas of Smyrna attacked Patmos, however, Christodoulos got discouraged and abandoned the island for Euboea around May 1092. The emperor's success in inciting a rivalry between Abul Kasim, the Seljuk emir of Nicaea, against Tzachas eventually relieved some pressure on Byzantium's remaining possessions in Asia Minor, though as the *Testament* [B] and *Codicil* [C] of (24) *Christodoulos* indicate, the security of Aegean islands like Patmos remained precarious as these texts were being composed in 1093.

22. *Evergetis: Typikon* of Timothy for the Monastery of the Mother of God *Evergetis*

Date: First edition, 1054–70;
periodically revised later; put in final form, 1098–1118¹

Translator: Robert Jordan

Edition employed: Paul Gautier, “Le typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis,” *REB* 40 (1982), 5–101,
with text at 15–95.

Manuscript: Codex Atheniensis, National Library 788 (12th c.)²

Other translations: French, by Gautier, *REB* 40 (1982), 14–94.

Institutional History

A. The First Founder, Paul Evergetinos, and His Works

According to the document translated below, the monastery of the Mother of God *Evergetis*, “Benefactress,” was founded [2] by a certain Paul, a wealthy Constantinopolitan, on an estate (*proasteion*) that he had acquired through a family inheritance. The foundation occurred in either 1048 or 1049, on this suburban property outside the walls of Constantinople. According to our document, the foundation was very modest [3] during Paul’s five-year tenure as superior, consisting of some small cells inhabited by a few disciples, including Paul’s eventual successor Timothy, who joined [2] *Evergetis* in 1049.

As it transpired, Paul Evergetinos’ legacy to Byzantine monasticism was primarily literary. He was the author of a massive ascetic florilegium, the *Evergetinon*, which enjoyed a wide circulation in the Byzantine world, surviving in no less than forty manuscripts today.³ The work is divided into four volumes, each of which is subdivided into fifty hypotheses. The first volume concerns itself with the general principles of monastic asceticism, the second with monastic usages and the requirements of cenobitic life, the third with personal morality, and the fourth with progress in the spiritual life. The author’s emphasis is on the practical aspects of monastic life. He relies on a fairly short list of sources, using the *Apophthegmata Patrum* most of all, for which the *Evergetinon* is one of the most important textual witnesses. There is hardly any use of Basil of Caesarea. According to Richard (“Florilèges,” col. 503), Paul does not hesitate to adapt some of his texts to suit his own purposes, but generally he cites them literally. The *Evergetinon* may have inspired two later ascetic florilegia by Nikon of the Black Mountain, author of (20) *Black Mountain* and (21) *Roidion*, and by John of Antioch, both of whom were important monastic reformers in their own right.⁴ As Solignac notes (“Paul Évergétinos,” col. 563), the work is so large that it is difficult to see how Paul could have completed it during the relatively short term of his superiorship at *Evergetis*, yet he also assembled a collection of monastic *catecheses*, utilizing works of Maximos the Confessor, Pseudo-Makarios, Evagrius Pontikos, Mark the Hermit, and the *Great Catecheses* of Theodore the Studite.⁵

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B. The Second Founder, Timothy Evergetinos, and His Works

Paul Evergetinos died in 1054, having transmitted [3] his foundation by a testament (now lost) to his disciple Timothy. Timothy was eventually recognized as *Evergetis'* second founder (*deuteros ktetor*), a well-deserved honor, for according to our document translated below he was responsible [3] for the erection of the foundation's church, the construction of new cells, the furnishing of the facility with sacred vessels, books, and icons, and the endowment of landed property. He was at least the first author of the present document, *Evergetis'* founder's *typikon*, as well as of the foundation's liturgical *typikon*, to which the former document served as a prologue.⁶ In this latter work, not translated here, Timothy utilized (4) *Stoudios*, the liturgical *typikon* of the cathedral church of Hagia Sophia, certain now lost *typika* of monasteries on Mount Olympos, and a tract of Patriarch Antony III the Studite (974–79) on the office of the Annunciation.⁷ Timothy mentions another *typikon* of the Constantinopolitan monastery of Manuel, but only to reject one of its prescriptions.⁸ Both the liturgical *typikon* and the founder's *typikon* translated below are preserved today in a single medieval manuscript, Codex Atheniensis 788. Timothy was also almost certainly responsible for securing some of the imperial chrysobulls mentioned below in [12] that recognized the foundation's independence. According to dated notices preserved in the manuscripts of three works from the scriptorium of *Evergetis*, Timothy was still governing as the foundation's superior in 1064, 1065 and 1067.⁹

C. Timothy's Successors as Superiors of Evergetis

According to the present document, Timothy lived [13] as a recluse in a hermitage associated with the principal monastery. He originally envisioned the choice of a second "unconfined" superior, presumably to handle the ordinary administrative affairs of the foundation, who would then go into confinement on the death of the enclosed superior. Even before he drew up his edition of the founder's *typikon* Timothy had decided to eliminate the requirement of confinement and be content with one superior. Timothy had evidently not determined whom his successor would be when he completed his work on the founder's *typikon*, and his actual successor's identity remains unknown. A very brief collection of poems dedicated to Symeon the (New) Theologian is attributed to a certain Basil, *protasekretis* and founder (*ktetor*) of the monastery of the *Evergetis*.¹⁰ Gautier ("Évergétis," p. 10) identified him as the *protasekretis* and judge of the hippodrome Basil Kekaumenos, who was active circa 1070. His relationship to the foundation for which the document translated below was written, if any, is problematic. It seems unlikely, as Gautier suggested, that he would have been appointed *charistikarios* over *Evergetis* without leaving a trace of this discordant event in the founder's *typikon* which was not put into final form until the end of the eleventh century at the earliest. Only the ordained monk Athanasios can be identified with certainty as one of Timothy's proximate successors, based on a note in an Evergetian manuscript dated to 1103.¹¹

D. Evergetis in the Era of the Monastic Reform

The history of the foundation in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries during the height of the monastic reform is unfortunately obscure, but its impact, traceable in the adoption of its founder's *typikon* in the foundation documents of other patrons, is indisputable.¹² In the twelfth century, the

authors of (29) *Kosmosoteira* and (30) *Phoberos* borrow from the Evergetian founder's *typikon* directly, the former with attribution and the latter without, in a recension with different chapter numbers but the same order as found in the model *typikon*. Probably through one or two intermediaries, (27) *Kecharitomene* likewise borrows a substantial amount of Evergetian institutions and usages as well. Towards mid-century, even documents like (28) *Pantokrator* and (31) *Areia* that are not themselves linked textually to the Evergetian founder's *typikon* nevertheless incorporate Evergetian customs. Later still, (32) *Mamas* and (33) *Heliou Bomon* display the unmistakable impact of another generation's recension of the Evergetian customary tradition.

The direct historical record is more meager. *Evergetis* was not among those monasteries specifically recorded as being represented by their superiors at the synod of Blachernai in 1094 that rehabilitated Leo of Chalcedon, that important turning point in the history of the reform movement. After this reconciliation of the Komnenian dynasty with the reformers, it was not at all inappropriate for Alexios Komnenos' brother-in-law John Doukas to enter *Evergetis* as the monk Antony, as is recorded in the Appendix to the founder's *typikon*, either at the very end of the eleventh or at the beginning of the twelfth century. In the final form that it has come down to us, the founder's *typikon* cannot be any earlier than this time. Pargoire ("Évergétis," p. 159) not implausibly suggested that the existing manuscript of this document and its companion liturgical *typikon*, which he believed dated from the mid-twelfth century, is the original copy of the revised edition.

In 1153, at perhaps the height of the monastic reform movement, an eremitic Evergetian monk was elected patriarch of Constantinople as Neophytos I (1153).¹³ His election was bitterly opposed, however, and his opponents succeeded in persuading him to give up his office even before his consecration by recalling his temporary abandonment of his appointment as an ecclesiastical lector many years before. Around 1180, a delegation of Evergetian monks appeared before Patriarch Theodosios Boradiotes (1178–83) to resolve how they could obey the command in (22) *Evergetis* [15] that they should make their confessions exclusively to their superior if, as happened at the time to be the case, their spiritual director was not ordained.¹⁴

Towards the end of the twelfth century, *Evergetis* began a long, fruitful association with St. Sava (Sabbas) the Serbian, author of (44) *Karyes*.¹⁵ This relationship began with Sava's second visit to Constantinople during the reign of Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203). According to his biographer Domitien, Sava visited the monastery at this time, where a pious woman predicted that he would be gaining two treasures to assist him in his work. Sometime after Sava's return to his own monastery of Hilandar on Mount Athos, the bequests materialized upon the death of his father, the Serbian king Stephen (c. 1166–1196), and he shared a part with *Evergetis*.

E. Evergetis under Latin Rule

Unlike the *Stoudios* monastery and many other less fortunate foundations, *Evergetis* evidently remained in existence during the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61).¹⁶ In 1206 the Cardinal-legate Benedict of Santa Susanna granted *Evergetis* along with its properties and dependencies to Stephen, abbot of the famous Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino, on the condition that the Greek monks resident there not be expelled.¹⁷ The document locates the monastery two miles beyond the walls of Constantinople. Later, Pope Honorius III (1212–27) confirmed and

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then reconfirmed this grant in two letters dated to 1217.¹⁸ Pargoire (“Évergétis,” p. 166) supposes that Monte Cassino may never have been able to establish its control over *Evergetis*, judging from two additional letters Honorius III was obliged to issue restating the Benedictine monastery’s rights in 1222, one addressed to the monks of Monte Cassino and the other to the superior and monks of *Evergetis*, reminding the latter to receive the former with honor and to submit to their orders.¹⁹ These instructions were repeated in another papal letter dispatched at the same time to “the vassals of the church of St. Mary of Virgotis.”²⁰

The monks of *Evergetis* remained in contact with Orthodox supporters from outside the Latin Empire of Constantinople. In 1207, they received a letter from Nicholas Mesarites, who had recently assisted at Nicaea in the installation of Michael IV Autoreianos (1206–12), the Orthodox claimant to the patriarchal see of Constantinople.²¹ *Evergetis*’ Serbian patron Sava of Hilandar also returned for a visit in 1235 on his way home from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.²² He also visited the monastery’s dependency in the city of Constantinople dedicated to St. Andrew. The first mention of this institution in our sources is due to Antony of Novgorod, who visited the city shortly before the Latin Conquest in 1204; he also makes a note of Sava’s residence there.²³ In 1210 Neilos of Tamasia drew up the final version of (34) *Machairas* for his monastery of the Mother of God on Cyprus; this document is textually linked not only to the more proximate (32) *Mamas* but also an independent recension of *Evergetis*’ founder’s *typikon*, which demonstrates the continued relevance of at least the administrative provisions of the Evergetian document. Not surprisingly, Sava the Serbian’s own early thirteenth-century Slavic *typikon* for the Hilandar monastery demonstrates a much stronger influence of the Evergetian founder’s *typikon*, however.²⁴ In fact, Pargoire (“Évergétis,” p. 262) considered the former to be little more than a Slavic translation of the latter.

F. The Fate of Evergetis

While *Evergetis* cannot unquestionably be shown to have existed past the thirteenth century, it is likely that it remained active down to the end of the fourteenth century, when in 1399 the monks of a monastery of the Mother of God *Evergetis* are mentioned in a case heard before the patriarchal synod of Matthew I (1397–1410) as the previous, neglectful owners of a half share in a church on the island of Lemnos that had nearly fallen into ruins sometime before.²⁵ A Palaiologan nobleman, George Synadenos Astras, is mentioned in the court record as the (honorary) founder (*ktetor*) of *Evergetis*. While Pargoire (“Évergétis,” p. 166) was right to caution against an automatic identification of this *Evergetis* with the venerable foundation under examination here, suggesting the alternative possibility that there was a monastery of that name on Lemnos itself, the context of the reference fits better with an absentee landlord institution as the *Evergetis* in suburban Constantinople would have been vis-à-vis the church on Lemnos.

As will be seen, the continued influence of Evergetian usages and institutions in the late thirteenth, the fourteenth, and even the early fifteenth century amounts to a virtual neo-Evergetian revival sponsored by patrons of the Palaiologan era eager to bolster cenobitic monasticism.²⁶ This revival is not conclusive evidence in and of itself of the institutional survival of *Evergetis* during Palaiologan times, for *Evergetis*’ influence could have spread simply on a textual and customary basis, but it is certainly easier to explain by the continued presence of the institution itself. Moreover, judging from Gautier’s proposed dating of the handwriting of the note at the very end of the

document, our manuscript copy of the founder's *typikon* was not turned over to another institution until the sixteenth century.²⁷ Therefore it seems entirely possible that *Evergetis*, like the revived *Stoudios* monastery, survived down to the fall of the empire in 1453.

No trace of the foundation remains on its presumed site near Tchirpedji-Dere or Hasnadar-Dere in an industrial district outside the old city walls in Istanbul.²⁸ Majeska (*Russian Travelers*, p. 316) suggests, however, that the existing Greek church of the Mother of God *Gorgoepikoos* may have been built in Ottoman times on the site of *Evergetis*' Constantinopolitan dependency.

Analysis

This monastery was the leader of an enormously influential reform movement in Byzantine monasticism,²⁹ which, building on both Basilian and Studite precedents, succeeded in revolutionizing contemporary attitudes on such important matters as the institutions of monastic governance, the abolition of privilege, strict financial management, and the desirability of the cenobitic life. The founder's *typikon* is the fundamental text needed for understanding the nature of this reform.

A. Lives of the Monks

1. Number of Monks

Unlike some earlier and contemporary documents,³⁰ the author of (22) *Evergetis* [23] declines to set a fixed number of positions for the monks in *Evergetis*, preferring to let the monastery's resources determine the number who could be supported. A smaller number was acceptable too if it was not possible to recruit a full complement of pious monks. This too may have been a reform idea. The old notion of setting a fixed number of positions had the good intent of helping to assure that a foundation's expenses did not exceed its available income (see above, Chapter Three, Concerns of the Authors), but in the era of the *charistike* must inevitably have led to situations like (21) *Roidion* in which unsuitable monks and even laymen were imposed on an institution simply because there were sufficient livings available to support them. To all appearances, however, the author anticipated that *Evergetis* would be a large foundation, judging from the need he saw [7] for the superior to appoint assistants to help him hear daily confessions and his expectation [36] that one day there would be too many deceased monks for them to be commemorated individually (see C.5 below).

The monastic community at *Evergetis* was divided [7] into monks who lived continuously in the monastery (engaged in liturgical and other services) and an apparently larger number, including "the more uneducated majority," who were assigned to various ministries both within and outside of the monastery. This division of the monastic community recalls the arrangements seen in (9) *Galesios* [182], which describes a foundation in which there were both choir monks and other mostly illiterate brothers.

2. Liturgical Duties

As in other documents that are part of the Studite liturgical tradition such as (4) *Stoudios* and (11) *Ath. Rule*, the celebration of the canonical hours [4], [5], [6] was an important part of the lives of the monks. Though the description of the hours is fuller than in the earlier documents, the author

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clearly relied upon the liturgical *typikon* to regulate such matters as the fixed liturgical calendar and the movable feasts.

3. Manual Labor

The non-liturgical group of monks included [33] both literate brothers who served as administrators of the monastery's dependencies or other properties and unlettered monks who held various offices as cellarers, bakers, cooks, and muleteers. The role of manual labor for at least some monks is quietly assumed, therefore, as in (4) *Stoudios* [26], [33], rather than defended at length as in the Basilian rules.

4. Length of the Novitiate

Except for distinguished, well known individuals, applicants were obliged to serve [37] a six-month novitiate. An applicant who had been tonsured in another monastery (i.e., a *xenokourites*) could also be admitted at the discretion of the superior. Although the reception, not to mention the promotion, of outsider monks was controversial (see (13) *Ath. Typikon* [21] ff.), the Evergetians must have realized that the dismal state of Byzantine monasticism in the eleventh century meant that there were many good reasons why a monk might want to leave his original foundation for a reform monastery like their own.

5. Sacramental Life

Evergetis placed an increased emphasis on sacramental life, including communion [5] and confession [7]. The liturgy was celebrated daily, but the frequency with which the monks could receive communion [5] would depend on their moral state: the pure could receive three times a week; the weak once a week or not at all. In all cases the superior would decide on the appropriate frequency. No monk was allowed to abstain indefinitely from communion. Great importance was also attached to "life-preserving" confession, justified by reference to patristic authorities and enforced by the threat of expulsion from the community. The superior was to hear the confessions [7] of the literate brothers himself daily after matins and of the others after compline, assisted by designated priests, deacons, and even other monks because of their great numbers. The superior alone was to provide the "Great Confession" offered to monks on the occasion of their tonsure.

6. Cenobitic Lifestyle

The requirements of the cenobitic lifestyle were given a strict interpretation at *Evergetis*. Monks could not have any personal possessions [22], not even a small coin or piece of fruit, without the permission of the superior. To enforce this regulation, the superior is instructed [27] to visit the monks' cells and confiscate unauthorized possessions. They were not allowed to engage [22] in correspondence with family or friends. Both the prohibition of personal possessions and the ban on correspondence are derived from a Basilian penal code.³¹

Monks were to be placed [24] two to a cell, apparently with some attempt being made to pair older and younger monks, the more educated with the unlearned, etc. Unlike (21) *Roidion* [B5], the monks were to follow the cenobitic practice of taking their meals in common in the refectory. Everyone, including the monastery's officials and other notables, was to receive [26] the same food and drink. The same principle of equality was to apply with respect to clothing, seemingly

wiping out the distinctions of rank observed in (9) *Galesios* [130] and endorsing (3) *Theodore Studites* [12].

7. Servants Not Permitted

In accord with (3) *Theodore Studites* [4] but unlike (19) *Attaleiates* [42], Evergetian monks were not allowed [24] to have servants.

8. Diet

Fasts and vigils were to be regulated [8] principally by the *synaxarion*, that is, the liturgical *typikon*. The second part of that document contains detailed prescriptions for the dietary regime for the Lent and the other fasts of the ecclesiastical year. However, there is a considerable amount of dietary regulation [10] for fasts in the founder's *typikon* as well. Generally, (22) *Evergetis* prescribes more leniently than the somewhat earlier (20) *Black Mountain* and certainly the later (43) *Kasoulon*. Overall, reform monasteries of the twelfth century followed *Evergetis'* example of relative leniency, especially the imperial foundations represented by (27) *Kecharitomene* and (28) *Pantokrator*, though (30) *Phoberos*, usually a close copier of (22) *Evergetis* in most matters, is stricter in many dietary provisions.

9. Bathing

Perhaps as a bow to an increasing concern with providing for the needs of sick and elderly monks, a bath is provided [28] in the monastery. As originally written, the relevant passage of the *typikon* allowed only the sick to use it, but it appears that this was changed later to permit healthy monks to bathe three times a year and at the discretion of the superior. This is the first bathing facility to be attested in the monastic foundation documents.

10. Care of Sick Monks

A cell provided with eight beds and staffed by two orderlies was to be set aside [41] as an infirmary for monks who might fall sick. If a doctor was available, he was to call on the brothers daily.

11. Burial

Unlike some later documents, e.g., (27) *Kecharitomene* [70], there are no elaborate provisions for the burial of the foundation's monks, but a priest is assigned [36] to take care of burials, and the departed were to be commemorated liturgically.

B. Constitutional Matters

1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

The *typikon* revives [12] (without attribution) the concept of the free (*eleuthera*), independent (*autodespotos*), and self-governing (*idiodespotos*) monastery first seen in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [12], thereby establishing a model and new standard of institutional autonomy for generations of founders to come.³² This status is said to have dated from the period of *Evergetis'* foundation, guaranteed by chrysobulls of "emperors of everlasting memory," presumably including Constantine IX Monomachos, otherwise known as a protector of certain monasteries.³³ *Evergetis'* independent status was held to make it exempt from subordination to any individual, public or private, and, by implication, from participation in the *charistike*.

2. Leadership

As noted above, in the first version of the *typikon*, the author Timothy had planned [13] that *Evergetis* would be ruled by two superiors, one a recluse and the other “unconfined,” who would presumably handle the day-to-day administration of the foundation. On the death of the former, the latter was to take his place. Later, Timothy thought better of this arrangement and decided to have only one superior, who would not be required to adopt the eremitic lifestyle but would be, as in (3) *Theodore Studites* [10], discouraged from travel outside the monastery and its properties except for the most pressing of reasons. Timothy announces [13] his expectation of designating his successor himself, and after the author’s death this superior would consult with a few preeminent monks to choose a steward. In due course of time, provided he remained virtuous, the steward in turn would become [14] superior himself.

3. Role of the Preeminent Monks

Timothy provides a very important role for the above-mentioned preeminent monks. In addition to choosing [13], cf. [17] the steward in consultation with the superior, they could also, upon the sudden death of the superior, block [14] a bad steward’s elevation to the superiorship. Perhaps (3) *Theodore Studites* (22), in which the Studite superior is told to make assignments and assess the performances of the monastery’s officers in consultation with the “foremost brothers,” provided a model. In *Evergetis*, the superior is told [14] to use the preeminent monks as his advisors; they were also required to be present [19] at any emergency alienations of consecrated property. Overall, their role would seem to be a bow to the contemporary dislike of privileged, arbitrary rule visible in (15) *Constantine IX* [13], but far from a concession of consensus rule by the community as a whole.

4. Stress on Unanimity

Timothy’s stress on achieving unanimity in the election of the superior [14] probably is attributable once again to fears that malcontents will resort to courts of law to prevail, as apparently in (15) *Constantine IX* [8]. This attitude leads to the author’s extraordinary statement [14] that even a bad steward should be allowed to become superior if the preeminent monks cannot agree on a suitable replacement: “For it is better for you to be exposed to a little danger during the stewardship of this worthless man than to be rendered completely useless by resorting to discord or quarreling or even the remembering of injuries.”³⁴ In the same spirit, Timothy instructs [14] the superior to choose his own successor arbitrarily if the preeminent monks are unable to make a unanimous choice in consultation with him. Fear of litigation may also explain why the author was willing [14] to allowed a deposed superior to remain in the community and continue to hold an honored rank.

5. Reading of the *Typikon*

To remind the monks of their responsibilities, the foundation’s *typikon* was to be read [43] at the beginning of the month during mealtime. This follows a developing trend, seen earlier in (11) *Ath. Rule* [37] and in the contemporary (19) *Attaleiates* [33], [40], to invest constitutive documents with the prestige and authority once accorded only to the personal pronouncements of founders and patrons.

C. Financial Matters

True to the spirit of the times, this *typikon* exhibits a great deal of concern about financial misconduct. Unlike earlier authors who, if they worried at all about the loss of institutional assets, focused on external threats, Timothy was keenly aware of the peril the monastery's own officials could pose to the foundation's well-being if they were dishonest.

1. Financial Officials

The key official was the steward, who handled the financial affairs of the monastery and in the ordinary course of events at *Evergetis* could look forward [13] to being promoted to the superiorship. However, careless administration, doing favors for relatives, and appropriating or alienating the monastery's property are among the justifications provided [14] for his deposition.

There were also three treasurers [30] among the monastery's financial officials: a sacristan (*skeuophylax*) charged with caring for the sacred vessels and altar cloths; a treasurer for linen (*docheiarios ton panion*) responsible for storing clothing and footwear; and a treasurer for money (*docheiarios ton nomismaton*) in the monastery whose responsibility it was to keep [20] detailed records of the monastery's income (when and where it came from) and expenditure (the reason for it and on what project). Property managers were to be selected [34] from among the monastery's pious monks, preferably old enough to resist the devil's temptations. High standards of rectitude were expected of all these officials; the sanction [22] for thieves who did not make amends was expulsion from the community.

2. Endowment of the Foundation

Evergetis evidently had a conventional endowment of landed property, though it is said [34] to have amounted to only "some small piece of immovable property." Perhaps these were donated by the benefactors Promotenos and Kataphloron whose commemoration through charitable donations at the gate is enjoined in [36]. The foundation also possessed [33] some ecclesiastical dependencies at an early date, though none is known specifically until the thirteenth century (see above, Institutional History, 5).

3. Inalienability of the Foundation's Properties

The *typikon* assumes that the immovable properties that made up the foundation's base of financial support were untouchable. It also declares [19] that movable consecrated property (sacred vessels, cloths, icons, and books) were likewise to be regarded as inalienable. The assertion that transgressors would be liable to a charge of sacrilege (*hierosylia*) recalls the language of the chrysobull of Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1079) attached to (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 11]. There is, however, a short list of emergency situations in which alienations might take place, but even in these cases the monastery's officials were to follow very specific procedures, including making a record of the transactions in the monastery's inventory.

4. Provisions against Misconduct

To maximize the impact of the expected heavenly sanctions, the *typikon* incorporates [29] patronal icons of Christ and the Mother of God and the keys of the various offices into the installation ceremonies of the monastery's officials. Officials were to conclude that they had received their offices (symbolized by the keys) directly from these heavenly patrons. Subsequent dishonesty

would make them accountable [32] to Christ and his Mother as well. The *typikon* was to substitute for the icons and keys in a similar installation ceremony [13] for the superior.

Monks are also warned [42] to avoid the temptation to pilfer possessions of the monastery or claim them as personal property, since “We did not abandon the world for luxury and indulgence.” In this case, even small violations of the cenobitic regime are associated with to more serious theft by officials.

Despite his hostility towards the use of consecrated property by officials for private gain (i.e., for the benefit of their friends and relatives), the author faced a difficult problem in dealing with possible misconduct by the superior. In [18] he refuses to allow the monks to hold their superior accountable for “the things for which they take in and pay out money” because he thought that that would breed mistrust and produce discord.

Essentially, the author faced a dilemma: the monks, who had the most to lose from such speculations, were the most obvious group to rely upon to denounce a bad superior for uncanonical alienations. However, Timothy was probably aware of how internal disputes could easily get the foundation bogged down in litigation in secular courts (cf. (15) *Constantine IX* [8]). So Timothy limits himself to declaring [18] that “they [the bad superiors] will not escape the fearful judgment of God.” The frequency of such appeals and the accompanying curses [32] in the troubled eleventh century should be seen as an indication of the increasing desperation of founders, who were no longer confident in relying on the good will of local governors (as the authors of (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* and (18) *Nea Gephyra* did) or even that of the emperor himself, who was not exempt from mistrust (see [12]).

5. No Mandatory Entrance Gifts

In what would become a classic formulation for reform monasteries, the *typikon* forswears [37] mandatory entrance gifts from those who wished to become monks at *Evergetis*. Formally, the traditional renunciation (*apotage*) or the entrance offering (*prosenexis*) are rejected because “one must not traffic in the grace of God or sell it for money.” Free-will gifts on entrance were welcomed, however, provided that they were unconditional, with no expectation of special privileges to follow.³⁵ In (9) *Galesios* [192], the stylite superior Lazarus also made entrance donations strictly voluntary, but was unsuccessful in persuading all his monks to give up their money and rely upon the foundation for support. At *Evergetis*, entrance donations, once made, could not be withdrawn [37] by their donors—again on pain of sacrilege—even if they should later choose to leave the monastery. The justification offered here, “For what has once been consecrated to God must not be taken away,” became the ideological credo of a generation of ecclesiastical reformers. Incidentally, the willingness of the foundation to forego entrance gifts must have strengthened the hand of its officials in determining whom to admit to the monastery (see above, A.4).

6. Commemorative Observances

The increased attention paid [36] to commemorative observances in reform monasteries like *Evergetis* may have been one way that founders compensated themselves and others for their financial sacrifices. In view of the new standards of financial probity, it would have been hypocritical for a founder like Timothy to reserve for his own use the bulk of the surplus from the foundation’s revenues as Attaleiates did for his son Theodore in (19) *Attaleiates* [24]. A posthu-

mous appendix to the *typikon* sets the memorial observance for Timothy, honored as the “second founder,” on the same day as the “first founder” Paul. Deceased superiors and monks were also entitled [36] to commemorations, with observances for the latter to be consolidated when it became necessary, while a priest charged with burials made charitable distributions at the gate in commemoration of the monastery’s benefactors. This may indicate an important source of income for the monastery considerably less problematic than the sale of lifetime annuities permitted in (19) *Attaleiates* [30].

D. General Philosophy

1. Hostility to Privileges

Although the institution’s founder Paul Evergetinos had been [1] a wealthy man, the predominant ethos of his monastery was hostile to privileges. His successor Timothy, in a section of the *typikon* that proved to be unappealing to successor institutions in the Evergetian tradition, condemns [17] a possibly traditional style of authoritarian leadership in which an “unworthy” man might usurp the office of superior or steward by “making a display perhaps of his seniority or his achievements or his noble birth or reputation or his offering of property or money.” Timothy orders that the choice of the preeminent monks is to prevail over “those who glory in their own wisdom and power and glory and nobility,” even if the candidate chosen is “recently tonsured or is unlearned and without experience in worldly things.”

2. Egalitarian Aspects

Egalitarian sentiments certainly influenced [37] the author’s wary attitude towards traditional entrance gifts, as discussed above. Timothy’s unwillingness to exempt [26] officials from the requirement of uniformity in food, drink and dress is another manifestation of his hostility to privilege. The truly violent language condemning [9] petty disputes over precedence in seating at meals, backed up by the threat of expulsion, is another, even though it appears [14] that certain seats were in fact assigned to officials on the basis of their rank in the monastery. *Evergetis’* hostility to privilege was rooted in Timothy’s identification of it as the source of insubordination and discord.

3. Not Anti-Aristocratic

Though the assertion of privilege condemned in this document came most naturally to aristocrats, the foundation itself was not anti-aristocratic. “Distinguished people” were to be tonsured [37] after an unspecified shorter novitiate. The author also thought [39] that he could not ban noble women from visiting the monastery, perhaps out of fear of alienating potential benefactors (compare to (3) *Theodore Studites* [16]). Also, as we have seen, though *Evergetis* may have been governed more consultatively than other foundations, the *typikon* makes [14] no endorsement of radical egalitarianism in either elections or its structure of governance.

This shows that *Evergetis* (and the reform in general) was not hostile to the upper classes, but its leaders insisted that aristocrats’ expectations of privileges be left at the gate. As a result, it proved somewhat easier for the aristocracy and even the imperial family to embrace the overall objectives of the reform while toning down its attack on privileges in their own foundations (see

below, Chapter Five). Indeed, the admission of John Doukas, Alexios Komnenos' brother-in-law, as a monk here, is noted in an appendix to the *typikon*, and he induced the community to grant the concession of drinking wine during the Lenten fast by donating a vineyard to the foundation.

E. External Relations

1. Institutional Philanthropy

The Evergetian reform endorsed philanthropy, providing for daily distributions [38] at the gate of the monastery as well as for the care [41] of the sick in an infirmary. Those who died there were to be interred [38] in a special burial place (*xenotaphion*). Thus *Evergetis* claims its place in a general trend in Byzantine monasticism since at least the last quarter of the tenth century, starting with (16) *Mount Tmolos*, to erect philanthropic institutions in conjunction with monasteries (see above, Chapter Three, D.5). Women are specifically excluded [38] from the daily distributions at the gate, apparently because of the sexual temptation they might pose, though they remained eligible for general distributions. Strict sexual segregation, which was generally not a compelling concern for certain pre-reform monasteries (see (9) *Galesios* [129]), was taken up again by *Evergetis* in accord with the Studite tradition;³⁶ (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34] may also have been influential. In any event, this is the beginning of a noticeable misogynist tendency in the Evergetian reform movement.

F. Composition of the Typikon

Since (22) *Evergetis* is the key document of the Byzantine monastic reform movement, close attention to its composition promises valuable insights into both the ideological development of the reform and the administrative innovations devised to institutionalize it during the latter half of the eleventh century.

1. Internal Evidence for Incremental Composition

Internal evidence strongly suggests that the *typikon* was repeatedly reworked until it reached the essential form in which the manuscript is found today sometime in the twelfth century. Pargoire (“Évergétis,” p. 158) considered the headings to chapters [1], [3], [14], [32], [40], and [42] to be evidence of a re-edition, indisputably in those cases where the primary author Timothy is spoken of in the third person. Their placement is frequently awkward or simply wrong, sometimes dividing up coherent topical subjects between two new chapters in a way that the original author himself is most unlikely to have done.³⁷ That twelfth-century founders using (22) *Evergetis* as late as 11 appear to have “undone” some of these awkward divisions in their own reutilizations of this *typikon* may actually indicate that they were using an earlier version of this text before the chapter headings were introduced.³⁸

The idea of dividing a founder's *typikon* into numerated chapters was becoming increasingly popular in the later eleventh century—see (20) *Black Mountain* and especially the contemporary (23) *Pakourianos*. This convention, with its quasi-judicial overtones, probably appealed to contemporaries such as the author of (19) *Attaleiates*, himself a jurist, who was, however, incapable of utilizing it consistently in his *Rule*. In the twelfth century, all of (22) *Evergetis*'s later users systematically divided their own works into topically consistent chapters. Earlier, in (4) *Stoudios*

[B] we can see how a scheme of chapter division and numeration was imposed on a prior version [A] of the same document without these features. The same thing is likely to have happened here.

During his lifetime, which extended to at least until 1067, Timothy also introduced some changes of his own into the *typikon*. As noted above, he changed his mind on the mandatory seclusion of the foundation's superior [13] and the prohibition on bathing [28], leading him to revise or rewrite the relevant chapters. As in other documents such as (13) *Ath. Typikon*, (20) *Black Mountain*, and the later (29) *Kosmosoteira*, repetitive treatments of certain topics are helpful indicators of the stages of their composition.³⁹ The interpretation of this evidence is complicated here, however, since we cannot be sure that the repetitions are the responsibility of a single author. In any event, certain of these repetitive treatments lend further support to the premise that administrative structures and disciplinary procedures continued to develop while the *typikon* was being composed. For instance, a single treasurer envisioned in [20] is joined by two colleagues later in [30]. Also, the ban on personal possessions announced in [22] is backed up by a provision for the superior's inspection of cells in [27], while the exhortation to preserve the *typikon* in [40] is strengthened by the provision for a monthly reading of the document in [43].

2. External Evidence for Incremental Composition

External evidence also lends support to the idea of a gradual development of the *typikon* throughout the last half of the eleventh century. Gautier ("Évergétis," p. 70, n. 53) proposed that the failure to provide a description of the duties of the librarian, an office known from a note in another manuscript to have been occupied by the monk George in 1064, indicated that the portion of the *typikon* around [31] must have dated from before that year. Although this is an argument *ex silentio*, it gains support from [39], which anticipates but does not actually institute the creation of other monastic offices.

The hypersensitivity to "theft" of movable (as opposed to immovable) property seen in various parts of the *typikon*⁴⁰ really fits in, historically speaking, no sooner than the confiscations of Isaac I Komnenos (1057–59) but more likely after those of Alexios Komnenos' government in 1081 (for which see above, Chapter Three, E. Historical Context, 6). The key, ideologically charged word "sacrilege" in *Evergetis*' discussion [19] of the inalienability of consecrated immovable property fails to appear in (30) *Phoberos* [38], an early twelfth-century document that is generally a close copy of (22) *Evergetis*, though again perhaps of an earlier version. Therefore this may be another place where the *typikon* was brought up to date in a re-edition, for the charge of sacrilege is backed up by reference to penalties established by a law which may be a chrysobull of Alexios Komnenos dated to 1082.⁴¹ Likewise, the list of exceptions to the general rule against alienations, including destruction of the facility thanks to an enemy raid or an earthquake, accords well with the tumultuous early years of the reign of Alexios Komnenos, including a major earthquake, perhaps in the year 1090.⁴²

3. Proposed Reconstruction of Compositional History

At this early point in the examination of the document, any reconstruction of its compositional history must necessarily be speculative, but the following general outline is offered for consideration. The original document as composed by Timothy may have consisted only of: the introduc-

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tion [1]; the foundation history [2], [3]; the liturgical, sacramental, and dietary regulations [4] through [10]; and the provision [11] for the patronal feast. There were probably no chapter headings at this time, and both [8] and the other cross-references to the *synaxarion* now found in this first section of the document may be later interpolations.

Judging from the author's transitional statement, there seems to have been a compositional break just before the present heading to [12]. The declaration of the monastery's independence, at least in its present form, must date from after the "chrysobulls of the emperors now dead" mentioned in it, minimally to the 1060s but perhaps much later still. Subsequent chapters, all landmarks of reform legislation, may have been added as the institutions and customs on which they were based were developed. As noted above, [13], which starts out with a cancellation of the requirement of seclusion for the superior, is self-consciously a revision of an earlier arrangement for the succession. Another compositional break is posited just before [18], again on the evidence of the author's transitional statement. Chapter [18] which follows appears to be a self-contained addition to the *typikon*. The statement of the inalienability of the monastery's immovable property [19] is later still; it may have been re-edited, moreover, late in the century. An author's transition occurs before [20]; the contents of that chapter and of [22] and [23] may have been written in one sitting. A new compositional section begins with [23] and continues down for quite some time, perhaps as far as the end of [33]. That there was a re-edition of [28], however, is self-evident from its internal inconsistency (cf. the shorter version in (30) *Phoberos* [46], likely based on the Evergetian original).

The transitional statement just before [34] indicates another place where work was resumed on the document, perhaps down to the end of [37]. Chapters [38] through [41], the latter chapter incorrectly announced in [40] as being the document's last, form the next section. Chapter [42] is self-professedly an addition, which summarizes much earlier disciplinary regulation. Chapter [43] is yet another addition, the last that Timothy can conceivably have made to the *typikon*, though it (like some other late chapters) may in fact be by another hand.

Timothy himself was dead by the time the appendix was added to the document which provides for his joint commemoration with the first founder Paul Evergetinos. But Alexios Komnenos' brother-in-law John Doukas, then known as the Evergetian monk Antony, is also mentioned in this appendix as still being alive. Since Doukas was still actively engaged in his military career in 1097, he could not have entered the monastery until near the end of the century at the earliest.⁴³ He is also mentioned as being alive in (23) *Kecharitomene* [71], a document which copies (22) *Evergetis* or—more likely—another document related to it, and can be dated to 1110–16.⁴⁴ Since Gautier ("Évergétis," p. 90, n. 68) noted that the appendix is in the same hand as that of the rest of the *typikon*, we are forced to the conclusion that it in its final version (22) *Evergetis* must date from no earlier than the first decades of the twelfth century.⁴⁵

4. Summary of Conclusions

Timothy's contribution to this manuscript tradition of (22) *Evergetis* could have occurred at any time during his superiorship, which began at the founder Paul's death in 1054 and continued up through 1067 and possibly beyond. An incrementally progressive first edition of the *typikon* under Timothy's authorship is proposed for the period 1054–70 (roughly the presumed term of his

superiorship). Thereafter, other authors must have introduced the present division of the work into 43 chapters, re-edited certain ideologically and politically sensitive chapters like [12] and [19], and perhaps added a few final chapters of their own. The exact balance between the contributions of Timothy and his successors may not be determinable, unless some of the innovations contained in chapters [12] through the end of the document can be precisely dated from external evidence. The completion of the *typikon* as we have it is proposed for 1098–1118, an approximation of John Doukas' tenure as an Evergetian monk.

G. Subsequent Utilization by Later Authors

(22) *Evergetis* was undoubtedly the most influential Byzantine founder's *typikon* ever written. As noted above in *Evergetis'* Institutional History, many subsequent founders utilized it either directly or indirectly, down to the middle of the fourteenth century. Later authors utilized the whole or significant parts of all of the components of (22) *Evergetis* except for these obviously particular sections: the introduction [1], the foundation history [2], the founder's commemoration [35], and the appendix. Our own Appendix C: Topical Interrelationships of the Evergetian Family of Monastic *Typika* provides an overview of this usage.

It was through the borrowing of its *typikon* rather than through the development of any kind of monastic order that *Evergetis* saw its institutions and customs introduced into many of the most influential monasteries of later Byzantium. Detailed discussions of the impact of Evergetian institutions and customs on the successor institutions for which these founders wrote their own *typika* will be found below under the respective textually linked foundation documents in our collection.⁴⁶ To provide even a brief summary here would be tantamount to writing a concise history of Byzantine monasticism over the next two hundred years. Some general observations about the nature of subsequent utilization are in order, however.

First, the seamless way later authors integrated large portions of (22) *Evergetis* into their own works, admitting hardly any incongruities or internal inconsistencies, speaks to their superior editorial skills. Second, many later authors were so respectful of the text of (22) *Evergetis* that they utilized even its most disorganized chapters, like [13] and [14], to fashion new, better organized regulations of their own, and on occasion even used parts of (22) *Evergetis* to shape regulations opposed to the model's own provisions. Third, even foundation documents textually independent of (22) *Evergetis* nevertheless are indebted to many of its institutions and customs. This is true even in the twelfth century, but the phenomenon becomes more noticeable in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries at the very time that direct borrowing from (22) *Evergetis* becomes less common.⁴⁷ Fourth, the massive indebtedness of successor institutions to *Evergetis* is rarely acknowledged. Only Isaac Komnenos, author of (29) *Kosmosoteira* [8] in 1152, comes close to admitting the essentially derivative character of much of his own work. Finally, the borrowing from (22) *Evergetis* soon became dependent on intermediary *typika*, some, like (32) *Mamas* that are fortunately still preserved, and others that can be only conjecturally reconstructed. This was because the dynamic of the ongoing monastic reform, particularly in the twelfth century, tended to make (22) *Evergetis* seem outdated in the version in which we have it. Even (22) *Evergetis'* close copiers, the authors of (30) *Phoberos*, (29) *Kosmosoteira*, and to a lesser extent also (34) *Machairas*, seem to have used a different version, a vulgate, as it were, of the Evergetian *typikon*.

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Notes on the Introduction

1. See the discussion below in Analysis, F. Composition of the *Typikon*.
2. See discussion and description of the manuscript in Gautier, “Évergétis,” pp. 11–13.
3. Paul Evergetinos, *Evergetinos etoi Synagoge ton theophthongon rhematon kai didaskalion ton theophoron kai hagion pateron*, ed. Makarios of Corinth and Nikodemos Hagiorites (Venice, 1783), 7th ed. in 4 vols. (Athens, 1983); see analyses by Richard, “Florilèges,” cols. 502–3 (with lists of works utilized and surviving manuscripts); Sauget, “Paul Évergétinos,” pp. 227–35, and Solignac, “Paul Évergétinos,” cols. 563–64. An English translation is being prepared by the *Evergetis* project at Queens College, Belfast.
4. See descriptions in Richard, “Florilèges,” cols. 503–5, and (for Nikon) the discussion above in (20) *Black Mountain*, Biography of the Author, B. His Works.
5. See Leroy, “Nouveau témoin,” pp. 76–88; Solignac, “Paul Évergétinos,” col. 564. An edition and English translation is being prepared by the *Evergetis* project at Queens College, Belfast.
6. *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 256–614; see discussion by Pargoire, “Évergétis,” pp. 158–59; an English translation of the *Synaxarion* has been prepared by Robert Jordan as part of the *Evergetis* project at Queens College, Belfast.
7. Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 8.
8. Pargoire, “Évergétis,” p. 158; for this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 322.
9. Gautier, “Évergétis,” pp. 8–9, with nn. 16–18.
10. Ed. A. Kambylis, *Symeon Neos Theologos, Hymnen* (Berlin, 1976), pp. 29–30; for discussion of this individual’s relationship to *Evergetis*, see Gautier, “Évergétis,” pp. 9–10, and Pargoire, “Évergétis,” pp. 369–70.
11. Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 9, with note 19.
12. For the impact of (22) *Evergetis* on *typika* of the twelfth-century monastic reform, see the discussions under the individual documents in Chapters Five and Six below.
13. See the notices in Ch. Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana*, vol. 4, pt. 2 (Venice, 1729), no. 18, p. 59, and in A. Banduri, *Imperium orientale*, pt. 3 (Venice, 1729), pp. 176–89; with Pargoire, “Évergétis,” pp. 161–62.
14. Theodore Balsamon, *Comm. ad C. Carth.* (419), c. 6 (R&P 3.311–12).
15. Domitien’s Slavic *Life* of Sabbas the Serbian, with French trans. and ed., A. Chodzko, *Légendes slaves du moyen âge* (Paris, 1858), pp. 36, 38; see discussion in Pargoire, “Évergétis,” pp. 162–63, 372.
16. See Janin, “Sanctuaires,” pp. 177–78.
17. Ed. A. Belin, *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople* (Paris, 1894), pp. 60–61.
18. A. Potthast, *Regesta pontificum romanorum inde ab a. post Christum natum MCXCVIII ad a. MCCCIV*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1874), nos. 5541 and 5552; the first letter ed. Belin, *Histoire*, pp. 61–62.
19. Potthast, *Regesta*, nos. 6887 and 6892.
20. Potthast, *Regesta*, no. 6893.
21. See Pargoire, “Évergétis,” p. 162.
22. See Pargoire, “Évergétis,” p. 163.
23. See G. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1984), pp. 315–16.
24. Jordan, “Theotokos Evergetis,” pp. 243–44, commenting on Pargoire, “Évergétis,” p. 262.
25. MM 2.322–23; see the full discussion of this document below in Chapter Nine, Historical Context.
26. See the analyses below of (37) *Auxentios*, (39) *Lips*, (40) *Philanthropos*, (55) *Athanasios I*, (56) *Kellibara II*, (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, (58) *Menoikeion*, and (60) *Charsianeites* along with the discussion in Chapter Nine.
27. Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 94, n. 77.
28. For the siting, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 182, and Pargoire, “Évergétis,” pp. 372–73, with cautions by Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 7.

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29. See my “Documentary Evidence” and “*Evergetis Monastery*.”
30. For limits on numbers elsewhere in earlier and contemporary documents, see (9) *Galesios* [246], (10) *Eleousa* [5], (13) *Ath. Typikon*, (16) *Mount Tmolos* [1], [2], (17) *Nikon Metanoete* [5], and (19) *Attaleiates* [27].
31. Pseudo-Basil, *Poenae* 13, 59, PG 31, cols. 1308C, 1313C.
32. See below, Chapters Five and Six.
33. See (9) *Galesios* [223] and (15) *Constantine IX*.
34. Not surprisingly, this radical idea is not picked up by any of the successor institutions in the Evergetian tradition except for (30) *Phoberos* [35].
35. For examples, see (35) *Skoteine* [33], [38], [39].
36. See (4) *Theodore Studites* [9], [15], [16], [17].
37. Note, for example, the placement of the heading to [4], which consigns the author’s introduction to the discussion of the hours to [3], a discussion of his role in the development of the foundation; the heading to [18], which isolates the author’s own introduction to [18] with [17]; the heading to [35], which likewise isolates the author’s own transition to the subject of discussion in [35] in [34]; the especially awkward placement of the heading for [39], which divides the author’s discussion of the exclusion of women into two chapters; and the heading to [39], which fails to describe both of the two very different topics included in this chapter.
38. E.g., (32) *Mamas* [47] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46], which both appear to “remedy” the awkward division between (22) *Evergetis* [3] and [4]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [13], which “ignores” the division between (22) *Evergetis* [13] and [14]; (30) *Phoberos* [36], which does the same for the divisions among (22) *Evergetis* [15], [16], and [17]; (30) *Phoberos* [48], which appears to “consolidate” (22) *Evergetis* [31], [32], and [33], or (30) *Phoberos* [55], which “remedies” the awkward division between (22) *Evergetis* [38] and [39]. There are many other possible illustrations of this editorial phenomenon.
39. Note repetitive treatments of: [7] confession to the superior, cf. [15]; [9] no secret eating, cf. [22]; [9] duties of the refectorian and disciplinary official, cf. [31]; [9] condemnation of quarrels over precedence, cf. [42]; [13] investiture ceremony for officials, cf. [29]; [20] duties of the treasurer, cf. [30]; [22] no personal possessions, cf. [27], [42]; and [32] warning against careless administration of the monastery’s property, cf. [42].
40. (22) *Evergetis* [14], [18], [19], [20], [32], [42].
41. Alexios Komnenos, *Novella de sacris vasibus in publicum usum non convertendis* (1082) (*JGR* 3.355–58) = Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1085.
42. See John of Antioch, *De monasteriis*, chap. 18, ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 33 (1975), 129, cf. 80–86, with V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958), p. 480.
43. Basile Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l’Alexiade* (Louvain, 1980), p. 148.
44. Skoulatos, *Personnages*, p. 149.
45. Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 11.
46. In Chapter Five, (27) *Kecharitomene*, (29) *Kosmosoteira*, cf. (28) *Pantokrator*; in Chapter Six, (30) *Phoberos*, (32) *Mamas*, and (33) *Heliou Bomon*, cf. (31) *Areia*; in Chapter Seven, (34) *Machairas* and (47) *Philanthropos*, cf. (37) *Auxentios* and (39) *Lips*; in Chapter Nine, (58) *Menoikeion*, cf. (55) *Athanasios I*, (56) *Kellibara II*, (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, and (60) *Charsianeites*.
47. See (28) *Pantokrator*, (31) *Areia*, (37) *Auxentios*, (39) *Lips*, (53) *Meteora*, (55) *Athanasios I*, (56) *Kellibara II*, (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, and (60) *Charsianeites*.

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ELEVENTH CENTURY

Translation

Explanation and rule for the life of the monks in the monastery of the most holy Mother of God *Evergetis* handed down by Timothy the monk and priest who became superior after the founder of the same monastery.

1. The introduction to the rule.

It is very good because it is both pleasing to God and contributes in no small way to your benefit, my brothers in the Lord and spiritual children, to set down in writing the nature and extent of all your holy liturgical procedure, and when and how you must carry it out, and to leave behind as it were a rule and model not only for you but also those coming after you, and not just that but to describe all the rest of your way of life—that is, that which concerns both the soul itself and the body—so that by referring to this you may be able with God’s help to guide and live your lives without error, not missing the true object by straying this way and that, but remain immovable in goodness, not being carried to and fro as Solomon says “Either to the right or to the left” (Prov. 4:27). You yourselves are well aware of the reason for which I have made this decision. It is also necessary to say these things for the sake of our successors.

2. Concerning the site of this holy monastery, that is the estate of our holy father and first founder lord Paul, the one that was set aside by him for a monastery.

This most holy monastery of ours, as everyone knows, was once an estate of our late thrice-blessed father and founder, I mean the monk lord Paul. It had come to him by family inheritance and had been preferred by him to simply every other piece of property he had in the world clearly because of his desire for virtue and the contemplative life which he sought after most earnestly and preferred to everything else. Pierced by a burning love for this and moved by the Spirit of God, he immediately left this imperial capital, his own birthplace, also his parents and the rest of his relations, his friends and associates and his wealth, and all the other things in the world that enslave a soul that loves this world [p. 17] and he reached this estate in the month of June of the second indiction and the six thousand five hundred and fifty-sixth year.¹ After him and as it were following him I also came at the beginning of September of the third indiction and the six thousand five hundred and fifty-seventh year [1049 A.D.]

3. Concerning the date of the death of our holy father the first founder, and that in his will he left the monastery in a meager form to our holy father lord Timothy its second founder, and that he established it in its present magnificent form; also concerning his acquisitions.

So then, as we have said, the blessed man came here and set aside the place for a monastery, building small cells and tonsuring a few men including me. After he had completed those great and marvelous struggles, he lived for only five years, and was taken away to everlasting bliss on the 16th of April in the year six thousand five hundred and sixty-two [1054 A.D.], leaving to me in his will the monastery in that small and simple form in which he had established it. You yourselves know and the truth demonstrates how it changed after it was left to me in such a small and very insignificant form through the intercessions of My Lady the *Evergetis* and his holy prayers, how it grew from being unimportant and incomplete into this imposing and most magnificent

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form, furthermore how a church was built from the very foundations to the Mother of God Our Lady the *Evergetis*, and how cells were constructed much better than the previous ones, the number and kinds of books that were acquired, similarly the sacred vessels and holy icons, also the holy veils and liturgical cloths, in short all the remaining adornment of the most holy church, and in addition the landed property acquired to support and maintain the monastery. It is not necessary for us to talk of these matters and anyone wishing to find out can be instructed more clearly by studying the inventory.² [p. 19] But keeping to our purpose we must turn in our discourse to the canonical procedure.

But O God and Lord of all, O ever-praised Mother of Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ, I pray these instructions may be effective and productive for both us and those after us until the end of the present age through the valuable prayers of your servant, our father and founder.

So now we must turn our attention to the subjects of our discourse and since we wish to begin from a preferable place, it is preferable to begin with the hour that brings us the light, that is the first hour of the day, and I think it absolutely necessary that those who are going to give a description of the works of light should begin following the light.

4. Concerning the psalm singing of the first hour and concerning the prayers and that after the worship of matins and the first hour have been completed the brothers should go away to their cells and sing the obligatory office.

So after the worship of matins, the office of the first hour should be sung by you following on immediately, as is customary, and at the end of this the following prayer should next be recited, "Thou who at all times and all hours" and what follows. After the prayer the customary genuflections should be performed, by the able-bodied on the bare floor but the weak should have some low supports. Three of them should be completed in a more leisurely manner inasmuch as while you are standing you should say three times to yourselves with hands stretched out "God, be merciful to me the sinner" (Luke 18:13), then when you are kneeling down with your heads resting on the ground, you should say three times in the same way "I have sinned against Thee, Lord, forgive me." But the remaining twelve should be carried out more quickly so as to utter the aforementioned supplicatory phrases once at each genuflection and each time you stand, but yet in unison and with fitting good order, not with some getting ahead and others falling behind, but all following the lead of the ecclesiarch or the priest on duty that day as he stands near the holy screen and indicates the successive movements.

That should take place when "God is the Lord" (Ps. 117 [118]: 27) is not sung during matins;³ but if it is, the performing of these genuflections in the church should be omitted but three deep bows should be performed while at each of them, as has been mentioned, the aforesaid supplicatory phrases should be said to yourselves three times. Then after these genuflections or bows all should repeat the following prayer aloud with hands raised, "O [p. 21] eternal God, everlasting Light without beginning, the Maker of all creation." Immediately after the prayer the short *catechesis* from the words of the Fathers⁴ should take place, read by the superior, just as we received it from our most blessed father, and this should never be omitted unless set aside by the *synaxarion*. At this point after the reading, the *trisagion* which is prescribed for us should take place and to it the following prayer should be joined, "Thou who sendest out the light and it proceeds."⁵ That is to

take place when the *catechesis* is read as has been made clear; otherwise the *trisagion* should be omitted and the prayer should be recited to follow the other prayer before the *catechesis*.

All the prayers should be said with hands held up in accordance with the following, “Lift up your hands in the sanctuaries, and bless the Lord” (Ps. 133 [134]:2), and “The lifting of my hands as an evening sacrifice” (Ps. 140 [141]:2), and “In every place lifting holy hands without anger or quarreling” (I Tim. 2:8). When the aforementioned prayer has been said and the priest has spoken his customary one also, all of you should immediately fall on your faces and hearing the superior asking for your prayers like this, “Brothers, pray for me in the Lord that I may be delivered from passions and the snares of the Evil One,” you should answer, “May God save you, honored father, and you, pray for us, holy father, that we may be delivered from passions and the snares of the Evil One.” Then again the superior praying should say, “May God through the prayers of our fathers save you all.”

Then you should stand up and depart to your cells, avoiding all meeting together and foolish distraction, idle chatter, and disorderly laughter. For what comes of such things? Clearly, the lapsing into disgraceful talk, abuse, and condemnations because your mind is relaxed by this and you forget what is really good, and reaching your cells in a dilatory and lazy frame of mind you sink at once into a sleep of *akedia* and pass almost all the day in idleness without engaging in any beneficial activity whatever, as the great Basil also says, “To lapse from a fitting spiritual state is easy when the soul indulges in unrestrained laughter, and it is easier for a concern for goodness to be dissipated and lapse into disgraceful talk.”⁶

May this not be the case with my fathers and brothers, but let each go away to his cell in a sober frame of mind most vigilant, always doing what is pleasing to God. But if perhaps some are discovered to be at fault in this matter, whether they are young or old, advanced in the monastic life or novices, they are to be admonished with the laws of love by the disciplinary official, [p. 23] and if they do not mend their ways they are to be punished. For it is not fitting that novices who behave carelessly should be punished, but rather those who have spent many years in the monastic way of life but are careless and lazy, as [John Klimakos] the author of *The Ladder* says somewhere concerning this.⁷ Going away to your cells you should carry out the whole obligatory canonical procedure, with the customary prayers and genuflections in the manner mentioned above, I mean the six psalms, the third hour and the sixth according to custom when the *semantra* are struck. For genuflections should not be carried out in the church only when “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is sung, as we have said. So when you pray in your cells you should always kneel down, but we will avoid⁸ this also in our cells whenever there is a vigil because of the weariness that comes from that, also during the twelve days of Christmas, during Easter week, and further, during the nine days after the feast for the Dormition of our most holy Lady, the Mother of God *Evergetis*.⁹ So the ritual of the third, sixth, and first hours should be like that on the days of the year that are free from fasting.

5. Concerning the holy liturgy, and that no one is to receive communion without an instruction from the superior, nor should anyone think himself unworthy of communion without informing him.

It is necessary now also to speak about the divine mystery, which must of necessity be cel-

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ibrated in the church each day, but you yourselves must be sure to take care in this, my brothers, because what is performed there is divine and fearful, and because there more than in anything else the fearful and very great mystery of our orthodox faith is accomplished, I mean the most divine and most precious sacrifice of the completely undefiled body and blood of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ. So during it, as has been said, you must pay strict attention, and as far as possible chase from you every thought that is impure, sown by the devil, and unworthy of that fearful celebration, and purify yourselves in every way. Then as many as have been allowed by the superior to partake of communion should partake of the divine elements. For it will not be possible for any of you to partake freely and in a thoughtless manner, nor yet each day. This we would indeed wish, [p. 25] for to partake often of the divine elements is often to share in life, as Christ himself says, “He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him” (John 6:56), and again, “Unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood, you have no life in you” (John 6:53), and as the divine apostle says “He who is united to the Lord becomes one spirit” (I Cor. 6:17), and as the most gentle David says conversely “They that remove themselves far from thee shall perish” (Ps. 72 [73]:27).

Therefore we would indeed wish this, as has been said, but because of human weakness and the danger of the action we do not allow it, for “Whoever eats the body and drinks the blood of the Lord unworthily is guilty of his body and blood” (I Cor. 11:27) says Paul, the divine and inspired speaker and leader of the apostles. This statement is frightening, my brothers, and causes not only sinners like me but also those who are very confident in themselves to fear partaking. So then as many as are sure that they are pure and free from disgraceful thoughts and submission to them, from anger and grumbling, grief and denigration, deceit and disorderly laughter, furthermore and more especially the bearing of a grudge and irritation, disgraceful talk and such things, should partake of communion three times a week. But those who fall prey to the aforementioned passions and hasten to a renunciation of them through confession and repentance should partake of communion once a week or not at all at the discretion of the superior of course, for he should be in charge of such matters. But for someone to consider himself unworthy of communion without his knowledge cannot be approved. For he who does this will be condemned as someone fulfilling his own wish. However it is permitted that those who should partake of communion sing the office laid down for the partaking, make a common genuflection together to one another to grant forgiveness and thus gratefully partake of the life-giving elements. So let these things be carried out in this way.

6. A regulation concerning the ninth hour, vespers, and the night office, then next concerning the midnight office and matins.

The ninth hour should be sung in the same way as the preceding hours, with the striking of the semantron calling you to it as is usual. The regulation in the *synaxarion* sets out very clearly how the office of vespers should be carried out, with the night office immediately next, as well as [p. 27] compline after the supper.¹⁰ During these you should genuflect whenever you are not to celebrate a feast, and by feast we mean a day that includes “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]: 27) at matins. When compline has been sung and the priest has said his customary prayer also, you should fall on your knees just as at the end of the first hour and incline your ear well to the superior

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as he says, “Forgive me in the Lord, brothers, for I have sinned in word, deed, and in thought,” and you should grant him forgiveness saying, “May God forgive you, father.” But you also should immediately beg this from him by adding, “Forgive us also yourself, honored father, for we have sinned in deed, word, and in thought,” then again he should pray for you and say, “May God through the prayers of our fathers forgive you all.”

Then standing up and according him the required obeisance, you should go away to your cells and carry out your night office in accordance with the regulation, and then full of gratitude and spiritual joy you should turn to sleep until the one who is in charge of the clock¹¹ learns from it the appropriate hour and goes to the superior, and receiving from him the required blessing then shouts out with a loud voice in a rhythmic fashion, “Bless, O saints.” Then when he has struck the semantron in the customary way and distributed lights to all, he will rouse you for the celebration of the midnight office which he himself will also sing all the time as he carries out the prescribed lighting of the church, and then when he has sounded the great semantron and the bronze one also, he will call you all for the dawn worship, the preliminary part of which you must carry out as follows.

For after the striking of the bronze semantron praise should be ascribed to God by the priest who has the duty for the day, and as he praises God he should at once with the censer make the sign of the venerable cross¹² in front of the holy table; and you replying “Amen,” should immediately sing a *trisagion* together with the nineteenth and twentieth psalms and the usual *troparia* and the *Kyrie eleison*, taking care to keep together as far as is reasonable while these are being sung.

The priest himself should go round all the divine church and cense everyone, and then, standing before the holy screen, when he has once more made the sign of the venerable cross with the censer, with the censuring he should offer up praise to the all-holy Trinity, speaking audibly as follows, “Glory to the holy and consubstantial and life-giving Trinity always, now and always and for ever and ever, amen.” After replying “Amen” the ecclesiarch should at once begin the six psalms, saying the words of the psalms in a low voice slowly, quietly, and carefully so that all may then be able to recite them without error or stumbling. Then after the completion of the six psalms, the whole office of matins [p. 29] should next be celebrated as the *synaxarion* describes.¹³ That constitutes the pattern of your daily office.

7. Concerning life-preserving confession.

We must also speak about life-preserving confession and the discourse about the table must wait for a while. Well then, the superior must sit in a private place twice a day, and leaving aside all other work whatsoever and all the trouble of managing and directing, must take most diligent care to hear those who wish to make confession and set for each one the appropriate healing. We specify that after the reciting of the psalms at matins has begun there should be one time when he will bring healing to those who live continuously in the monastery and are not employed in any ministries; and after compline he will bring healing to those ministering inside or outside who are present. He is to be allowed, if perhaps he cannot act in person since the brotherhood is numerous, to authorize whichever priests and deacons he wishes, and even some of the more reverent brothers, to hear the thoughts of the more uneducated majority, the thoughts that trouble us day by day and hour by hour which must always be easy to absolve and not have caused more deep-seated

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trouble, and to remit them and grant forgiveness. But the thoughts that require some healing and care must be referred to the superior by those who hear them, and he is to bring about the appropriate healing. So then, those who confess will conceal nothing, though perhaps hesitant if they know their thoughts need care, but they will uncover everything completely to their confessor; also it is right that we should tell them what is expected of them.

So then you, my brothers, seeing the superior hurrying off to this good ministry which is very beneficial to your souls, you should run, and running reach with eagerness this very calm harbor that is safe for your souls, and reveal completely without any covering up every stirring of your mind and every thought that harms your soul, as though you are making your confession in the presence of God and not a man. But the one who sets out to lie to God will always get his punishment. For the psalmist says "Thou wilt destroy all that speak falsehood" (Ps. 5:6). So then, by confessing without deceit and ridding your minds of all wrangling, all impurity, all confusion and trouble, you may be happy and rejoice, having gained this good hope, namely that you will not fail to gain salvation. But make your confession without [p. 31] accusing each other when perhaps a violent dispute or some other argument occurs. Do not make your confession if you consider yourselves blameless and you are looking really for condemnations, nor should you speak about the bodily needs which afflict you. For there is always a time for them, but this is a time for making confession and obtaining healing for spiritual passions. If you must speak of some violent dispute, be keen to ascribe and assign to yourselves all the blame and reason for the fault, whatever it is. But if you speak about some other passions, reveal these completely so that you can gain double benefit from this, by both attaining sound health of soul and clothing yourself in exalting humility, for possessing this we will actually be like God who says, "Learn from me that I am gentle and lowly in heart" (Matt. 11:29). What else would be a clearer proof of gentleness and humility in heart than clearly to bear all affliction nobly and blame oneself in everything? The true confession without which I do not think anyone gains salvation is the cause of so many good things.

Then we order that a person who does not make confession should be excommunicated from the Lord God Ruler of All until, coming to his senses and thinking of higher things, he confesses all his faulty and harmful thoughts. Thus it would be necessary also to expel such a person from the monastery and cut him off like a rotten limb, and as a wound that is hard to heal or completely incurable to remove him and cast him away, but the uncertainty of the future and the expectation that perhaps one day he may come to his senses held us back from this purpose. However, for him to be liable to the penalty of excommunication is very useful since it is very effective. Indeed, what benefit does he obtain from remaining at the monastery? What benefit comes from not making confession, or rather does not harm and ruin follow and a continued practice of evil and everything whatsoever that brings destruction to the soul? So then, as it is difficult for someone who is sick or has wounds to return to health when he hides these from the doctor, so it is much more difficult for the person who does not make confession ever to gain health of soul. The divine Basil is witness of this when he speaks as follows: "If a monk is going to show proper progress and come into a state of life in accordance with the command of the Lord, he must keep no stirring of his soul hidden, but offer to his superior all the secrets of his heart stripped bare."¹⁴ So then, by acting in this way, my brothers, we will not only be rescued from our own faults but we will

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possess later on something that is more sure; for [John Klimakos] the author of *The Ladder* says “Stripes that are exposed will not become worse,” [p. 33] and again, “A soul that thinks about confession is held back by it from sinning as if by a rein.”¹⁵ So the revelation of one’s own faults is very useful. In future let us all run eagerly to it.

Therefore we prescribe that confession should be held like this every day, by the superior himself clearly and by as many as seem to him to be suitable people to hear thoughts; but the first and great confession which we should make when casting off the hair of this world must be offered to the superior alone and not to anyone else so that he can know everyone himself and mix the medicine suitable for each one. These things should be so.

8. Concerning vigils and when they must take place.

Concerning the procedure for the holy fasts the *synaxarion* will inform you most precisely, and you should carry them out always in accordance with it.¹⁶ Vigils should also take place following the prescribed rule every Sunday, at a feast of the Lord, and at commemorations of other saints which we will find out from the *synaxarion*.

9. Concerning the table and diet.

It should be the right time now to mention the table and food and the other things that supply nourishment to the body. For as we are made up of two parts, I mean soul and body, so also are the activities of the monastery. The whole daily divine office expressed in the singing of psalms could reasonably be thought of as the soul of the monastery, whereas the monastery itself and all the things that benefit our bodies could be considered its body. So then, since with God’s help we have said enough already about its soul, it is right that we should also speak about matters which concern its body, by prescribing the diet and setting out for you more precisely all the other things that secure a more lasting continuance of the monastery, as it is necessary for the one who wishes to increase his monastery to be no less concerned about these things. So then, these things also should be said and should of course be imparted to my dear fathers and brothers.

After the customary collation has taken place in the narthex, when the divine liturgy has already been completed, all the monks should gather and sit there waiting for the summons to the table which is given by the striking of the refectory semantron. When the semantron has been struck, going out at once with the priest who officiated at the liturgy, you should make obeisance to the superior and then beginning to recite audibly the customary psalm¹⁷ walk to the refectory, [p. 35] that is the superior and all those without exception who have been instructed to sit down at the table during the first sitting. Then entering the refectory and completing the aforementioned psalm and the short prayer that accompanies it, you should sit down in the order laid down by the superior and gratefully partake of what has been set before you. Then anyone who was late for the psalm and the thanksgiving should be reported by the refectorian to the superior, and he should enquire the reason for his lateness and grant him pardon if it seems reasonable, but if not, he is to perform as many genuflections as the superior wishes.

Moreover, the traditional reading¹⁸ must take place during the sittings in the customary way, with no one making a noise or causing a disturbance or destroying the benefit which comes from that with worldly conversations and idle chatter. The superior only may speak sparingly if he

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wishes and perhaps the one asked by him may answer similarly in a few brief phrases, if possible. But if someone causes a disturbance or is disturbed, is noisy or causes a noise, and ruins the reading by untimely and improper conversation, he is to be silenced by the refectorian. But if, something I hope does not happen, when he silences him the noisy person pays no attention, he is to be removed from the refectory even if he is unwilling and subjected to the penalty of going without his food or made to learn self-control in another way as the superior wishes.

So we completely refuse to speak about seating. For how could this be acceptable, that men who are living according to God's will should quarrel at all about seating, like those who are keen to show themselves in a worldly way superior to everyone else in this, as those who are excited by glory that is vain and hated by God? For "Everyone that is proud in heart is an abomination to the Lord" (Prov. 16:5), says Holy Scripture, "The Lord resists the proud, but he gives grace to the humble" (Prov. 3:34). So this will not happen among you, it will not. For if you are in your right minds, you would never choose to be an abomination to the Lord rather than to receive favor from him and have him near you, as those who are of a contrite heart (Ps. 33 [34]:18), or, to speak truly, to be his dwelling and beloved of him. But if any of you is found, alas, causing annoyance in this matter, putting forward as an excuse perhaps age or sphere of work, and does not abide by the command of the superior nor is satisfied with the place allocated to him, I command in the Lord that he be allocated the last place and be taught to leave to the world the habits of the world. But if, something that is in every way detestable and disorderly, he still disagrees [p. 37] and objects, persisting after the second and third admonition in being totally incorrigible and completely incurable, he is to be driven out of the monastery, and like some cancer be thrown out somewhere far away from you, so that he may not also infect the rest of you with his filth. For, as some wise man said, "taking part in evil is much easier than in virtue."¹⁹

When you are eating a meal you must not share with each other any food or drink, even as much as a small drop to cool the wine [mixed with water], but the person who at the time is in need of any of these things should raise himself a little very respectfully and ask the superior reverently, speaking as follows, "Bless me, father, I need this." So if the superior gives permission, he is to receive what he needs, but if not, he is to restrain himself and sit down again thankfully in silence.

We do this not through any meanness and stinginess, as some people think—for we will not be so wrapped up in things that are transient as to prefer them to the comfort of our brothers. For why should we, my brothers, be keen to possess these things if they do not contribute to your service, as has been said? But we do this securing for you reverence and orderliness in this also, that the laxity of the majority may not find an opportunity from this to ruin the whole orderliness of the table, and we become no better than those who are undisciplined and irreligious, who are indulgent and entertain each other by drinking toasts and replying to toasts. Not only are we curbing the inclination of the will, but furthermore we are rooting out the lack of self-control of the majority and teaching them to be satisfied with a few necessities and thereby at the same time plaiting for you crowns for self-restraint. Also we are keeping you away from committing unintentionally a secret deed of darkness, not to say one of stealth.

Well then, is not something done in secret a deed of darkness? This is of course very obvious and the divine gospel of John makes it clear as follows, "Everyone who does evil does not come to the light, lest his evil deeds should be exposed by the light" (John 3:20). The apostle also says,

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“Anything that is exposed is light” (Eph. 5:13), the statement showing that what is not exposed is complete darkness. So for what purpose do you reject the deed of light and do the deed of darkness, my brother? “I am ashamed to ask,” he says. So while you do the opposite and something which God hates you are not ashamed and you hesitate about what is good. Do not, I beg you. However I know that many do this trampling their consciences underfoot, and think that they are not noticed, which touches me to the depths of my heart, and I do not cease from weeping over them because they neither realize that they are in that evil plight, alas, nor [p. 39] acknowledge their passion. May the Lord have pity on them and guide them for their good as he manages all things for our good. We must now return to the point from which we digressed.

So after you have eaten and said the customary grace and risen, you should sing the specified office with the prayer and then go away to your own cells. At supper also, if someone who wishes to have supper arrives after grace, he will incur the same penalty as he who was late at the midday meal, if of course he does not have a reasonable excuse when he is asked. The one, however, who because of abstinence does not come to the supper incurs no blame. Then when you are at supper, only bread will be set before you and that in small quantities; but if some small fruits are set out by the decision of the superior, you should gratefully partake of these also. Drink will be distributed to you with the larger wine measure as is prescribed. But if in fact a feast happens to be celebrated by one of the brothers with the knowledge of the superior, this regulation should not be observed at supper but you should act in whatever way the one celebrating the feast wishes.

The disciplinary official should go in during the second sitting and, if there are some who should have eaten at the first but missed it, he should enquire the reason for their absence. If their excuse is reasonable, they are excused, but if it is unreasonable, we instruct him not to allow them to eat. For to be late for meals for no reasonable cause is not something to be approved of, and this practice must always be punished and discouraged as much as possible. So this is the procedure on the ordinary days of the year.

10. Concerning the holy fasts.

But that is not the procedure during the holy fast days and especially during the first and greatest fast, on the first day of which, that is Monday of the first week, the liturgy should not be celebrated nor should care be taken with the table or food. However on the subsequent days of the same week attention should be paid to the table, and whoever chooses should partake of food. This will be composed of legumes soaked in water and perhaps some raw vegetables and fruits, and the drink will be hot water flavored with cumin. That is apart from Friday. On this day you should eat two dishes of food cooked without olive oil, and drink a better wine distributed in the larger measure because of the feast of the great martyr St. Theodore,²⁰ which the superior must celebrate as a duty and give you a refreshment. But if someone else of you wishes to celebrate this feast, we give him permission to feed the brotherhood with some shellfish on the Saturday, but we will not eat fish. [p. 41] You should carry out the first week of the great and holy Lent in that way.

On all Saturdays and Sundays of the same holy fast two cooked dishes containing olive oil should be set out for you and for your drink the customary large measure of wine should be distributed. The same thing should take place also on Wednesday in the middle of Lent and on the

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Thursday of the great canon. But on Tuesdays and on the other Thursdays two cooked dishes will be set out for you, but only one, not both, of them will have olive oil; and wine will be measured out with the smaller measure, that is half of the larger one. Then on the rest of the days, I mean Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, you should not partake of anything cooked nor wine but only boiled beans and some small fruits, if there are any, and hot water flavored with cumin. But if the commemoration of the discovery of the precious head of [St. John] the Forerunner or the remembrance of the Forty Saints should happen to fall on one of these days,²¹ then the fast should be broken and you should eat two dishes with olive oil and take wine measured out with the larger measure.

Concerning the eating of fish during the great Lent and the feast of the Annunciation.

You are to eat fish if some are sent by devout people as a refreshment, however it is not to be procured by the monastery deliberately, and you should take care to celebrate one of these afore-said feasts when it falls on one of the days of the first week, and you should have as refreshment not that of the aforementioned days, but only wine of the larger measure and gruel.²² But then, on all the other days of this holy Lent you will not be allowed to eat fish at all, not even if perhaps some refreshment is sent you by someone. If however the person who is providing you with the refreshment should come himself to eat with you, then the fast should be broken on this occasion because of this special treat lest we be seen by men to fast (Matt. 6:16).

Concerning the Annunciation and its feast.

When the feast of the Annunciation falls,²³ you should celebrate it as splendidly as possible, partaking of fish provided by the monastery and drinking wine of the larger measure. Furthermore on the next day you should eat anything left from the table of the previous day, and in the same way drink the wine. If no fish has been left, then you will have two dishes with olive oil. The [p. 43] procedure of the feast should be carried out as for days free from fasting. We will eat fish during this holy feast, as has been said, if it does not fall during the great holy week. For at that time we will use only shellfish, rather, we will receive a refreshment because of the feast since for three days of that week—that is Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday—as on the days of the first week, it is right that we should live content with some legumes soaked in water, raw vegetables, fruits that happen to be at hand, and hot water flavored with cumin. If the aforementioned holy feast should fall on those days, we shall not partake of fish but of shell-fish, as we said, and we shall drink wine of the larger measure, and we will do everything appropriate for the feast even if it should fall on Holy Thursday, or Good Friday, or even Holy Saturday itself.

On Holy Thursday your eating will be as on the days of Lent that are free from fasting in the matter of both dishes and wine; but on Holy Friday no cooking is to be done at all, but you are to partake of some raw vegetables and fruits, and wine distributed with the larger measure because of your weariness from the vigil. On Holy Saturday all anxiety that produces distraction must be avoided and there should only be a collation, as is customary. In this manner your diet for the great and holy period of Lent must be kept, though care should be shown to the sick at the discretion of the superior.

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Concerning the two short fasts, that of the Holy Apostles and that of Christmas.²⁴

The procedure for the fast of the Holy Apostles will be laid down immediately next. After the completion of the whole canonical office of the hours and the divine liturgy as the *synaxarion* prescribes in detail,²⁵ you should be summoned to the refectory at the seventh hour in accordance with the rule laid down above, and there you should eat two dishes cooked with olive oil and drink wine of the larger measure. Also supper should be set out for you consisting of a small piece of bread and the same amount of wine, namely a larger measure, because of the heat and dryness of the season. However we will not eat fish provided by the monastery; but if some were to come as a refreshment, then we should partake of it gratefully, for it is not right to forbid this during these two lesser fasts.

The fast of the Holy Nativity will be similar to that of the Holy Apostles in both food and drink, after the completion [p. 45] of course of the whole canonical office according to the *synaxarion*.²⁶ It will differ from it in these two points only—in not performing the divine liturgy each day during the period of the fast, for the day being short does not provide enough time, and in eating once. For your food should be set out for you at the ninth hour during the period of a fast, as has been said; and it will always be a fast when “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]: 27) is not sung at matins but “Alleluia.” So these rules should be kept in this way.

11. Concerning the way that the feasts of Our Lord and those of the most holy Mother of God must be celebrated.

All the divine feasts of Our Lord and those of our Lady and benefactress, the most holy Mother of God, should be celebrated by you differently from the rest, in the singing of psalms I mean, in the lighting of lamps, and in your own meals. The feast of her holy *Metastasis*, which we in fact call her Dormition, should be celebrated by you in a splendid and sumptuous manner, for it will be the feast of feasts and the festival of festivals. During this feast we order a distribution to be made at the gate of as much as we are able, and may your hand be generous. Now that we have discussed these matters sufficiently, we will, as is necessary, mention the others.

12. Concerning the fact that the monastery is to be independent and under its own control.

We instruct all in the name of our Lord God the Ruler of All that this holy monastery is to be independent, free of everyone’s control, and self-governing, and not subject to any rights, be they imperial or ecclesiastic or of a private person, but it should be watched over, steered, governed, and directed only by the Mother of God *Evergetis* who is worthy of all praise, by the prayer of our most blessed and holy father, and by the one acting as superior in it, and furthermore in accordance with the chrysobulls of the emperors now dead,²⁷ by which its independence and freedom from all control is most strongly confirmed for you, and through which you will have an independence undisturbed, completely steadfast, and unshaken.

If anyone ever at any time and in any way wishes to gain control over this monastery or put it in subjection or place it under someone’s power, whether he be an emperor or a patriarch or some other member of the clergy or of the senate or even the superior of this monastery himself or its steward or simply one of its brothers prompted by an attack of the devil, not only will he be held responsible for the divine body and blood of Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ and to the

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Mother of God [p. 47] our Lady *Evergetis*, but also “Let him be accursed” (Gal. 1:8), as the holy apostle says, and let him inherit the curse of the three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers and become joint-heir with the traitor Judas and be counted with those who shouted “away with him, away with him, crucify him” (John 19:15), and “his blood be on us and on our children” (Matt. 27:25), because this wretched person has treated wretchedly something which was once a farm and was turned into a monastery with much sweat and toil and set up to be free by those very people who established it, placing it with malicious and deceitful intent, perhaps under the power of corrupt and wicked men who look to nothing else but pernicious gain.

Not only this but that thrice-wretched, thrice-accursed one, whoever he might be, has trampled underfoot and counted as nothing the crosses of the emperors of everlasting memory which they with pious intent inscribed upon their chrysobulls when granting independence to the monastery. Will he not be called to account, no matter what his subsequent conduct may be? So then those should be the principles established in this way.

13. Concerning the installation of the superior and the steward, and the fact that the superior is not allowed to go to the city or anywhere else far away so as to sleep outside the monastery except for the three reasons listed here.

It will be useful now to mention the installation of officials, of which the most important will always be the most important, I mean that of the superior, but on this matter I must make a small plea for your charity. In the name of My Lord, brothers, I decided previously that there should be two superiors, one a recluse, the other unconfined, and that when the recluse one dies, the unconfined one should enter the hermitage and another person should be appointed by you as the unconfined one in place of him who is now the recluse one, and in order to bring this about I myself made a start as indeed you yourselves also know. But knowing that good depends on the choice made by each one, I thought that force should not be brought to bear on my successors, for it is an obvious use of force that the unconfined superior should go by command into the hermitage against his will after the death of the recluse one, and it is a very harsh yoke to bear. Furthermore, when the matter is considered, it has been found that it is not beneficial to the community in general. For these reasons, therefore, though envisaging something better, as I think, I have decided that there should be one superior after my death.

So there should be one superior, a recluse, if he wishes to be so, for that should not be totally set aside, but if he does not wish it, unconfined, [p. 49] living the whole time with you without any separation. For he will not be allowed to go to the city or a great distance anywhere else, neither to visit a relative, nor a friend, nor any of his relations, nor an official, nor any other person whatsoever whether sick or dying or for any other reason, whether reasonable, unreasonable or even the most pressing, but his excursions will be both in the area surrounding the monastery and in our estates close to it, returning from these quickly lest he should be caught sleeping somewhere outside the monastery. He will leave it if an emperor or patriarch happens to summon him or if some enemies make a raid, when all of us are forced to leave. For these reasons only will he be free to go to the city, since visits to the aforementioned estates act as a relief from *akedia*. For our instruction to him in the name of the Lord God Ruler of All will be laid upon him as an indissoluble bond and be thought of as an unscalable wall (cf. Ps. 18:29), as the divine David says, and

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as a door that will be barred against him to prevent him going from here to the city and sleeping anywhere else. If he should ever transgress this instruction, treating it as of no account, he will be excommunicated. These provisions are so that the superior should never go out of the monastery, and now I must set down in writing how he should be appointed.

After I have completed this mortal life, the one who is left by me as superior should consult with a few of you, those, that is, who always surpass the others in their conduct, manners, intellect, character, discipline, and their spiritual state and way of life, and he should choose the one who surpasses everyone in all these points and install him as steward; and he should install him in the following way.

After the dismissal from matins and the customary prayer said by the priest, a *trisagion* should be said by all and the one chosen should make three full genuflections in front of and near the holy sanctuary; then he should reverently kiss the holy, divine, and revered icons of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the most holy Mother of God and universal Benefactress. After that he should perform the proper obeisance to the superior and then offer him his head bowed and uncovered and he, making over it the sign of the venerable cross, should reverently say as follows: “The intercession of my most holy Mother of God through the prayers of the Holy Fathers is installing you steward of the monastery.” Then when he has given him the kiss in the name of the Lord, he is to set him in his appropriate place. Next all without exception are to kiss him, and after the kiss glory should be given to God and the dismissal should follow the usual prayer of the priest. [p. 51]

If this steward carries out his office faultlessly, proving to be reliable in the sight of God and you, and being judged by you as fitting for the office of superior, should the superior know in advance of his own departure from here to the Lord, he should appoint him to leadership over you, since his faultless actions as steward have already been enough to act as a test and selection and, as has been mentioned before, his mode of life has been spiritual in every way. But if the superior should die without knowing in advance, then you, that is those who are preeminent and the most devout, should place this *typikon* on the holy table and rest also the staff against it and when the one selected has entered the holy sanctuary, after the prescribed *trisagion* and these *troparia*: “Have mercy on us, have mercy, O Lord,” “Lord, Lord, turn to us from heaven and behold and visit” (Ps. 79 [80]:14), “Glory both,” “Thou, the only begotten Son, of the same substance with Thy Father and the Spirit,” and thirty repetitions of “*Kyrie eleison*” and, after he has made three full genuflections before the holy table, you should invite him to take from it the *typikon* and the staff while all repeat “He is worthy.” You should invite him to go out and stand in his appropriate place and be kissed by everyone and become your next superior appointed by God. Then again he and you should select the one who surpasses you all in virtue, and install him as steward in accordance with the regulation stated above. So much for those matters.

What follows I did not wish to commit to writing. For it should not be necessary to remove from his position and rank someone who has previously been selected for it. This would be a pleasing and agreeable state of affairs if in fact we remained unchanged and completely unmoved in our adherence to what is good, but that is impossible, for we often change and alter, such is human nature, and when we are thought worthy of honor we grow weaker with regard to the performance of good deeds, whether it is through giving way to laziness, as in most cases, since authority has a habit of weakening those who have been elevated to it whereas they ought to

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demonstrate a greater struggle and diligence, or because we feign virtue at the start through the desire for authority and the success it brings, and then when we have gained it we are immediately found to be still exactly what we were, like octopuses which when pursued by bigger fish take a tight hold of the rocks nearby and simply pretend that they are a rock, but whenever they escape the danger, they are recognizable as octopuses again, which in fact they were. For these reasons the matter must be committed to writing and punishment given as strongly as possible. [p. 53]

14. Concerning the reasons laid down by the founder for the steward to be removed and another worthy person installed.

So if the steward should continue unchanged, properly maintaining his virtue through which he was thought worthy of that rank, he will not be removed from his office but remain firm. Furthermore he will rise to the office of superior since he is worthy of it. But if time proves him to be unqualified and unsuitable, either because he has carried out his office in a careless and indifferent manner or because he has been doing favors for his relatives or has been appropriating some of the monastery's property or has shown himself to be a troublemaker and a dissident contradicting the reasonable regulations of the superior, or has been betraying or subjecting the monastery's property to anyone's control, or has been totally disregarding any of the [instructions] in the rule and following his own wishes or clearly been involved in bodily passions or has become unreasonably attached to someone in preference to the rest of the community and therefore has been proved as unsuitable for the guiding of souls, then another person should be found, someone who abounds in all goodness and is superior to him in virtue and is unimpeachable. He will be preferred to the other in every way and will be promoted to the office of steward and even that of superior. The other will be removed and made subordinate again.

That applies then while the superior is alive and is peacefully guiding your devotion. But should the superior suddenly die and has not removed this bad steward, if there is someone who surpasses him in good qualities and is pleasing to you preeminent ones, whom we have told the superior to use as advisers, and if you agree on him and are all unanimous, then he should be selected by you and immediately raised to the office of superior, and with him you should take thought about another, better steward.

But if, something I pray God does not allow, you yourselves resort to strife and discord, the bad steward himself will become your superior to avoid uproar and dissension. For when two evils lie before us then the less bad one is preferable, and it is better for you to be exposed to a little danger during the leadership of this worthless man, than to be rendered completely useless by resorting to discord and quarreling or even the remembering of injuries. For if you are living in peace and preserving good order, it is impossible that even a little harm should come to you from the leadership of this worthless man. But if you indulge in discord and quarreling, every evil will follow.

But so that he too, when he has satisfied his wish by seizing authority, may not become careless and remain completely incorrigible and totally incurable, we must not overlook the following either. If he should ever take stock of himself and give up his evil ways that were clear to all, [p. 55] and embark on the road that leads to higher things and salvation, let him stay and be your superior even if he is not completely satisfactory. But should this same man still not give up

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his evil ways but in fact indulge in them more widely, if you were unanimously agreed on one man, someone clearly better, then we instruct you to remove that worthless man from leadership over you and raise the one you have selected to the position of superior.

The one removed from office may, if he wishes, reside in a cell of the monastery and be accorded the rank and seat of second to the superior, in the refectory I mean, and at the other gatherings, being content with the food and drink and all the rest of the community's way of life. However we do not allow him to leave the monastery and following his own inclinations go where he wishes, but this matter will be for the superior to consider.

Well then, I entreat you, my beloved children in the Lord, I entreat you or rather I instruct you and I call on God as witness of my instruction and overseer of its carrying out, that when you are examining and selecting the superiors and stewards, for my instruction again is addressed to you who are chosen for this task, there should be no strife, there should be no jealousy, there should be no pointless partiality and irrational favoritism, but correct judgment, an accurate aim, and the strict yardstick of justice and truth should come together as if he was observing you, he the eye "that beholdeth all things" (Sir. 15:19) and "searcheth hearts and reins" (Ps. 7:9). Your selecting and examining should take place in that way. For if suffering from some human failing you were to produce a faulty judgment, consider how far the evil would spread and calculate how many harmful effects would follow; and if "the righteous" (II Tim. 4:8) and unerring judge were to require from you a just account for them, I do not know what defense you would make to secure your escape from condemnation, you who have, alas, with evil and ruinous judgment selected the unworthy person and brought such great harm not only on him but also on yourselves and all the others who are with you, seeing that you have secured perdition for him, yourselves, and the others. So then you will not resort to quarreling and dissension in your selection, but you should choose the selected person with unanimity and agreement. Of course if you intend to select the chosen person while the superior is still alive and you come to a single agreed wish, the superior will not oppose you, but rather will follow your agreed decision and joint wish and appoint the man selected by you. But if, something I pray does not happen, on the contrary your opinions are split and [p. 57] you are divided, he will propose whichever person he chooses taking no account of you.

15. Concerning the brothers making their confession to the superior and that none of them should have another spiritual father, and that they should confide their own thoughts to him.

I plainly instruct you all, my brothers, that as soon as your superior has been appointed you hurry to confide to him all the stirrings of your souls and confess the thoughts that harm your souls, so that he may form an idea of the quality of your attitude and relationship with him. By thoughts we mean not those that have been confessed to preceding superiors but those that trouble you day by day and hour by hour. For it is not possible, no, it is not possible that you being human should not think something wicked at some time. Do not put off something that is good, a thing you should not do, but run to it with all eagerness and speed, so that you all may be "one" (John 17:21), "being of the same mind" (Phil. 2:2), thinking the same thing, shepherded and guided by one and the same shepherd, attached and bound to one another like a chain of gold, and "fitted together into one body" (Eph. 4:16) under one head, as the holy apostle says, with the Spirit as the master builder.

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But if there should be someone who is obdurate and implacable, stubborn and obstinate, who follows his own will and does not wish to make confession to his superior but would acknowledge someone else and not this man as his spiritual father and would endeavor to confide his thoughts to him, he should be put out far away from our flock. He should be chased out at once, receiving neither mercy nor pity but as someone who removes himself by his own evil—O eyes of “God that behold all things” (Sir. 15:19)—evil and very dangerous decisions, he should be utterly rejected from the monastery and removed and counted a stranger to our group and community, our way of life and fellowship, as being the cause of dissension and discord and all other kinds of instability, disorder, and serious harm. That man should be treated thus.

16. An exhortation to the brothers concerning honor, reverence, and obedience for the superior.

You, that I may turn my attention on you again, should reserve, I beg you, for your superior all honor, all affection, all reverence, all [p. 59] unwavering submission, and all obedience as has been said by one of the Divine Fathers. For he says, “For if those caring for you are going to render account on your behalf, how will we not be submissive to them in everything, obey them, and serve them as the other parts of the body do the head.”²⁸ The divine and great apostle Paul speaks as follows in his letter to the Hebrews: “Obey your leaders and submit to them; for they are keeping watch over your souls, as men who will have to give account” (Heb. 13:17).

Also for my sake maintain love, peace, and harmony in your dealings with one another, burn with a tender affection for one another, supporting one another, “instructing, comforting, and forbearing one another, stirring up one another to love and good works”²⁹ and, to put it simply, exerting yourselves strongly to achieve whatever is good, praiseworthy, virtuous or brings salvation. For Our Lord Jesus Christ says, “This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you” (John 15:12), and again, “By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another” (John 13:35). Do you see whose disciples we will be by keeping these words? Do you see what glory and blessedness and exultation we are going to get by being disciples of the Master who loves mankind? So then, let us take his commands to heart with all zeal and power and enthusiasm.

17. An exhortation to the superior.

You, spiritual father and guide of this holy flock, be moderate with the brothers, and in your concern maintain in everything a fatherly affection for them. Yes, I entreat you, care for them all, have concern for them all, forbear with them all, support them, instructing, advising, teaching, comforting, healing the sick, supporting the weak, encouraging the faint-hearted, restoring those who sin, forgiving “seventy times seven” (Matt. 18:22) in accordance with the word of Our Lord. For it is better that we, who are imitating the Lord himself, be judged considerate [even though] a little remiss in what we ought to do, than by maintaining utmost righteousness we be condemned as heartless and haters of our brothers. Also, to omit the rest, St. Basil says “And the superior himself, as a father caring for true children, will watch over the needs of each one and will bring them suitable healing and care as far as he can, and will support with love and fatherly affection the member who is truly weak whether [p. 61] spiritually or physically.”³⁰

If you always live like that, there will be no one who will usurp unworthily the office of superior or steward, making a display perhaps of his seniority or his sphere of work or his noble

birth or rank or his offering of property or money, but that man should be preferred in these offices who has been selected by all of you who have been chosen to consider and advise the superior, and by the superior himself, even if he has been recently tonsured, or is unlearned and without experience in worldly things. For not one bit of harm will come to the monastery through this. For “God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham” (Matt. 3:9) and to give wisdom to the blind and to supply reason to those without reason, he who takes more pleasure in these people than in those who glory in their own wisdom and power and wealth and nobility. As a witness of this the truly divine and great apostle St. Paul clearly expresses it in the following words, “God chose what is foolish in the world and weak and despised to shame the wise and strong and lofty, and things which are not to bring to nothing things that are” (I Cor. 1:27–28).

Those are the instructions concerning the appointment of superiors and stewards, but I will add to what has been said another small bit which is both very useful and very necessary.

18. Concerning the fact that the brothers will not question their superiors for what purposes they receive and pay out money, but the superiors themselves will not spend the wealth of the monastery in doing favors for their relations and friends.

The brothers will not question their superiors, nor yet will they ever demand from them an account of the things for which they take in and pay out money. For this is unworthy and harmful, breeding a great deal of mistrust and producing discord, instability, and every other cause for sin. But neither will the superiors themselves spend the wealth of the monastery in doing favors for their own relations and friends. For by acting in that way they will not be taking part in the divine mysteries “in the Holy Spirit” (Rom. 9:1). For if we have judged that they should not be subject to the brothers in an examination of their actions, yet they will not really escape the unerring judge and the reproof of their conscience. Therefore they should take care not “to fall into the hands of the living God” (Heb. 10:31). For even though we are not capable of imposing on them a penalty appropriate for making unjustifiable and [p. 63] unnecessary payments and bringing about changes in the affairs and property of the monastery, yet they will not escape the fearful judgment of God, which we confer upon them in writing this. But if they are seen to be so fearless and utterly shameless that they do not even fear the condemnation of God, but spend the wealth of the monastery improperly, they will be excommunicated until they refrain from such action. It is most necessary that these things be added to what has already been said.

19. Concerning the inalienability of the sacred objects, holy icons, and immovable property, except for the reasons listed here.

We wish the sacred vessels and liturgical cloths, the holy icons and books acquired by us to be inalienable—for it is unnecessary to speak about the immovable property—and not only inalienable but also completely safe from removal and theft by anyone at all, because they were acquired with much toil and labor and were dedicated as offerings to our Lady and Mistress the most holy Mother of God *Evergetis*, and the man who hands over any of these or removes them for any reason whatsoever will be liable to the charge of sacrilege and will be subject to the penalties laid down by law for this. For neither we nor any other sensible person could define any reasonable excuse for removing these objects or handing them over, except a calamity resulting from a chance

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occurrence, perhaps one arising from a fire or a raid by some enemies who have perhaps burnt down the monastery or destroyed it to the foundations or even a destruction caused by an earthquake, and then because a great deal of expense is needed to save it or even to rebuild it. For then they will be removed or handed over with good reason. They will be removed if perhaps there is not sufficient money to save what should be saved. This is not all, but it should not be done secretly or by one man and without reference to anyone, but openly and publicly when the superior, the steward, the ecclesiarch, and the other preeminent officials have gathered together for this purpose, and the removal of what is necessary should be done in the presence of all these people, with the inventory set in the middle of them and each of the removals signed by the superior. Furthermore we instruct that there should be a detailed list to indicate the things that have been removed, signed by all those who gathered together and clearly setting out both the types of things removed and the reason for which they were removed; this should be deposited in the sacristy to inform posterity. What more?

20. Concerning the need for the treasurer to record accurately the income and expenditure of *nomismata* for the information of all.

We instruct the person who looks after the income and expenditure of the monastery [p. 65] to record everything in detail, in the case of the income from where it came and when, and in the case of the expenditure the reason for it and on what project, if he intends to avoid reproach to himself and to inform everyone. This matter has been mentioned in as fitting a manner as was possible; now our document should move on to other matters and we should speak about them also as well as we can.

21. Concerning those who chatter and talk idly that they be admonished by the superior.

If any of your number should gather on some manual task or other service and amuse themselves with idle conversations—for this is usual at gatherings—and then turn to vain chattering—for “by a multitude of words,” he says, “thou shalt not escape sin” (Prov. 10:19)—they should not reject the admonition of the superior. For we instruct him to do this in love and persuade them to give up topics which harm the soul, and either discuss matters from Holy Scripture that help the soul or be silent. “For,” the author of the Book of Proverbs says, “if thou refrain thy lips, thou wilt be prudent” (Prov. 10:19) and discreet.

Also those who happen to be on a journey and are afflicted in the same way should be cured by the same method; for these people especially must take care to guard their mind at that time, knowing how easy it is of course for the adversary [the devil] to attack them and make them fall, which I pray may not happen, seeing that they are separated from their sheepfold, flock, and shepherd. Furthermore they are not to resort to mutual rebuking or verbal sparring. For he who does such a thing will be liable to excommunication, and if he does not repent and beg for forgiveness “with a contrite heart” (Ps. 50 [51]:17) he will be punished—for we prefer that you should always be loving and peaceful towards one another and, instead of something that provokes quarrels, learn to say “Bless and forgive me, brother”—and those who form idle gatherings and visit one another with no good reason, without any pressing cause, or the knowledge of the superior, when they are admonished and do not desist from their evil behavior, they will be punished.

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22. Concerning the fact that they should not have any possessions in contravention of the rule of the monastery, and should not eat or drink in secret, etc.

Those who acquire some possessions contrary to the rule of the monastery, even so much as an obol or a piece of fruit, without the knowledge of the superior, will be liable to punishment. Similar to them is the person who eats and drinks in secret, unless he confesses, and the person who receives messages from friends and relatives, and [p. 67] replies to them. But the person who purloins something from the monastery and does not make amends will be expelled completely.

23. Concerning the fact that there should not be a fixed number of brothers but a sufficient number for the food, and that those in the monastery should be reverent and not undisciplined and disobedient.

This also should be added to what has been said. We do not wish there to be a fixed number of you, but you will be as many as will have enough food, and as many as surpass all the rest in reverence, love, and concord, and obey their superiors “in all patience” (II Cor. 12:12) and lowliness of heart, and are keen to carry out their instructions devoutly are to be preferred. The rest should be sent away even if you have to be reduced to small numbers. For “one person doing the will of the Lord is better than ten thousand transgressors” (cf. Sir. 16:3).

24. Concerning the fact that the brothers are not allowed to have servants.

It will not be possible for you to have servants, but it is very good that there should be two of you in your cells united by the law of spiritual love, being of the same mind and really living together as brothers in harmony, bearing the same yoke of Our Lord wholeheartedly, being subservient to one another in peace, proper care and reverence so that you will have the opportunity to fulfill the word of David, “See now! what is so good, or what so pleasant, as for brethren to dwell together?” (Ps. 132 [133]:1). But in this matter also, it is necessary to make specific distinctions, namely, that the novice should defer to the one who is more advanced, the more unlearned to the more educated, the more uncouth to the more sophisticated, and the younger to the older. But if the superior should decide that some should be alone in their cells, he himself may sanction the arrangement.

25. Concerning the fact that garments should be bought in advance and deposited in the storehouse.

We prescribe that garments be bought and deposited in the storehouse so that when you need them you may receive them; and it is good to take care of your old garments as much as you can and use them. For only a use that is necessary should be sought, and a surplus should be hated as being of the devil. We give the same instruction also in the case of cloaks and [p. 69] vests and shoes, and in short, all necessities. So whenever anyone has a pressing need to receive a new item of these articles, he must bring the old one of course to the storehouse and hand this over and receive another one with the knowledge of the superior. For otherwise, if you do not bring the old garments, we order that you be not given any.

26. Concerning the fact that everyone should have the same food and drink and clothing, apart from those who are clearly ill.

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In addition to these we give you this instruction before God and our Lady herself Mother of God *Evergetis*, that you should all have the same food and drink, clothing and footwear, and that there should never be any difference in these things among you. But you will all use the same—I mean the superior, the steward, the ecclesiarch, those who are distinguished in age and virtue and in their exalted station in life, and those who are inferior to them in these matters. For you should only help and take care in every way of those who are clearly afflicted with illness, and for this reason perhaps need better food and drink to sustain their unfortunate bodies. For I think that this shows discernment and preserves the conscience of everyone else free of offense.

27. Concerning the fact that the superior should visit the cells of the brothers each month, and if he finds anything more than is necessary for them, he is to take it.

The superior must do this also, that is he should enter your cells once a month whenever he wishes, and if any have extra items, he should take them away and deposit them in the storehouse or give them to those in need.

28. Concerning the fact that there should be a bath for the sick and it should be heated, but it should only be heated three times a year for the brothers who are healthy.

You should live completely without bathing. For although we have built a bath in the monastery, yet it was not that you should live in an effeminate way, bathing and being in good physical condition, but that the sick could be comforted, if necessary. However we give permission for those who are healthy to have a bath three times during the year, at the feast of the Holy Nativity, at Holy Easter, and thirdly at the feast of the bodily *Metastasis* from this world of our most holy Lady Mother of God; but extra bathing, if necessary, should be permitted at the discretion of the superior. [p. 71] So these instructions are enough for your virtue, but lest you wrangle about the other matters, I must deal with them also.

29. Concerning the installation of officials, that it should take place in the manner of the steward's installation.³¹

The installation of officials must take place in the manner of the steward's installation,³² that is, the keys should be placed before Christ or the Mother of God, and after a *trisagion*, the one who is being installed after the three required genuflections should take the keys from there with his own hands, then bow his head to the superior, and receive from him the blessing mentioned above. However for the installations which do not involve keys, the kissing of the divine icon and the *sphragis* of the superior will be sufficient for the installation.

30. Concerning the fact that there should be a sacristan in the monastery and a treasurer for money and a treasurer for linen.

It is fitting therefore that there should be three treasurers, of whom one should look after the sacred vessels and cloths and in short anything that is important, and he should be called the sacristan, the second should keep the money of the monastery, and the other one should distribute to the brothers necessities from the storehouse, I mean clothing and footwear and so forth, and see to the comfort of visiting brothers in their bedrooms as far as he is able. The common table of course will minister to their need for food to meet the occasion and the person.

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31. Concerning the fact that there should be a disciplinary official and a refectorian.

It is necessary that there should be a disciplinary official observing the brothers both as they enter the church for the singing of psalms and as they gather for meals, and in the same way at every hour advising and correcting in a brotherly way any who sit down together without good reason or chatter idly or do nothing or do something improper and foolish, persuading them to go to their cells and devote themselves to prayer and handiwork.

Furthermore there should also be a refectorian, attending to whatever the cellarer supplies him with, and going round the refectory at meal times reminding those brothers who are noisy perhaps or are whispering of the need for silence and that each of them should be reciting the fiftieth psalm in his mind. Also he should question visitors and sit them down at the table in a fitting position, and he should observe the entry of the brothers into the refectory and note which of them [p. 73] was absent during grace and which during the meal and report these to the superior. For if he does not do this, he will be punished as one who is not carrying out his office wholeheartedly.

32. Concerning the fact that those who carry out their offices devoutly and with care should be left unchanged, but those who perform them in a deceitful and careless manner should be removed and others appointed, and the founder's curse rests on those who appropriate anything as a result of their offices.

Naturally it is just to leave unchanged those who have been appointed to each of the offices while they are performing them in a careful and devout manner, but those who neglect or despise them and perhaps even behave deceitfully in them should be removed and others appointed. If one of these people were to appropriate something, anything at all, he will be answerable to our Lord Jesus Christ and his all-pure Mother, everyone's benefactress, from whom in fact he received his keys, promising to carry out his office eagerly and without deceit.

33. An exhortation to all those with offices both inside and outside the monastery.

So I entreat the cellarers, the bakers, the cooks, those who look after the mules, those responsible for the dependencies, those acting as stewards in the monastery's properties, those sent to the City [of Constantinople], those going away elsewhere on the instruction of the superiors, and in short all those carrying out offices, to apply themselves to their offices wholeheartedly since they expect no small recompense from them. As regards those among them who are unlettered, the diligence and care they show in their office will be totally sufficient as their defense before God and us, but we exhort those who are educated but are perhaps prevented by the busy nature of their office from carrying out the daily cycle of prayers and from meeting with the brothers in the services not to be neglectful or despairing, as if they had lost the benefit to themselves, but be more cheerful and joyful because the Lord has given them the strength to serve their brothers in imitation of him, who says, "I came not to be served but to serve and to give my life as a ransom for many" (Matt. 20:28).

You see, my brothers, what work you perform, you see whom you imitate. You see that you are putting into practice the greatest of all good, love. Why then [p. 75] do you grieve and are sorrowful when you miss the service? Do you not think that "you are laying down your lives" for

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many (cf. John 10:11; 15), like my Master, Christ, so that of course you may bring comfort to your brothers? So, you should be happy and rejoice because you yourselves are accomplishing each day by your work what could scarcely be achieved by those who devote themselves to prayer. You are blessed in that occupation and to be envied. For prayer is indeed a fine thing, a very fine thing, bringing us into contact with God and raising us from earth to heaven, but love is of course greater and much more important. For the former is a part of virtue and an element and section of the whole body of sanctification that brings perfection, but love is its crown and consummation. For joined to itself it displays humility that exalts (cf. Matt. 23:12), mercy, and love of mankind, because of which God indeed became man and is called God, and through which man is revealed as God and like “the Heavenly Father” (Matt. 5:48).

So why do you give up the treasure-house and culmination of all these good things and run to what is inferior and to the possession of one thing, when thus having reached the summit easily you should hold on to it securely and do everything so as not to be thrown down from it? “We are afraid,” they say, “because of our failure to carry out the rule”; but do not be afraid, for sincere confession will make up to you failure in this, justly granting you pardon. Only let it not be a failure caused by indolence. Fear this, be on your guard against this; but if this is not the case, then rejoice, I beg you, attending to your offices eagerly. Those with offices who have been sufficiently advised by this will be devoted to their office and will carry it out well. But I will add to my discourse that matter which has almost slipped by me.

34. Concerning the sort of people that should be sent out as superintendents in the properties.

Since then as a consequence of our weakness we have gained possession of some small pieces of immovable property, the superior must have concern for them also, and he should be as careful as he can as to what sort of people are sent to have the oversight of them, that is, they should always be reverent and discreet, and elderly if possible, unaffected by passions because of the attacks of Belial (II Cor. 6:15). Since we have now dealt in a fitting manner and at sufficient length about matters that concern the monastery, we will discuss therefore our fathers and brothers who have died. [p. 77]

35. Concerning the holy remembrance of our holy father lord Paul, the first founder.

It is fitting that you should celebrate with a feast the remembrance of our thrice-blessed and glorious father and founder lord Paul in a splendid manner and with the chanting of psalms all night; this falls on the sixteenth of April. When, as often, it occurs within Holy Week and on the days of Easter Week, the celebration will always take place on a non-feast day during the week after Easter Week. But if it should fall on an ordinary day outside these days, then it will of course be celebrated without delay on that very day on which it falls, unless it is a Sunday.

36. Concerning the commemorations for the fathers and brothers who have died and for those who have done something worthy of remembrance for the monastery, and concerning the distribution on their behalf at the gate.

Furthermore, commemorations should take place every year for all those who have accomplished for the monastery something worthy of remembrance and have specified that they should

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be remembered by us, and equally for those brothers whose names were and will be inscribed on the diptychs. In addition, whenever someone has recently died, he should be remembered every day during each service, and I mean during matins and the liturgy and vespers, in *ekteneis* until his commemoration on the fortieth day, during which also every day an offering will be made on his behalf. In addition to this the ecclesiarch must note down the commemorations of each of those who die so that you may not forget them and may perform them without fail.

Yet on this matter I must prescribe something more practical: for as the numbers of brothers dying increases, it is possible that sometimes the commemorations for three or four or even more will fall in the same week and those who are going to carry out the commemoration for each brother during the night office are forced always to leave out the canons prescribed for the night offices which are an obligatory duty for you each day, and chant the canon for the deceased. So that this may not happen, we command that, if some of the brothers should prefer to go away and chant the funeral canon, while the rest carry out that laid down for the night office of intercession, that should be carried out and is acceptable to us and, I think, to God. But if perhaps because of winter or even illness, that I may not mention laziness, you would not want to do this, then you must observe all the commemorations that you know occur together in one and the same week, and carry them all out for [p. 79] all of the people at the same time during one night office, unless there is a commemoration for one of your former superiors. For his commemoration must be carried out on its own, since he will be rendering account on behalf of you all. In that way you are satisfying your obligation to commemorate your brothers and you are not failing in the canon. So in both the night offices and in the liturgies on their behalf it is fine that commemorations should take place for them all at the same time during one service as long as offerings are made for each one.

Since a priest specifically to look after burials has been established, let him act as he wishes or rather as he is able. As regards the distributions at the gate on behalf of certain people, for example let me say Promotenos, Kataphloron,³³ and in short everyone at all who has left or will leave something worthy of remembrance to the monastery, and people who have agreed or will agree that something be distributed for their commemoration, as has been said, we urge that these be carried out generously.

However, as regards the diptychs we command in the Lord both the priests themselves and the deacons to consult them at every liturgy in order to commemorate those who are listed on them, so that they themselves may not bear the accusation of having forgotten and neglected them. Enough has now been said also about these matters.

37. Concerning those who are tonsured.

I must speak also about those who are tonsured. If they are distinguished people or of people known to you for a long time and have a close knowledge of our way of life, they should be tonsured within the customary period of time, if perhaps they themselves ask for this and are accepted. But if they are common and unknown, after an interval of seven days after their arrival here they should assume the [novice's] rags and put on the monastic headdress, and they should be appointed to tasks according to their abilities and observed to see if they carry out these with perseverance and humility. If they persevere in this attitude for six whole months, then they should

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be enrolled among the brothers by being tonsured and should receive the pledge of the divine and angelic habit. But if they perhaps appear to have grown tired, grumbling and being negligent about instructions, it will be the responsibility of the superior whether they should be accepted or not. Furthermore he should consider carefully the monks who come from a different monastery.

Then those who have been judged worthy to be accepted should not be put under any compulsion concerning a renunciation and an entrance offering. For one must not traffic in the grace of God [p. 81] or sell it for money, lest anyone causes shame thereby and inflicts a reproach on those among us who have been tonsured without payment, and lest that evil and accursed expression is introduced, that is, “mine and yours” and greater and smaller, and that the one who has made an offering is thought to be more important than the one who has not.³⁴ May it not happen, may that not happen among us ever. But if the one who is to be tonsured himself willingly chooses to offer something, it should be accepted. For that is freely chosen and not forced, being the action of a pious mind in the category of almsgiving and doing good, and in exchange for God’s recompense is to atone for his sins, and moreover that we might speak the truth, is brought as an offering to God and his all-pure Mother the *Evergetis*. For a renunciation and an entrance offering are one thing and a gift another, whether an act of almsgiving or an offering; for the former has within it the repayment of expectation and, like some necessity that has to be bought, is paid in advance for some agreements and exchanges perhaps stated, but the other is offered freely with heavenly hopes and recompenses.

Therefore the person who offers must not suppose that he has any preference over the rest of the brothers because of this, but should be treated in the same way as everyone and according to the rule of the monastery then in force. If someone who has made an offering is ever tempted by demons—there are many such examples of fickleness—and tries to leave the monastery and would like to take his offering away with him, that should not be given him, whatever it happens to be. For what has once been consecrated to God must not be taken away, and he who takes it away is sacrilegious and everyone knows the sort of punishment that committing sacrilege brings, even if we do not say it. That deals with that matter.

38. Concerning the daily distribution at the gate and the reception of strangers and sick people in the hospice.

You must observe closely what we will say since it will bestow on you much benefit and salvation. What is this? It is the distribution at the gate and the comforting and visiting of strangers and the sick for whom we built the hospice, begging the site from some devout Christian on the understanding that we would guarantee to comfort stranger brothers and provide whatever care we could to those among them that are sick and confined to bed, to clothe and give footwear to those who are naked and unshod using your old tunics and footwear, distributed not by you yourselves—for we do not permit that—but by the superior, to feed the hungry and refresh them, as we said, with the bread and wine already specified and some legumes, those that [p. 83] are excess to your needs—for these should have come from your lack, but since this is not possible, let them come from your excess, for what a person can do is dear to God—and to bury those who die in the strangers’ burial-place built for them, lest gaining the less important things from you they should unwittingly be neglected in something greater and more important, and not to bury them simply

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nor in any haphazard fashion, but first the burial chants are to be sung by you and they should receive the other care, to put it simply, to show our stranger brothers complete joyfulness so that we may receive from God joyful and abundant mercy on their behalf.

For we do not wish anyone to return from our gate empty-handed, except a woman. For they should not receive a share, “not that we hate our fellow human beings, certainly not,”³⁵ but we fear harm from that quarter, in case if a habit was generally accepted they would visit the gate more frequently and would be found to be the cause of evil rather than good to those ministering. If however there is a general distribution, as at the feast of the Dormition of our most-holy Lady the Mother of God and at different commemorations of the dead, giving also to women should not be prevented. For this occurs rarely and does not cause us any harm.

39. Concerning the fact that the monastery is not to be entered by women except eminent and noble ones.

We wished and desired the monastery not to be entered and to be completely impassable to women, but the nobility of many and the fact that it was not possible to send them away easily prevented us giving this order. Therefore, as many as are well-known for their way of life and virtue, their nobility and eminence, may come in but very rarely and carefully and, if possible, unexpectedly, so that in that way we may be able to preserve our respect for them and maintain freedom from harm for ourselves.

Regarding other offices, which the other monasteries usually have, I wish people to be appointed to them in the monastery as the occasion demands and if there is urgent need; for then they [the offices] will be beneficial and be connected to the maintenance of the monastery.³⁶

40. An exhortation from the founder to everyone, namely the superior, the steward and the brothers, to keep unbroken all the regulations in this his *typikon*.

I beseech you all, my brothers and beloved children in the Lord, [p. 85] to keep unbroken and unchanged my wishes couched in all the regulations set down for you above by me your sinful father, and my desire, advice, and instruction which is for your benefit, the salvation of your souls, the safety and comfort of all, and, to mention it, an adornment and cause for boasting (cf. Phil. 2:16) for my soul in the presence of the Lord. For it is for this reason that we set out clearly and openly and were careful in this *typikon* to remove also every source of scandal as far as is possible for us, lest after our death Satan, the enemy of our souls, might find a chance, which I pray does not happen, O my Mistress and Lady *Evergetis* worthy of all praise, to dislodge you from the correct attitude and set up his own siege engine and overthrow what has been well established with much sweat and toil and with God’s help and built up into this beauty which is now visible.

For, after so much steadfastness and as close a conformity as is possible on our part, I know that one day a source of evil will arise to bring evil and pretexts and suggestions for crooked and perverse dealings on the part of the wicked and perverse wild beast, but you, almost all of you, being illuminated by the grace of Christ and from your constant reading of the divine scriptures and instruction being well aware of his craftiness and how you ought to repel it, as a result of experience itself and the things by which you yourselves have been tested and proved, resist evil firmly, having the great and unbreakable assistance of God through the fervent intercessions of

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our most pure and holy Mistress and Lady the Mother of God and through the prayers of our holy father of blessed memory and, I will add, the prayer of my sinful self.

The one who does not know his obligations should be taught and instructed in a brotherly way by the one who has a good knowledge of this, and again he who is uneducated and lacking in understanding should be rebuked by the person with more understanding, and thus you, being supported the one by the other in the Holy Spirit and love (cf. Rom. 9:1; Eph. 4:16), united as if in a military company and taught what is good and spiritual and brings salvation, as has been explained, I know well and have confidence in Christ our “true God” (I John 5:20) and his most holy mother the Mother of God, our protectress and defender, that you will always be kept free from harm. The enemy thus finding you armed and fortified will be put to shame and convicted of gaping in vain and to no purpose, and unsuccessful will be cast away far from you. But you will be kept safe, and be glorified, and will live in peace, and for your beneficence and devout way of life you will become the envy of all throughout all [p. 87] the days of your life. When I have mentioned one more matter, I will finish my discourse.

41. Concerning the infirmary and the sick.

Seeing that I have already spoken a few things before about our sick brothers, assigning all their care to the discretion of the superior, I must discuss them at greater length. Therefore we order that a cell be set aside for the sick as an infirmary, and eight beds for their rest and comfort, and two orderlies to minister to them in every way, and a large stove on which their food should be cooked and the other things for their comfort should be heated, and their care should not be carried out in a perfunctory manner but as well as possible with regard to food and drink and other necessities.

The doctor, if there is one, should call at the infirmary neither rarely nor as an extra, but should visit the brothers every day and in a wholehearted manner and bring the things that each one needs. But our sick brothers emboldened by this should not cast off self-restraint by seeking for extra things and things which perhaps they have never even heard of, much less seen and eaten, but they should restrain and control themselves, being satisfied only with those things which the circumstance of the season and the resources of the monastery provide for them. For if we command that they be cared for because of the [divine] commandment, yet we do not allow them to give themselves airs, but live in a more restrained manner, and as monks ought, so that they may receive from God the reward of their endurance, which the deprivation of their desires and the unpleasantness of their sickness is going to secure for them.

42. A further exhortation from the founder.

So then these are our wishes and are acceptable to God and the *Evergetis*, and they are greatly beneficial for your help; in the future it will be your concern to maintain them unbroken and unchanged always. By this I mean, to carry out completely in all the services the canonical procedure handed on to you, to preserve loyalty and honor which is due to your superiors, to love one another, to be keen each of you to surpass each other in humility, to labor with one another in everything as the limbs of one body and “to complete what is lacking” (Col. 1:24) in one another, not to stir up quarrels nor form improper friendships or cause schisms and breakaway services, [p. 89] to refrain from claiming the seat of honor and worldly preferments, but look to one thing only,

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that is to live and conduct yourselves virtuously and breathe in nothing else, if possible, than the word of salvation and everything that is for the edification and benefit of your soul, furthermore to banish from you the source of all evils, I mean the love of money and the love of power, and the filching and secret acquisition of the monastery's possessions or in any other way at all to set aside and store up anything whatsoever which the superior has not approved nor the rule given to you has allowed, not only that but as a result of carelessness or some other act of disregard to allow something belonging to the monastery to disappear. For that is the same as the former case, even if it seems to be somewhat different, and brings the same liability in the presence of God. You must root out familiarity as much as possible and, that I may be brief, banish everything that does not lead to salvation.

So, my children and brothers, let us in no way prefer the things that harm, and pass by those that bring salvation; for nothing of what has been handed on to you is impossible or hard to accomplish. But if one of these [instructions] were to be thought of as such, perhaps by some of those who are weaker, yet let us strive, let us persevere, let us endure, let us bear it nobly, let us force ourselves a little. For we did not abandon the world for indulgence and luxury, but for exertion and to strive as much as we could to gain the good things that were promised. Therefore let us force ourselves, let us force ourselves, as has been said; "for the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence, and men of violence take it by force" (Matt. 11:12).³⁷ No one has ever gained a triumph by being careless, no one has triumphed over his enemy by sleeping and dreaming. Crowns and triumphs belong to those who run well, toil, strive, persevere in the labors of battles. "Through many tribulations," the Lord says, "we must enter the kingdom of heaven" (Acts 14:22). So then I beseech you all to "lead a life worthy of your calling" (Eph. 4:1), "present your bodies holy to the Lord" (cf. Rom. 12:1), "love one another" (John 15:12), "run well the race that is set before you" (cf. Heb. 12:1). Whatsoever is good, whatsoever is beloved of God, consider these things (cf. Phil. 4:8). Do not fail to do the things "you have heard and learned" (Phil. 4:9). My brothers, "the appointed time has grown very short" (I Cor. 7:29). Remember your souls and our insignificance, do not forget us in your prayers. [p. 91]

43. Concerning the reading of the *typikon* at the beginning of each month.

I instruct you to read the present *typikon* at the beginning of each month during your meal-times, to remind you of your instructions and for the benefit of your souls. For in that way you will be convinced about your own salvation, if you have kept well what you received from your fathers and are paying back to me in the Lord my wages for rearing you with this spiritual upbringing and instruction. "The God of peace who called us to his eternal glory" (Heb. 13:20–21), through his great and unspeakable goodness confirm and strengthen you in his holy will through his only-begotten Son Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ and the All-holy Life-giving Spirit, to whom belong all glory, honor, worship, and majesty now and always and for ever and ever, Amen. Glory to Thee, our God, glory to Thee.

[Appendix]

Since then the Lord, who always “fulfills the desire of those who fear him” (Ps. 144 [145]:19) by his ineffable decrees, brought it about that the commemoration for our most holy father and first founder lord Paul should coincide with the death of our sanctified father and second founder lord Timothy, who passed away on that very same day that the former went to the Lord, we thought that the commemorations for both of them ought to be carried out jointly on one and the same day, as indeed the latter of them told and commanded us while he was still alive, and that is the sixteenth of April. The *synaxarion* makes clear how it must be celebrated.³⁸ Therefore we instruct in the Holy Spirit (cf. Rom. 9:1) all who come after us never to separate their annual commemoration for any reason or circumstance whatever, but always to celebrate it jointly in the way that has been prescribed and handed down by us, for as long as this world exists.

In connection with this you must know and observe this also, that our holy father of blessed memory, the monk lord Timothy, with the other things which he compiled in the present *typikon* also gave this instruction,³⁹ that we are not to use wine at all during the first week of the great and holy fast until the vigil of the holy and great martyr Theodore and to do the same on all the remaining Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays of the same holy fast. But since the sick were suffering from the [p. 93] hot drink flavored with cumin, or to put it more clearly, even those who were well were falling sick from it, when the *pansebastos sebastos* and *megas doux*, the monk lord Antony,⁴⁰ noticed this, feeling pity for the brothers because of the standing throughout the night and the prolonged chanting and sleeplessness and furthermore the harm that came to them from the cumin-flavored drink, he begged us most fervently “with a contrite heart” (Ps. 50 [51]:17) that the brothers should receive some wine from the Wednesday of the first week and thereafter, I mean on all the remaining Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.

Therefore not wishing to grieve the aforementioned man beloved of God, we have yielded to his entreaty both out of reverence for his virtue and out of pious regard for his action, and on account of the fact that this man has made many other contributions to the monastery and built a vineyard at his own expense outside and yet near to the monastery for this purpose that the brothers could drink wine during the holy great fast, furthermore because he granted us an exemption for twelve of our dependent peasants⁴¹ on our property situated in Boleron and called the property of Theophanes, and similarly for sixteen other dependent peasants also of the class of *zeugaratoi* on our property situated in Chortokopion and called the property of Epiphanius. For this reason we instruct you to partake of the wine gratefully and to pray unceasingly for the aforementioned man beloved of God, and [not] to consider yourselves guilty⁴² since most people, showing extreme asceticism, abstain even from water; and we order that none of those after us henceforth has the power for whatever reason to curtail this benefit which takes place in memory of the aforementioned person and for the comfort of the whole brotherhood.

“The God of peace who has called us to his eternal glory” (Heb. 13:20–21; I Pet. 5:10) through his great and ineffable goodness confirm and strengthen you in his holy will through his only-begotten Son, Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ and the All-holy and life-giving Spirit, to whom belong all glory, honor, worship, and majesty both now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.

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Pleasant is the harbor to those who sail
and the end of the book again to those who write;
for both bring [them] rest from [their] labors.

This book of the *typikon* was dedicated to the divine and imperial church honored with the name of my all-holy Lady *Petritziotissa* by the lord [p. 95] Nikephoros in memory of his parents, and of Constantine, Helen, and Nikephoros; and anyone who removes this from the monastery will be liable to the anathema of the three hundred and eighteen inspired fathers who gathered at Nicaea.⁴³

Notes on the Translation

1. The indiction and the year do not agree; Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 6, suggested that either the second indiction be corrected here to the first, or the date of 6556 be corrected to 6557; at p. 16, 4, he indicated his preference for the latter, yielding 1049 as the year of *Evergetis*’ foundation.
2. The inventory has been lost; see Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 12, for its possible former location in our manuscript.
3. See [10] below.
4. According to the *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pp. 512, 516–17, the *Catecheses* of Theodore the Studite were read during Lent on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, while on the other days of the week there were readings from John Klimakos and Ephraem Syrus; see Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 20, n. 12. Outside Lent, however, the *catechesis* read by the superior must have come from the *Catecheticon* of Paul Evergetinos. See *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, p. 602 where the *catechesis* is supposed to be from the *paterikon* (i.e., Paul’s *Catecheticon*). We are indebted to our translator for this information. A critical edition and translation of Paul’s *Catecheticon* is currently being prepared by Barbara Crostini of Oxford University for the Belfast Texts and Translations Series.
5. Prayer attributed to Basil of Caesarea; cf. *Horologion to Mega*, ed. M. Saliveros (Athens, n.d.), p. 118.
6. Cf. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones Asceticae* 12, PG 31, col. 1376AB.
7. Unidentified quotation.
8. For this meaning of *phylattomai* (“to refrain from”/“to avoid”) cf. P. Karlin-Hayter, “Lexicographical Notes,” *Byzantion* 55 (1985), p. 591.
9. August 15.
10. *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pp. 314, 458, 609.
11. The water clock is also mentioned in the *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pp. 441, 556; cf. (4) *Stoudios* [2] and (11) *Ath. Rule* [1].
12. *Ton typon tou timiou staurou . . . meta tou thymiateriou episphragizontos*; on *typos* (“sign”), cf. Lampe, *PGL*, s.v. *typos*, C. 1. On *episphragizo* (“to make the sign of the cross in an act of consecration”), see *ibid.*, s.v. *episphragizo*, 3, and especially s.v. *sphragizo*, B. On the censuring of the sanctuary, see (28) *Pantokrator* [2].
13. *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pp. 271–72, 344–45, 356–57, 364–65, 406–7, 430–31, 480–81.
14. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 26 ([LR 26]), PG 31, col. 985CD.
15. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi* 4, PG 88, cols. 681B, 705C.
16. *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pp. 499–601, 601–7.
17. Ps. 144 [145]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [40], (28) *Pantokrator* [9].
18. See *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, p. 517, with Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 34, n. 28
19. Unidentified quotation.
20. Saturday of the first week in Lent.

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21. Feast of the Discovery of the Head of St. John the Forerunner, February 24; feast of the Forty Martyrs, March 9.
22. *groute*: gruel consisting of plain or roasted flour mixed with hot water. See Koukoules, *BBP*, vol. 5, p. 38.
23. Feast of the Annunciation, March 25.
24. Fast of the Holy Apostles, from Monday after the feast of All Saints (Sunday after Pentecost) through the vigil of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 28; Christmas fast (= fast of St. Philip), from November 15 until Christmas.
25. *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pp. 601–7.
26. *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, p. 314.
27. Probably including Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1054) and perhaps also Michael VI (1056–1057) and Constantine X Doukas (1059–1067).
28. Unidentified quotation.
29. Rom. 15:14; I Thess. 4:18; Eph. 4:2; Heb. 10:24.
30. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones asceticae* 28, *PG* 31, col. 1417C.
31. *Peri tou tous diakonetas cheirotonein kata ten tou oikonomou procheirisin*. The terms *cheirotonia* (“ordination”) and *cheirotonein* (“to ordain”) are used in the sense of *procheirisis* (“installation”/“appointment”) and *procheirizein* (“to install”/“to appoint”) throughout the *Typika*. On the Byzantines’ ambiguous usage of *cheirotonia*, see Darrouzès, *Οφφίκια*, 147–57.
32. That is, as in [13] above.
33. According to Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 78, n. 60, these benefactors are not otherwise known.
34. Cf. the discussion in *Vita S. Athanasii Athonitae Vita Prima (Vita A)*, chap. 88, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae* (Louvain, 1982), p. 41, and *Vita Secunda (Vita B)*, chap. 29, ed. Noret, p. 158: see (11) *Ath. Rule*, introduction, n. 3. On the phrase “mine and yours” as the source of all evils, see John Chrysostom, *De sancto Philogonio*, *PG* 48, col. 749.
35. See Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones asceticae*, 3, *PG* 31, col. 1345C.
36. Presumably in view of this passage, Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 70, n. 53, viewed the omission in [31] of the office of librarian, which the monk George is known from a note in a manuscript to have held in 1064, to be an indication of the prior date of this section of the *typikon*.
37. Quoted from the Basilian *Sermo de renunciatione saeculi*, *PG* 31, col. 645D.
38. *Synaxarion*, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pp. 446–48.
39. In [10] above.
40. For this individual, see Skoulatos, *Personnages*, p. 148.
41. *Paroikoi*.
42. Reading *me katakrinein* for *katakrinein*.
43. According to Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 94, n. 77, this note is in a hand of the 16th century; the donor and beneficiary institution are otherwise unattested unless the latter is a reference to the monastery of *Petritzonitissa* for which (23) *Pakourianos* was written.

Document Notes

- [1] Introduction to the rule. Note the emergence of a distinction between the the disciplinary regulation of the present founder’s *typikon* and the liturgical *typikon* that was originally to be found at the end of our manuscript; see Gautier, “Évergétis,” p. 12.
- [2] Biographical excursus on the first founder. For Paul Evergetinos, see Solignac, “Paul Évergétinos,” cols. 562–64.
- [3] Succession of Timothy, the second founder; his contributions. The chapter heading was added in the re-edition after Timothy’s death. The list of benefactors appears also in (30) *Phoberos* [8]; the introduction to the discussion of the canonical hours found here also appears in (34) *Machairas* [30].
- [4] Offices of the first, third and sixth hours. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27)

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- Kecharitomene* [32], [33]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13], [14]; (30) *Phoberos* [9], [10], [11]; (32) *Mamas* [47]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46], and (34) *Machairas* [31], [32], [33], [34], [36]. See also other treatments of these offices in (4) *Stoudios* [A10], [33], [A36]; (10) *Eleousa* [7]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [7], [8], [9]; and (20) *Black Mountain* [10], cf. [25], [26].
- [5] Guidelines for reception of communion. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [33]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [14]; (30) *Phoberos* [11]; (32) *Mamas* [32]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [32]; (34) *Machairas* [36], [37], [38], [39]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [16].
- [6] Prescriptions for the ninth hour, vespers, compline, night office, midnight office and matins. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [35], [36], [37], [38], [39]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15]; (30) *Phoberos* [12], [13]; (32) *Mamas* [47]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]; and (34) *Machairas* [48]. See also other treatments of these offices in (4) *Stoudios* [2], [A3], [4], [10], [11], [12], [13], [18], [19], [20], [21], [22], [26], [27], [29], [30], [31], [32], [31], [33], [A36], [A37], [B38]; (10) *Eleousa* [7]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [2], [3], [4], [7], [8], [9], [26], [27], [29]; and (20) *Black Mountain* [11], [12], [13], [14], [15], [16], [17], [18], [19].
- [7] Confession. *Exagoreusis* was not always sacramental in nature; it was offered twice daily after matins and compline. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [16], [17], [18]; (30) *Phoberos* [14], [15]; (32) *Mamas* [30]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [30]; and (34) *Machairas* [50], [51], [52], [53]. See also the contemporary treatment in (23) *Pakourianos* [13], which also provides for daily confession, exclusively to the superior. The requirement of exclusive confession is repeated in [15] below.
- [8] Use of the *synaxarion* for fasts and vigils. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [19] and (30) *Phoberos* [16]. Cf. the contrary provision of (20) *Black Mountain* [20].
- [9] Refectory procedures. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [40], [41], [42], [43]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [20], [21], [22], [23], [24]; (30) *Phoberos* [20], [21], [22], [23], [24], [26]; (32) *Mamas* [17], [36]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], [35]; (34) *Machairas* [61], [62], [63], [64], [66]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [8]. As can be seen, later authors preferred to subdivide this long chapter in their own works. See also other discussions in (4) *Stoudios* [28], [29]; (10) *Eleousa* [4]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [21]; (20) *Black Mountain* [33]; (23) *Pakourianos* [8]; and (31) *Areia* [T3]. The injunction against secret eating is repeated below again in [22].
- [10] Dietary regulations for fasts. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], [48]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [25], [26], [27], [28]; (30) *Phoberos* [27], [28], [29], [30]; (32) *Mamas* [18]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18]; and (34) *Machairas* [67], [68], [69], [70], [71], [72], [73], [76]. As with [9] above, later authors preferred to subdivide this long chapter in their own works. See also earlier regulations for fasts in (4) *Stoudios* [30], [31]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [23], [24], [25], [26]; (20) *Black Mountain* [38], [38R], [53], [54], [56], [57], [58], [59], [60], [61], [62], [63], [64], [65], [66], [67]; as well as the contemporary treatment in (23) *Pakourianos* [10].
- [11] Celebration of the feasts of the Lord and feasts of the Mother of God. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [29] and (30) *Phoberos* [32]. See also the earlier treatment in (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [8], the contemporary treatments in (10) *Eleousa* [13], (23) *Pakourianos* [11], and the critical discussion in (20) *Black Mountain* [48], [52], [53].
- [12] Free and self-governing status. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [1]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [31]; (30) *Phoberos* [33]; (32) *Mamas* [4]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [4]; and (34) *Machairas* [21]. See also the earlier provisions in (9) *Galesios* [247] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [18] ff.; as well as the contemporary provisions in (10) *Eleousa* [18]; (19) *Attaleiates* [14]; (23) *Pakourianos* [18]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A16]. The curse is similar to that in (8) *John Xenos* [2].
- [13] Choice of the superior and the steward. This, along with [14] below, was one of *Evergetis'* more problematic chapters for later users of this document; the provision for the routine elevation of the steward to the superiorship did not find favor among them, but they were anxious to utilize parts of this chapter nevertheless; see later copyings, in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [11],

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- [13]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [31], [33], [34]; (30) *Phoberos* [33], [34], [35]; (32) *Mamas* [1], [2], [7]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1], [2], [7]; and (34) *Machairas* [80], [81], [88]. See also other treatments in (10) *Eleousa* [15], [16]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [15], [16], [17], [19]; (14) *Ath. Testament* [13], [14]; (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [13]; (18) *Nea Gephyra* [3]; (19) *Attaleiates* [26], [29]; (23) *Pakourianos* [5]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A18].
- [14] Justifications for removal of the steward. Another problematic chapter; the provision for retaining a bad steward was particularly distasteful to most of *Evergetis*' later users. Obviously the chapter heading here must postdate Timothy's editorship of the document. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], [13]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [41], [42]; (30) *Phoberos* [35]; (32) *Mamas* [2], [45]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [2], [45]; (34) *Machairas* [89], [90]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [18]. See also other treatments of the deposition of a foundation's leaders in (10) *Eleousa* [16]; (14) *Ath. Testament* [16]; (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [9]; (18) *Nea Gephyra* [3]; (19) *Attaleiates* [26]; (21) *Roidion* [A1], [A3], [A4], [B20]; (23) *Pakourianos* [19]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A20].
- [15] Exclusive confession to the superior. This is a reiteration of [7] above. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (30) *Phoberos* [35] and (34) *Machairas* [141], but rejected by (32) *Mamas* [29] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [29]. See also the provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [22]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [33]; and (23) *Pakourianos* [13].
- [16] Monks to show obedience to the superior, affection for one another. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [43]; (30) *Phoberos* [36]; and (34) *Machairas* [142], [143]. See also other treatments in (3) *Theodore Studites* [25]; (7) *Latros* [11]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [56]; (14) *Ath. Testament* [20]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A28].
- [17] Exhortation to the superior. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [42], [44]; (30) *Phoberos* [36]; (32) *Mamas* [42], [45]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [41], [44]; (34) *Machairas* [144], [148]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [18], [19]. See also other treatments in (3) *Theodore Studites*, Concerning the Superior; (10) *Eleousa* [12]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [55]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A19]. Many later users thought the statement here rejecting claims of entitlement to the superiority based on rank or privilege ought better to be included with a discussion of qualifications for the office; therefore this statement is frequently joined to quotations from [14] above in later treatments of this subject.
- [18] Superior not accountable to the monks; not to do favors for friends and relatives. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (30) *Phoberos* [36], [37]; (32) *Mamas* [44]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [43]; and (34) *Machairas* [145], [146], but cf. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [81]. See also other treatments of corruption in favor of relatives in (3) *Theodore Studites* [3]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [30]; (15) *Constantine IX* [15]; (21) *Roidion* [B20]; and (23) *Pakourianos* [5].
- [19] Inalienability of sacred objects; exception for fiscal emergencies. For a similar assertion that a violation of this rule is sacrilegious, see (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 11]. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [10]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [45]; and (30) *Phoberos* [38]. (32) *Mamas* [37], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [37], and (34) *Machairas* [94] endorse the principle of inalienability, but do not make provision for emergency alienations. See also the earlier discussion in (15) *Constantine IX* [9] and the contemporary treatments in (10) *Eleousa* [18]; (19) *Attaleiates* [7], [22]; and (23) *Pakourianos* [19], [32].
- [20] Bookkeeping requirements. See also the discussion of the second treasurer in [30] below. Copied only by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [46].
- [21] Discipline of idle talkers. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [47]; (30) *Phoberos* [39], [40]; (32) *Mamas* [35]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [34]; (34) *Machairas* [113]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [17]. See also other treatments in (4) *Stoudios* [18]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [17]; (19) *Attaleiates* [29]; and (20) *Black Mountain* [80].
- [22] No secret eating or private possessions. The prohibition on secret eating is a reiteration of a provision in [9] above; it was copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [47] and

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- (30) *Phoberos* [41]. (27) *Kecharitomene* [49], (32) *Mamas* [20], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [20] endorse the principle with their own provisions. See also the extensive treatment in (20) *Black Mountain* [24], [69], [72] and the restrictions in (23) *Pakourianos* [4] and (28) *Pantokrator* [9]. The ban on personal possessions, for which an enforcement is provided in [27] below, was copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [47]; (30) *Phoberos* [41]; (32) *Mamas* [35]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [34]; and (34) *Machairas* [87]. (27) *Kecharitomene* [50] endorses the principle with its own provision. See also other treatments in (3) *Theodore Studites* [2]; (6) *Rila* [6]; (9) *Galesios* [138], [191], [192]; (10) *Eleousa* [5]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [34]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [30]; (23) *Pakourianos* [4]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A22].
- [23] No fixed number of monks. No later author endorses this Evergetian position, but (29) *Kosmosoteira* [48] and (30) *Phoberos* [42] nevertheless utilize the text here to make a contrary provision. The parallel provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [5], (32) *Mamas* [5], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5] are textually independent of this Evergetian chapter.
- [24] Servants not permitted. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [51]; (30) *Phoberos* [43]; (32) *Mamas* [34]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33]; and (34) *Machairas* [87]. See also the discussions of servants in (3) *Theodore Studites* [4]; (12) *Tzimiskes*, Introduction; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31]; (15) *Constantine IX* [13]; (19) *Attaleiates* [42]; (23) *Pakourianos* [4]; and (27) *Kecharitomene* [4].
- [25] Communal wardrobe. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [52], (30) *Phoberos* [44], and (34) *Machairas* [102], [103]. (32) *Mamas* [28], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28], and (58) *Menoikeion* [12] make contrary provisions. See also the provisions made in (3) *Theodore Studites* [19]; (4) *Stoudios* [A37], [B38]; (10) *Eleousa* [5]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [35]; (20) *Black Mountain* [75]; (23) *Pakourianos* [9]; (28) *Pantokrator* [22]; and (31) *Areia* [T4].
- [26] Equality of food, drink, and clothing; additional food allowed for sick monks. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [56]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [53]; (30) *Phoberos* [45]; (32) *Mamas* [34]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33]; and (34) *Machairas* [106], [107]. See also the treatments in (9) *Galesios* [187]; (10) *Eleousa* [4], [13]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [31]; and (23) *Pakourianos* [4].
- [27] Monthly visitation of cells by the superior. This provision enforces the ban on personal possessions in [22] above. Copied later in whole or part by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [53] and (30) *Phoberos* [45]. See also treatments in (27) *Kecharitomene* [50], (32) *Mamas* [20], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [20].
- [28] Bathing allowed three times a year. (30) *Phoberos* [46] rejects the concession, but makes use of this chapter's text in so doing. (27) *Kecharitomene* [58]; (28) *Pantokrator* [15]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [97], [113]; (31) *Areia* [T3]; (32) *Mamas* [28]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [15] all permit bathing, but are textually independent of (22) *Evergetis*.
- [29] Installation of officials. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [18]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [35]; (30) *Phoberos* [47]; (32) *Mamas* [6]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [6]; and (34) *Machairas* [92].
- [30] Duties of the three treasurers. See also [20] above. Copied later by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [36] and (30) *Phoberos* [47]. (24) *Christodoulos* [A21]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [24]; (32) *Mamas* [10]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [10]; (34) *Machairas* [100]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [6] all make different provisions.
- [31] Duties of the refectorian and disciplinary official. Copied later by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [37] and (30) *Phoberos* [48]. (27) *Kecharitomene* [25] makes use only of the duties of the refectorian, then provides [26] its own description of duties for its disciplinary official. (34) *Machairas* [114] has a textually independent description for the disciplinary official, while (58) *Menoikeion* [6] has one for the refectorian. See also the discussion of comparable officials in (4) *Stoudios* [18], [28]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [17], [21]; (21) *Roidion* [B4], [B8]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A21].
- [32] Tenure of office for officials. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [38]; (30) *Phoberos* [48]; and (34) *Machairas* [92]. See also earlier treatments in (14) *Ath. Testament* [11] and (17) *Nikon Metanoite* [6], [8]. The warning against careless administration is repeated in [42] below.

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- [33] Exhortation of all officials. This chapter testifies to the prestige of the choral monks in reform monasteries; evidently even officials outside of the liturgical group needed the encouragement provided here. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [25]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [39]; (30) *Phoberos* [48]; (32) *Mamas* [23]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [23]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [10].
- [34] Qualifications of property administrators. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [40]; (30) *Phoberos* [49]; and (34) *Machairas* [109]. (27) *Kecharitomene* [31] has its own textually independent provision. See also the mention of these officials in (9) *Galesios* [221], [244].
- [35] Founder's commemoration. Cf. textually independent parallel provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [7], [11], [64], [72], [91]; (30) *Phoberos* [50]; (32) *Mamas* [40]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [50]; and (34) *Machairas* [154]. See also the earlier treatment in (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [1] and the contemporary treatments in (23) *Pakourianos* [21] and (24) *Christodoulos* [B5]. There is an additional note on this commemoration in the [Appendix] below.
- [36] Commemoration of departed brothers and benefactors. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [70]; (30) *Phoberos* [50]; (32) *Mamas* [39], [40]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [39]; and (34) *Machairas* [156], [157]. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [54] makes a textually independent provision for commemoration of departed monks only. See also the earlier treatment in (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [1], [4] and the contemporary treatments in (19) *Attaleiates* [31]; (21) *Roidion* [B12]; and (23) *Pakourianos* [20], [22].
- [37] Conditions for tonsure; treatment of entrance gifts; acceptability of monks tonsured elsewhere. This was an enormously influential chapter, a classic statement of the positions of the reform movement on these issues. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [7]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55]; (30) *Phoberos* [51], [52], [53A]; (32) *Mamas* [5], [22]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5], [22]; and (34) *Machairas* [55], [56], [57], [58], [59], [60]. (27) *Kecharitomene* [30] legislates independently for the length of the novitiate. Later authors invariably rearranged the provisions in this chapter in their own treatments. See also the treatments of the novitiate in (4) *Stoudios* [24], (10) *Tzimiskes* [3], (11) *Ath. Rule* [18], (23) *Pakourianos* [25], (24) *Christodoulos* [A26], and (25) *Fragala* [A8], [B8]. See treatment of entrance gifts in (9) *Galesios* [192], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [49], (15) *Constantine IX* [9]; (19) *Attaleiates* [28], and (28) *Pantokrator* [17]; cf. (21) *Roidion* [B17]. Finally, see treatment of monks tonsured elsewhere in (10) *Tzimiskes* [4], [5], [8], [18]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [20] ff.; (15) *Constantine IX* [7]; (18) *Nea Gephyra* [3]; (19) *Attaleiates* [30]; and (23) *Pakourianos* [25].
- [38] Daily charitable distributions; hospitality in the hospice; exclusion of women. The charitable provision is copied later by (27) *Kecharitomene* [64] and (30) *Phoberos* [54]. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [6]; (32) *Mamas* [13]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [13]; (34) *Machairas* [118]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [22] all make their own textually independent provisions. See also contemporary provisions for charity and hospitality in (19) *Attaleiates* [18], [19], [20]; (21) *Roidion* [B2], [B3], [B4], [B7], [B8], [B13], [B14], [B15]; (23) *Pakourianos* [10], [21], [29]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A25]. The exclusion of women and the accompanying rationale is copied later, directly or indirectly, by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [56]; (30) *Phoberos* [55]; and (34) *Machairas* [118], [119].
- [39] Entry to most women prohibited; provision for creation of additional offices. Only (30) *Phoberos* [55] copies the text of this chapter's ban on the opposite sex, but (27) *Kecharitomene* [17]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [84]; (32) *Mamas* [27]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [27]; (34) *Machairas* [115]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [14] all have analogous textually independent provisions to the same effect. See also similar prescriptions in (23) *Pakourianos* [23], (24) *Christodoulos* [A10], and (28) *Pantokrator* [18]. Only (32) *Mamas* [14] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [14] utilize the provision here for creation of additional offices.
- [40] Exhortation to preserve the *typikon*. Backed up by provision in [43] below for monthly reading of the *typikon*. Not copied by any later authors, but (32) *Mamas* [15], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [15], and (34) *Machairas* [158] have analogous provisions. See also earlier treatments in (3) *Theodore Studites* [24]; (5) *Euthymios* [2]; (8) *John Xenos* [3]; and (9) *Galesios* [246]; as well as contemporary treatments in (10) *Eleousa* [22]; (19) *Attaleiates* [7], [8], [9]; (23) *Pakourianos* [33]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A27].

ELEVENTH CENTURY

- [41] Care of sick monks. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [57]; (30) *Phoberos* [55], [56]; (32) *Mamas* [34]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33]; and (34) *Machairas* [108]. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [61] makes its own provision. See also the contemporary treatment in (23) *Pakourianos* [28].
- [42] Founder's additional exhortation. This is both an appendix to and a recapitulation of earlier legislation. In the later category are the admonitions not to quarrel over precedence, cf. [9] above, the warning against careless administration of the monastery's property, cf. [32] above, and the reminder not to acquire personal possessions, cf. [22], [27] above. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [78]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [57]; (30) *Phoberos* [59]; (32) *Mamas* [46]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45]; (34) *Machairas* [163], [166]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [20].
- [43] Reading of the *typikon*. Supports provision in [40] above for maintenance of the *typikon*. Copied later in whole or part, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [65]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [59]; (30) *Phoberos* [59]; and (34) *Machairas* [167]. (32) *Mamas* [16] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [16] have analogous provisions. See also the earlier provision in (11) *Ath. Rule* [37] for a reading in assembly. There is a concluding scriptural blessing that is recopied at the end of the [Appendix]; it was also copied later, directly or indirectly, by (27) *Kecharitomene* [78]; (30) *Phoberos* [59]; (32) *Mamas* [45]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]; and (34) *Machairas* [168], but frequently separated from the other materials in this chapter.
- [Appendix] Joint commemoration of the founders Paul and Timothy; provision for the consumption of wine on Lenten fast days. Cf. [35] above, which makes the original provision for Paul's commemoration, and [10] which makes the original provision for drinking hot water seasoned with cumin. The result of the amended Evergetian Lenten provision is that its monks could consume wine on every day of the week. The contemporary (23) *Pakourianos* [10] matches the earlier Evergetian observance, permitting the use of wine on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays and Sundays. Earlier documents are even stricter, with (11) *Black Mountain* [26] permitting wine only on Saturdays and Sundays, (4) *Stoudios* [30] only on Saturdays, and (20) *Black Mountain* [56] only on Sundays. The alteration of the *typikon* at the request of an influential benefactor recalls Leo VI's grant of a vineyard to the monks of the monastery of Euthymios so that they could improve the quality of wine served, for which see (5) *Euthymios*, Institutional History, above.

23. *Pakourianos*: *Typikon* of Gregory Pakourianos for the Monastery of the Mother of God *Petriztonitissa* in Bačkovo

Date: December 1083

Translator: Robert Jordan

Edition employed: Paul Gautier, “Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos,” *REB* 42 (1984), 5–145, at 19–133.

Manuscript: Chios Koraes 1598 (13th c.)¹

Other translations: French, by Gautier, “Pakourianos,” 18–132; Russian, by V. A. Arutyunova-Fidanyan, *Typik Gregoriya Pakuriana* (Yerevan, 1978), pp. 68–121, with commentary, pp. 122–235; modern Georgian, by Simon Kaouchtschischvili, *Typikon Gregorii Pacuriani* (= *Georgica. Scriptorum byzantinorum excerpta ad Georgiam pertinentia* 5) (Tbilisi, 1963).²

Institutional History

This foundation, which still survives, is located in Bulgaria near modern Bačkovo in the Chaya River valley surrounded by the Rhodope Mountains, south of Plovdiv (Byzantine Philippoupolis). The epithet *Petriztonitissa*³ is derived from the neighboring fortification of Petritzos mentioned [2] in the *typikon* below.

A. Career of the Founder

The founder Gregory Pakourianos has been claimed by both Georgians and Armenians, leading to a lively scholarly debate over his ancestry.⁴ Prior to drawing up his *typikon* for *Petriztonitissa* in 1083, he had been engaged in a military career for at least twenty years, starting with his participation in the unsuccessful defense of Ani against the Seljuk leader Alp Arslan in 1064. He served later under emperors Michael VII Doukas (1071–78), Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–81), and Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) in various responsible positions on both the eastern and the western frontiers of the empire. He was a monastic patron even before the foundation of *Petriztonitissa*, joining his brother Apasios in 1074 in making a donation to the famous Georgian monastery of Iveron on Mount Athos.⁵ Later, Nikephoros III granted him estates in the vicinity of Philippoupolis, possibly including the land on which *Petriztonitissa* was built. Alexios Komnenos appointed him *mezas domestikos* of the West and gave him many more properties in the Balkans.⁶

There is a possibility that there was already a Georgian monastery at Petritzos.⁷ Anna Komnene mentions a monastery of this name that belonged to Empress Maria, daughter of the Georgian king Bagrat IV (1027–72) and spouse of Michael VII Doukas and later also Nikephoros III Botaneiates. Also, a Georgian manuscript is attributed to two monks “from Petritzos” in the year 1030. In any event, the construction of Pakourianos’ monastery took place under the supervision of the monk Gregory Vankos.⁸ Pakourianos may well not have been present at the site,

unlike the case documented later in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [75] in which the founder Isaac Komnenos personally supervised the construction of the church for which that document was written. According to the historian Anna Komnene, who says he was of a noble Armenian lineage, Gregory Pakourianos fell in battle against the Patzinaks, apparently at the village of Belyakovo, north of Philippoupolis, in 1086.⁹

B. Later History of the Foundation¹⁰

1. Era of Georgian Administration

For a long time the monastery remained under Georgian control, as Pakourianos had intended, certainly throughout the twelfth century. There are two mostly unpublished bead rolls preserved in the library of the modern monastery, one dating from around 1600 and another from the mid-seventeenth century, that contain lists of the foundation's donors and superiors.¹¹ Although the monastery may have come at least temporarily under the control of the Bulgarian Tsar Kalojan (1197–1207) in 1206 when he conquered the region of the Rhodope Mountains, Georgian monks were still present in the thirteenth century. Judging from a silver icon mount of the Mother of God associated with this monastery that bears a Georgian inscription dated to 1311, *Petritziotissa* had become a pilgrimage site for other Georgian monks.¹² The monastery lost its Georgian character, however, by the fourteenth century.

2. Era of Bulgarian Administration

In 1344, Tsar Ivan Alexander (1331–71) established Bulgarian control more firmly, and Bulgarian monks were established in the monastery at this time. The Bulgarian tsar restored the monastery and endowed it richly. The immediate area of the Rhodope Mountains came under Ottoman control in 1363. After the conquest of Bulgaria by the Turks under Murad I in 1393, the Bulgarian Patriarch, Evtimij of Turnovo, went into exile at this monastery. In the early fifteenth century, Constantine Kostenechki came to study there under Evtimij's students Andrew and Andronikos. The monastery was reportedly destroyed by the Ottomans in the second half of the fifteenth or the early part of the sixteenth century and was left deserted for nearly a century. The foundation, by then known by the Bulgarian name *Petritsoni*, was rebuilt towards the end of the sixteenth century by the Bulgarian nobleman Georgi and his son Constantine. A new refectory was built in 1601, and a new church in 1604, both still in existence. Life-size donor portraits of the new founders appear on the eastern wall of the narthex of the seventeenth-century church.

3. Fate of the *Typikon* and the Foundation

Lemerle (*Cinq études*, p. 122) believed that the original Greek version of the *typikon* was preserved at *Petritsoni* until at least 1628 (but see Gautier, "Pakourianos," p. 12, n. 19). It had long since disappeared by the time Bulgaria recovered its independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1878. Greek monks were in residence at the monastery then, but the Bulgarian and Greek ecclesiastical authorities soon engaged in a dispute over control of the foundation, which was richly endowed.¹³ During the course of this conflict, apparently in 1888, the bilingual Greek-Georgian manuscript on which the best current editions of the two surviving versions of the *typikon* are based had been taken away to the library of Koraes on Chios, then still an Ottoman possession. Georgios Mousaios, a Greek of Stenimachos who deserves the credit for bringing the *typikon* to

the attention of the modern scholarly world in his Jena dissertation in 1888, had had to use an inferior manuscript of 1792, itself a modern Greek translation, for his first edition of the work. Previously, he had failed to gain the cooperation of the monastery's monks or of Gregory, the metropolitan of Philippoupolis, to gain access to what he mistakenly believed to be the "original" manuscript of the *typikon*. Later, Mousaios was to bring a complaint before the patriarch of Constantinople that Gregory had instigated its removal from the monastery. Meanwhile, the quarrel over the ownership of the monastery was not resolved until 1894, when it was definitively awarded to the Bulgarian exarchate.

C. Architectural Evidence

1. The Bačkovo Kostnitsa (Ossuary)¹⁴

The ossuary, built as a tomb for Gregory and his brother Apasios between 1074 and 1083 (so Grishin, "Evidence," p. 93), is the only structure at Bačkovo dating back to Byzantine times. It is located a short distance to the east of the present monastery on a steep mountain ridge. There are fourteen tombs in the stone floor of the first story (the crypt). The upper story served as a chapel and contains two wall tombs. There are five niche images in the chapel: donor portraits of Gregory and Apasios Pakourianos, who are shown holding a model of the original *katholikon*, a domed church with two side chapels; George and Gabriel, two founders (*ktetores*) of an uncertain date; Sts. Constantine and Helena; St. John the Theologian; and Ivan Alexander, all identified by Greek inscriptions. Grishin ("Evidence," p. 96) dates these to 1344–63.

2. Plan of the Original *Katholikon*

Although the *typikon* refers [1] to three churches dedicated to the Dormition [of the Mother of God, John the Forerunner, and St. George, excavations conducted at the site in 1955 indicate that there was one *katholikon* dedicated to the Virgin with side chapels dedicated to each of the saints (Grishin, "Evidence," p. 91). This confirms the evidence offered by the fourteenth-century donor portrait of Gregory and Apasios Pakourianos, executed at a time when the original church was still standing.

Analysis

This is a moderately progressive document in the reform tradition. The author Pakourianos, who may have already served as the patron of a traditional private foundation [31], demonstrates [18] a keen perception of the problems of that form of organization which led him to choose the now popular independent and self-governing constitution then being promoted by contemporary monastic reformers. While the author's reform sympathies may seem lukewarm, especially in comparison to the fervent (22) *Evergetis*, the fairer comparison is with the contemporary (19) *Attaleiates* and its considerably less imaginative, tradition-bound author.

Passing over (22) *Evergetis*, if indeed it was known to him, Pakourianos chose a more indulgent and less rigorously separatist disciplinary regime for his monks by adopting the *typikon* of the Constantinopolitan *Panagios* as a model (see below). Perhaps the need to enforce isolation from the lay world was less severe for an institution located in the countryside and made up of monks (former soldiers among them) who could not speak Greek, and thus would have fewer outside ties anyway.

To meet official requirements as well as the needs of his own community, Pakourianos had his *typikon* drawn up [33] in three languages: Greek, Georgian and Armenian. Manuscript versions of the *typikon* in the first two languages survive today. The Greek version, though not understood by his monks, was to be authoritative and never to leave the monastery. A copy of it was to be placed in the monastery of *Panagios* for safekeeping, in case there should be “some need of it on the part of some outside quarreling about something in the *typikon* stored in our monastery.”

A. Model for the Typikon

In an unusual acknowledgement of his model, the author states forthrightly in the introduction that he has adopted the rule (*typos*) of the monastery of *Panagios*, with whose monks he had been closely associated, to govern his own foundation.¹⁵ Although he has surely customized his model considerably, as in [9] for instance, Pakourianos declares that he has incorporated “the whole ecclesiastic procedure and the manner of the monks’ living and eating” from the founder’s rule of *Panagios*, said to represent the “middle and most royal road” [to salvation]. Pakourianos had enjoyed a close association with the monks of this foundation, whom he terms in his introduction “those very civilized men, accustomed to good living and brought up within that prosperous and populous city.” This suggests that the “middle road” espoused by *Panagios* is a euphemism for a lenient disciplinary regime. The identity of the author of *Panagios’ typikon*, who is titled as its “founder” (*ktetor*), cannot be determined. We know independently that during the beginning of the eleventh century Antony, likely the disciple and first successor of Athanasios, founder of the Lavra monastery on Mount Athos, was serving as its superior.¹⁶ If this Antony was in fact the *Panagios’* founder and the author of its *typikon*, that would help to explain the presence of some progressive elements in Pakourianos’ *typikon* (e.g., its independent constitution [18]) that could be traced back to an Athonite source like (13) *Ath. Typikon* [12].

B. Lives of the Monks

1. Number of Monks

Pakourianos apparently did not share the misgivings of (22) *Evergetis* [23] about setting a fixed number of positions for the monks in his foundation. He decrees [6] that there should be fifty, not including the superior, the number of which “should never fall short” [25]. His own relatives who were monks had first preference [25], followed by other tonsured Georgians. He did not want [24] any Greeks admitted to the monastery, however, “lest anyone cause harm to the monastery or appoint someone opposed to the place and eager to gain control over it or gain for himself the leadership or appropriate the monastery on some other abominable pretext.”

2. Liturgical Duties

Pakourianos instructs [6] that twenty-seven of the fifty monks established in the foundation were to “spend their time in singing the hymns of the holy church.” Those responsible presumably included the ecclesiarch, the six priests, two deacons, and two subdeacons. Therefore the purpose of the foundation, judging from the assignment of personnel, was predominantly liturgical.

Unlike (22) *Evergetis*, this *typikon*, a more purely administrative document than any of its predecessors, contains no detailed instructions for the performance of services. A liturgical *typikon*,

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most likely patterned after that employed at *Panagios*, must have filled [12] the deficiency. The priests were to celebrate [7] liturgies on four days of the week and on feast days. Pakourianos obliges [12] the monks to carry out all the required services “continuously without fail like some inescapable debt.” On the remaining three days of ordinary weeks, the priests were free to celebrate for whomever they chose.

As in (10) *Eleousa* [13] and (22) *Evergetis* [11], two other eleventh-century foundations dedicated to the Mother of God, the patronal feast, here (and in (22) *Evergetis* [11]) the Dormition, called for [11] a celebration in “as splendid and zealous manner,” rivaling the festivities in “the most famous and greatest churches.” Even women, who were usually banned from the foundation, were allowed [23] access to the church on this feast day.

3. Other Offices

Two property administrators (*epitropoi*), a sacristan/treasurer (*skeuophylax kai docheiarios*), a wine steward (*oinochoos*), a refectorian (*trapezarios*), a guestmaster (*xenodochos*), an infirmarian (*gerotrophos kai nosokomos*), and an overseer (*epiteretes*) are listed [6] among the officers of the monastery engaged in services aside from the liturgy.

4. Manual Labor

The monks engaged [6] in the performance of manual labors were the lamplighter (*lychnaptes*), the baker (*artopoiios*), the cook (*mageiros*), the wine steward (*oinochoos*), and the gatekeeper (*pyleonarios*). Pakourianos cites [14] Basil of Caesarea for the idea that psalm singing and the performance of manual labor are not incompatible, and asks [18] each monk, whatever his assigned task, to pray for the emperors, the army “devoted to Christ,” and his own soul. The implication of further discussion, however, is that manual labor has acquired [6] connotations of punishment, an assignment for “people whose characters are not reliable nor hearts repentant” (cf. the discussion in (9) *Galesios* [182], [185]).

5. Sacramental Life

Aside from obliging [13] the monks to make daily confession exclusively to their superior (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [7], [15]), there is no further discussion of sacramental life, e.g., regulation of the reception of communion, etc.

6. Cenobitic Lifestyle

Pakourianos provides [4] a stern endorsement of the fundamentals of cenobitic life, including a common dining table, no distinctions in food (different kinds of bread) or in drink (better and lesser vintages of wine), no private pursuits (perhaps crafts or trades are meant here) of any kind, no possession of animals, and no storing up or consumption of edibles in cells.

7. Personal Possessions

Since the superior was expected [5] to be an example to the monks by having no private possessions, we must assume that this discipline was generally expected of the monks also even though the *typikon* does not provide for the rigorous enforcement of monastic poverty seen in (22) *Evergetis* [22]. Since the monks were granted [9] a monetary allowance to purchase clothing and perhaps other “necessities,” the implication is that certain personal possessions were in fact permitted that would not have been allowed at *Evergetis*.

8. Relations with Family

This *typikon* is also more indulgent in permitting the monks to continue ties with their families than is the case in (22) *Evergetis* [22], where even correspondence is banned without permission of the superior. Here at *Petritzonitissa*, Pakourianos makes [8] provision for entertaining friends and family of the superior or one of the brothers. Monks were not allowed to entertain guests in their cells, however, as they did under very different conditions in (21) *Roidion* [B5].

9. Servants

In an important accommodation to privilege, the *typikon* allows [4] a monk who is “one of the very exalted or someone used to luxurious living” to have a personal servant and be excused from certain cenobitic requirements such as eating meals in the refectory, for “in the case of such people attendants must be appointed, and a weak nature must be consoled by giving the necessary help.” This is in accord with the practice in (19) *Attaleiates* [42], written for a contemporary, unreformed institution, but in flagrant opposition to (22) *Evergetis* [24].

Pakourianos was unwilling to allow [5] the superior to have his servant (or a relative) serving in any office either within the monastery or without, perhaps because he feared this would facilitate the privatization of the foundation.

10. Cohabitation of Older and Younger Monks

Citing patristic precedent and canon law, Pakourianos strongly condemns [17] the introduction of eunuchs and young boys into the monastery. This was in accordance with an older tradition exemplified by (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34], [48] and, in part, (3) *Theodore Studites* [18]. While not addressing this issue directly, the contemporary authors of (22) *Evergetis* [24] and (10) *Eleousa* [5] provide for pairing older and younger monks in cells. The author of (19) *Attaleiates* [30], however, actually requires that his monks be eunuchs. Earlier in the eleventh century, our documents note the disruptive presence of homoerotically attractive youths in (9) *Galesios* [196] and on Mount Athos in (15) *Constantine IX* [1], [15]. For some reason this was not a concern of the Evergetian reform movement.

11. Diet

Pakourianos expects [8] that the monks at *Petritzonitissa* should be well fed, with three dishes a day the usual standard and four courses on certain feast days. The monks were also to receive four measures of wine. The superior is instructed not to curtail the diet, and was in fact encouraged to make additions to it “to blunt the impulses of those who favor indulgence.”

Unlike Nikon, author of (20) *Black Mountain* [72], Pakourianos was unwilling to tolerate [15] monks who imposed upon themselves rigorist dietary observances beyond those practiced by the community as a whole. Pakourianos considers such monks wilful and vain, and refers to a condemnation of them in the *typikon* of *Panagios*. This suggests that the founder anticipated some difficulty from monks who might not find the latter’s “middle road” sufficiently challenging.

12. Clothing

In his regulation of clothing, Pakourianos announces [9] a break with the practice at *Panagios*, where clothing was communally distributed to the monks, presumably from the monastery’s store-rooms. Here Pakourianos orders that the monks be paid an allowance (*roga*) on Easter Sunday so that they could buy their necessities at a fair held adjacent to the monastery. For this purpose,

Pakourianos divides the community into three orders of 15, 15, and 20 monks respectively. The superior receives the largest allowance, and progressively lesser allowances are set for the monks in the three ranks. Thus, in sharp distinction to (22) *Evergetis* [26], inequality in dress was a fundamental fact of life at *Petritzonitissa*.

C. Constitutional Matters

1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

In one indubitably important and progressive provision, Pakourianos deliberately rejects [3] the traditional private form of organization and establishes instead a free (*eleuthera*) and self-governing (*autexousia*) constitution for his foundation, making it exempt from interference either by his own relatives (see also [18]) or by public authorities of the emperor or the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Pakourianos singles out the metropolitan of Philippoupolis for mention in this connection. So that the foundation might be safe from harassment at his “harmful hands,” Pakourianos was unwilling to allow the local prelate to receive even the customary commemoration (*anaphora*) in the liturgies conducted at the monastery (cf. Manuel of Stroumitza’s suspicion of his own successors in (10) *Eleousa* [16]).

In choosing the independent form of government also endorsed by his contemporaries the authors of (22) *Evergetis* [12] and (with more reluctance) (10) *Eleousa* [18], Pakourianos consciously rejects [18] the traditional private form of organization in which “some who set up monasteries . . . put [them] under the authority of their relatives in succession after the death of the founder.” Pakourianos claims from his own experience to have seen quarreling heirs dispute these foundations in courts, which often awarded them to unjust and unworthy claimants. Thus, choosing between the traditional and the newly popular form of organization for his foundation, Pakourianos came to the opposite decision of the author of (19) *Attaleiates* [14], who was willing to let his foundation become independent only after his family line died out.

Not content with simply asserting the foundation’s independence, Pakourianos also warns off [18] his own relatives and associates, damning anyone seeking to make a “despicable profit” from the foundation or its assets with the traditional curse of the 318 fathers of the Council of Nicaea. This stern attitude should be compared to the forthright acceptance of profit-taking seen in (19) *Attaleiates* [24]. Whereas the author of the latter document thought it unfair to deprive his relatives of some of the financial benefits of a foundation that formed the greater part of his estate, Pakourianos designates his foundation as his “appointed and substitute heir” on which his relatives were to have no claim. Like his contemporaries the authors of (10) *Eleousa* [18] and (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 10], [INV 11], he also took [33E] the precaution of obtaining an imperial chrysobull to bolster his foundation’s autonomy and immunities.

2. Leadership

Pakourianos asserts [5] his prerogative to appoint superiors for the foundation as long as he should live: “Whomsoever I install as superior shall be so.” He intended that his appointee should have lifetime tenure, provided he lived righteously. The superior was allowed to choose his own successor in turn, not out of consideration for kinship or blood relationship (lest the foundation become privatized again), but “by the choice and testimony of the brotherhood.” Should he die beforehand, the “better and virtuous and more learned brothers” (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13])

would make the choice, perhaps with the endorsement of the brotherhood as a whole.

Pakourianos' first choice [30] as superior was the monk Gregory, whom he had entrusted with the construction of the monastery. The pattern of a monk erecting a foundation on commission from a lay patron is an old one—cf. (13) *Ath. Typikon* [2], [8]—and useful, since in this way a religious leader who was not himself a wealthy man, could still gain access to the resources necessary to build and maintain a monastery.

Pakourianos was anxious, however, that the necessarily strong position of the superior in an independent foundation should not tempt him to consider it his own. Therefore he orders [5] that superiors “have no power to regulate anything on their own” (see also [18]), and he limits [30] posthumous liturgical commemoration to superiors who preserve the *typikon*.

3. Senior Monks

As in (22) *Evergetis*, there was a group of senior monks at *Petrizonitissa*, who had certain responsibilities of leadership. At this foundation, they were to select [5] the new superior if the old one died suddenly “as is usually the way” without designating his own successor. Pakourianos also appeals [19] to these monks to take it upon themselves to expel the superior or other official if such a person is found who “disposes of the property of the monastery and its sacred possessions wrongly and recklessly.” However, Pakourianos does not seem to have envisioned a role for these monks as advisors to the superior like that found in (22) *Evergetis* [14].

As usual, membership in the group is not defined, perhaps because Pakourianos wished to allow some flexibility in the determination of its composition. It may, however, have been similar or identical to those who were [9] in the first order of monks (up to 15) for distribution of clothing allowances, namely the two property administrators, the ecclesiarch, the sacristan, the older priests, and “as many as are notable among the brothers” and of similar character to the superior.

4. Endorsement of Authoritarian Rule

Pakourianos chooses to endorse [15] an old-fashioned authoritarian model for his foundation: “All that is laid down by the superior is law, and those subordinate to him must not . . . contradict him or oppose him in any way.” Like (22) *Evergetis* [14], he values [6] unanimity of mind and spirit, expressed in unquestioning obedience of the monks to the superior. He declares [13] that “there is no worse calamity than this, when someone is insubordinate to the superior himself and speaks improperly in his presence.” Such backtalkers were to be expelled from the community.

5. Patronal Privileges

As noted above, Pakourianos considers [5] it his right, like any patron of a traditional foundation, to appoint the superior during his lifetime. Otherwise, the founder had rather modest expectations of patronal privilege, in keeping with the foundation's status as an independent and self-governing monastery. He orders [12] three lamps to burn continuously at his tomb. There were also to be commemorative donations [21] twice yearly after memorial services for Pakourianos and his late brother Apasios, who had offered [2] a property to the institution in which he was buried. The founder personalizes [21] the monks' responsibility for the performance of these services by declaring, “In our commemoration you should remind yourselves, brothers, as you look at this delightful house of God which is our church, of the annual income and the other revenues, bearing in mind that after God we have been responsible for these.” The founder also insists [25] that his

relatives who were already monks should have first preference for admission to the monastery, though relatives who were not of “a virtuous way of life” were to have no special claim on admission—a necessary safeguard to prevent *Petrizonitissa* from privatization as a family concern.

D. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

After a century or more of widespread abuses, reform sentiment favored very strict standards of financial probity. Pakourianos requires that the financial officers of his foundation be accountable on a regular basis to their superiors. He himself had been held to a similar standard of accountability during his career, as references [33] to chrysobulls of exoneration for various tenures of administration make clear. That should make it less surprising that he holds [26] the superior himself (who as a kind of bursar had a more active role in financial administration than in other institutions that followed the Studite tradition of (4) *Theodore Studites* [22]), responsible for providing accounts to the stewards (*oikonomoi*), the treasurer and the brotherhood each Easter. Officials convicted of improper or “foolish” expenditures were required to make up the losses and had to relinquish their posts.

Pakourianos also makes [26] an interesting provision for setting aside a reserve fund for unanticipated needs; any additional savings were to be invested in acquisitions of real estate.

2. Inalienability of Property

Pakourianos speaks [2] proudly of his donations of icons, relics, lamps and ecclesiastical vestments and also provides [33] an inventory of them. Listed in this inventory are copies of the *Moralia* of Basil of Caesarea and the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Klimakos, both favorite sources for monastic reformers in this era, as well as an unidentified book of Theodore the Studite. There is also a list of imperial chrysobulls and other official documents kept (presumably for better safekeeping) in the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Among the chrysobulls kept at the monastery was one (now lost) confirming the foundation’s independent constitution. All of this documentation reflects the contemporary preoccupation with curbing corruption both in public and private affairs.

Pakourianos’ warning [33] against the alienation of the foundation’s movable properties, while backed up with an appeal to heavenly vengeance, does not show the obsessive concern or use the ideologically charged language of (22) *Evergetis* [19]. This suggests that Pakourianos’ *typikon* was written too soon to reflect the full impact of the bitter controversy in the 1080s over Alexios Komnenos’ requisitions of ecclesiastical furnishings (*keimelia*). Citing a “rule (*typos*) of the monasteries of the East and the West” (reference uncertain), Pakourianos does forbid [32] the sale or even leasing of immovable property. Properties were also not to be assigned to one of the monks (i.e., as an *adelphaton*, as in (21) *Roidion* [A2]), but could of necessity be leased to the peasants (*paroikoi*) for cultivation.

3. Commemorative Observances

Aside from the required observances for the founder [12], his brother Apasios [21], the superior [30], and departed monks [27], Pakourianos also permits [20], cf. [27] the acceptance of gifts (*prosenexeis*) from lay benefactors for daily or joint commemorations, provided that “there is no

occasion for harm to the monastery nor likelihood of innovation.” Even the scrupulous (22) *Evergetis* [36] did not worry about accepting outside donations from this source, though (20) *Black Mountain* [85] was more sceptical, and much later, (46) *Akropolites* [8] illustrates how they might have a burdensome impact on a foundation. A priest was to be stationed [27] in a funerary chapel of St. John the Forerunner to “carry out there the commemoration of the dead always and unflinchingly.”

E. Overall Philosophy

The general philosophy of *Petrizonitissa*, borrowed presumably from *Panagios*, was more old-fashioned and accepting of privileges than the fervently reformist (22) *Evergetis*. While the author of the latter denounced quarrels over seating at meals in the strongest language [9], Pakourianos simply provides [8] that the superior should organize seating so that “no confusion or disorder should arise.” Pakourianos’ rationale for permitting [4] servants to the sick, old and “very exalted” is also revealing: “For arising from this there will not be any irregularity nor a change in the community law nor yet any great harm nor innovation either in the spiritual principles or even in the activities of the place.” In other words, Pakourianos expected that his monks would understand that the high-born would be entitled to privileges, even in apparent violation of the cenobitic lifestyle. Indeed, regulations motivated by egalitarian sentiment are few and far between in the *typikon*, but include the provisions for diet [8], and the exhortation [5] to the superior that he show love equally for all the monks in the community.

F. External Relations

1. Institutional Philanthropy

Pakourianos’ *typikon* shows a more contemporary attitude with its numerous provisions for institutional philanthropy. This was hardly a unique characteristic of reform monasteries, seeing that philanthropic foundations had been joined to monasteries in our documents since (16) *Mount Tmolos* in the late tenth century. Pakourianos’ contribution to philanthropy includes support [29] for three hospices (*xenodocheia*) intended to serve travellers and the poor and furnished with beds and stoves. The founder intended that the level of hospitality should be upgraded “to become the finest and of a superior kind” if future increases in the monastery’s revenue should permit.

Pakourianos’ foundation also features [31] a school at the dependency of St. Nicholas where the training in holy scriptures of six boys intended to become priests was to take place under the tutelage of an old priest. Since the priest was also obliged to perform memorial liturgies for Pakourianos’ father, uncle and cousin, St. Nicholas may have been a traditional family church or chapel, now subordinated to the independent foundation of *Petrizonitissa*.¹⁷ If they proved themselves worthy, the boys were guaranteed positions at the monastery on reaching adulthood.

In addition to these philanthropic foundations, Pakourianos’s *typikon* provides [10] for distribution of food and money on fast days to “brothers in Christ” (i.e., the poor) at the monastery’s gate. In another place in the *typikon*, there is a provision [21] for charitable donations of cash to the “brothers in Christ” in conjunction with the commemorative services for Pakourianos and his brother Apasios. In apparent contradiction of his provision in [26] that surplus income be used to build up a reserve fund and to purchase additional landed property, Pakourianos here urges that

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this money be given away to the “brothers in Christ,” for this purpose defined as not only the poor but also the hired laborers and the dependent peasants who served the monastery.

2. Fairness to the Peasantry

Regardless of how his foundation’s surplus income was actually employed, Pakourianos was anxious, in the spirit of his times, to vindicate his reputation for fairness to the dependent peasantry who worked on the monastery’s lands. He asserts [1] that he erected the various components of the foundation with his own money, not as “the result of any wrongdoing or even forced labor (*angareia*), additional requisitions (*parolke*), or the exceedingly abusive imposition (*hyperepereia*) on my peasants, with them being forced to suffer for the building of holy churches or for the building of the monastery around them . . .”

Notes on the Introduction

1. For details, see Gautier, “Pakourianos,” pp. 6–19. Ms. Chios Koraes 1598 also contains a medieval Georgian version of the *typikon*, which Gautier (p. 17) considered to be “more polished, less faulty [than the Greek version], and nearly always comprehensible.”
2. There are also two translations of the Georgian version: Latin, by Tarchnischvili, *Typicon Gregorii Pacuriani*, and Russian, by Chanidzé, *Gruzinskii monastyr v Bolgarii i ego tipik*.
3. For the form, see Petit, “Typikon,” p. xxi, endorsed by Gautier, “Pakourianos,” p. 18.
4. See the partisan summary in Chanidzé, “Bakurianis-Dzé,” pp. 135–66; cf. Garsoïan, “Pakourianos,” p. 1553.
5. Based on a necrological note in an Iveron ms. of that date, trans. Chanidzé, “Bakurianis-Dzé,” p. 164.
6. See Lemerle, “Le typikon de Grégoire Pakourianos (Décembre 1083),” *Cinq études*, pp. 164–83, for a full discussion of Pakourianos’ military career and his landed properties.
7. Anna Komnena, *Alexiad* 9.5, ed. Bernard Leib (Paris, 1967); see discussion in Grishin, “Evidence,” p. 93, n. 42.
8. (23) *Pakourianos* [30], with Grishin, “Evidence,” p. 93, n. 51.
9. Anna Komnena, *Alexiad* 6.14, ed. Leib.
10. For the later history of the foundation, see Chavrukov, *Bulgarian Monasteries*, pp. 15, 334–41; Grishin, “Evidence,” pp. 93–96; and Talbot and Cutler, “Petritzos Monastery,” p. 1644.
11. Bačkovo monastery library Ms. graecus 50, 143; see Grishin, “Evidence,” pp. 93–94 for details.
12. Chanidzé, *Gruzinskii monastyr*, pp. 354–62; cf. earlier defective edition by Petit, “Typikon,” pp. xix–xx; see discussion by Grishin, “Evidence,” p. 96.
13. See the differing accounts in Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 115–16, and Chanidzé, “Bakurianis-Dzé,” pp. 134–35.
14. For the ossuary, see Bakalova, *Kostmitsa*, esp. pp. 27–28; Stamov and Angelova, *Heritage*, pp. 113–15; and Grishin, “Evidence.”
15. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 385–86.
16. *Sancti Athanasi Athonitae Vita Secunda (Vita B)*, chap. 78, ed. Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae* (Louvain, 1982), p. 211.
17. See also the family burial church of St. Barbara’s in the *Testament (Diatyposis)* of Eustathios Boilas, ed. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 27.

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Translation

The *typikon* issued by the *megas domestikos* of the West, lord Gregory Pakourianos, for the monastery of the very holy Mother of God *Petritziotissa* founded by him.

[Prologue]

By the help and goodness of the revered and life-giving Trinity that has fashioned everything and sustains it, the Father without beginning and his word the Son without beginning and his life-giving Spirit of the same substance, the one divinity and power, into which we have been baptized and which we worship as our ancestors did, confident through our hope and sure trust in this we will begin to speak and write about the task which was prescribed for us [p. 21] and was the object of our desire and prayer, that is, the formation of our newly established monastery, as will be revealed in what follows next concerning the limit and number of the monks in it and concerning the ordinance and rule by which they will live together to the honor and glory of our all-immaculate mistress the Mother of God.

In the locality of the fort called Petritzos all the monks knowing the Georgian script and language have been gathered and organized into the monastery recently built through the providence and with the help of the God of all by me, Gregory, by the goodwill of God the *sebastos* and *megas domestikos* of all the West, the true son of Pakourianos now at blessed rest,¹ the preeminent Prince of Princes, by birth from among those of the East from the most brilliant race of the Georgians. I add that I am the founder of this monastery and place of my burial established by God and newly built, which has been named for the honor and glory of the Mother of Christ our God, and of its far-famed and most beautiful holy church and in it the most beautiful tabernacle of God, built for my help, redemption, and salvation and in addition that of my own brother, the *magistros* Apasios, of happy memory.

As I was connected in brotherhood, close friendship, and in spiritual attitude with the monks in the most holy monastery of *Panagios* which is situated in the great city of the most mighty and holy Constantine also called New Rome, and as their whole monastic rule² and organization seemed to be and was very much “in accordance with the will” (Eph. 1:5) of God and “those who truly love him” (II John 1), I also decided in this monastery newly founded by me with God’s help and in the said holy church to organize and establish the whole ecclesiastical procedure and the manner of the monks’ living and eating following in every way their rules and regulations, so that these men too will live together by the providence of God imitating them, both the one who heads the monastery and those belonging to the most holy office of the priesthood with all the rest of the brotherhood, as their rules will be revealed in order below.

Since those very civilized men, accustomed to good living and brought up within that prosperous and populous city, being thus disciplined by their most blessed and angelic founder, keep unshaken the rule laid down for them steadfastly and securely, [p. 23] how much more should not we, my fathers and brothers, whose lot it is to be set by God in this recently founded holy monastery, we being Georgians, having had a varied military career and a very hard experience of life, now that we happen to have settled in a suitable place far removed from any cause of harm to monks since we have no way to get to towns nor are we troubled by anything else improper, and since there is the clearest water and all kinds of fruit and vegetables highly valued by us since

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childhood or from the times of our ancestors, how should we too not gladly be subject to their rules, observing the regulation of those who follow closely the pattern of their orders? But if—something I pray may not happen—contrary to the rules laid down now by us someone goes against the rule of the aforesaid most holy monastery of *Panagios* desiring a life of luxury or rest, let this man go out in peace wherever he wishes and find his own place of rest. For the founder and superior of *Panagios*,³ mentioned before and now in his glorious inheritance, being very wise in the things of God and having given up the excesses and defects of everyday life, decreed that those under his instruction should walk along the middle and most “royal road.”⁴ For side-turnings are always perilous and very dangerous.

So the contents of the sacred volume which truly glorifies the monastic life and which was compiled by us from the rule of the often-mentioned most holy monastery of *Panagios*, in short, set down in chapters the things which should be contemplated and carried out by the monks and the principles by which in all points they should live. They are as follows and to them we have added few things we thought were right. [p. 25]

Synopsis or table of the chapters⁵ in the present *typikon* clearly laid out for finding at a glance.

Chapter One: Concerning the way this most holy monastery of the Georgians was founded.

Chapter Two: Concerning how and what dedications were made to this holy church both from my possessions and those of my own brother of blessed memory—of movable, immovable, and animate property.

Chapter Three: Concerning the fact that this monastery should be free from every kind of imposition and annoyance from emperor and patriarch and the removal of any of the things in it.

Chapter Four: Concerning the fact that the monks, that is all the brotherhood, should be completely prevented from living privately each of them in his own cell or acting independently or possessing food or anything else at all.

Chapter Five: Concerning how the superior should be chosen for the leadership of the monks and how his successor should be raised to this office and ministry in this monastery.

Chapter Six: Concerning the quantity, that is, the number of the monks, because the number of them laid down by us must not fail, and concerning the fact that an offering should not be taken from them, and concerning how, and how many of them should be appointed to the offices and services of the monastery.

Chapter Seven: Concerning the priests carrying out priestly duties, how they ought to choose and appoint them, and how they should carry out the divine service each week or on how many and which days in each week they should carry out the divine service and remember us and those who are remembered by us.

Chapter Eight: Concerning the preparation of the table and concerning the silence and quietness of those serving.

Chapter Nine: Concerning clothes or the payment for them, when and how the superior ought to distribute this to the monks.

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Chapter Ten: Concerning abstinence during the three holy fasts, how we ought to carry them out with abstinence and show beneficence and charity to our brothers in Christ.

Chapter Eleven: Concerning the feast of our holy church and the other famous and glorious feasts of our Lord, [p. 27] also those of the victorious and holy martyrs and all the other saints, how they ought to celebrate them in a splendid and holy manner.

Chapter Twelve: Concerning the lighting that should be in the holy church and concerning the prayer and singing of hymns, how they should pray quietly and without disturbance.

Chapter Thirteen: Concerning the fact that every day all the brothers must confess their sins to the superior and all their intentions in deed and word and thought.

Chapter Fourteen: Concerning the manual labor and toil of the monks and the fact that during their labor they must sing hymns diligently.

Chapter Fifteen: Concerning the rule that the brothers should not travel about outside the monastery without the instruction of the superiors and concerning those who pray hypocritically in the middle of the congregation.

Chapter Sixteen: Concerning the administrators of the monastery appointed according to the rule and so named that they truly carry out the care of souls.

Chapter Seventeen: Concerning the fact that the superior should be strict and give his orders so as to provide security and prevent eunuchs entering the monastery and young boys too.

Chapter Eighteen: Concerning the fact that the monastery should exist free from the power and injury of our relations and from exaction on all other commodities of every sort in it.

Chapter Nineteen: Concerning the position if the superior of the monastery errs in some way or someone else of those dealing with its ministries or spending its money recklessly, that they should not only be prevented from doing so but also be banished and driven away completely.

Chapter Twenty: Advice on deciding from which lay people offerings ought to be accepted for the salvation of souls and on the offering of divine liturgies for them.

Chapter Twenty-One: Instruction to the brothers concerning my commemoration and that of our family and about the brothers having a memorial repast and distributing coins on the day of our remembrance, and in addition showing abundant beneficence to the poor.

Chapter Twenty-Two: Concerning dead superiors and other brothers, how they ought to bury them and remember them continually with prayers and supplications. [p. 29]

Chapter Twenty-Three: Concerning the fact that a woman should not be permitted to enter our holy church nor a monastery for women be built within its boundaries.

Chapter Twenty-Four: Concerning the fact that no Greek monk or priest should be appointed in this monastery and for what reason.

Chapter Twenty-Five: Concerning our relatives and my men of Georgian origin who have chosen to be monks in this monastery, how those in the monastery ought to receive them, and how the

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men themselves ought to have the right attitude and live in this monastery in a good and becoming way.

Chapter Twenty-Six: Concerning the steward and the other officers being called to account by the superior and the superior by the community of the brothers.

Chapter Twenty-Seven: Concerning the continuous commemoration of the dead and the unceasing appeasing of God for their souls with divine liturgies.

Chapter Twenty-Eight: Concerning the presence inside the monastery of a home for the old, and how they ought to give the old men in the monastery a fitting rest and comfort them.

Chapter Twenty-Nine: Concerning the three hospices built by us in Stenimachos, beside Marmaron, and at Prilonkos, and how they were established by us.

Chapter Thirty: Concerning the first superior Gregory Baninos appointed by us, how after his death he ought to be remembered and on what day.

Chapter Thirty-One: Concerning the youths, where they ought to live and how they ought to be instructed and whether they should enter into the great monastery, and about the priest officiating in the church of Saint Nicholas.

Chapter Thirty-Two: Concerning the fact that the superior should not hand over the day-to-day running and the established order to one of the brothers or someone outside them or transfer any of the monastery's possessions.

Chapter Thirty-Three: Concerning the safekeeping of the document of this *typikon* and the observing of what is contained in it unchanged and intact.

Chapter One

Concerning the way this most holy monastery of the Georgians was founded.

Since it is profitable and the duty of every faithful orthodox Christian who has been baptized into the holy and awful name of the revered [p. 31] Trinity, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, always to expect the end that is common to all, to take thought for the day of his death, to expect the resurrection of everyone and himself from the dead, and to meditate on that fearful and awful examination in the just judgment of Christ our God and Savior and the just requital for each of his deeds; and since it is our duty to take thought for these things with all our power while we go about in this life and to strive in every way to live wisely, to gain salvation from that fearful and “eternal punishment” and the threat of “hell fire” (Matt. 25:46; 5:22) according to that holy voice in the gospel concerning that [threat], and hence each one “to give” to God “the ransom” (Matt. 20:28) for his own soul and as it were to provide some opportunity for the unimaginable goodness and mercy of God and as a result achieve these things and to do good, each one according to his own power, and by struggling in this way to be rid of the vain snares of “Mammon” (Luke 16:9), being accepted with affection as spiritual friends in the ages to come—for by doing this we will be reckoned worthy to become joint heirs with those who have gained their everlasting inheritances, to Christ, and to gain release from our sins—for all these reasons, I the often-

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mentioned *sebastos* Gregory, and *mezas domestikos*, the very sinful and unworthy servant of Christ from my earliest youth up to the present time of my old age, being foolish and devoid of every good work and having as a relic of life only the true and orthodox faith of the Christians, of which I was reckoned worthy, following the tradition of this Georgian race, agreeing and corresponding in all doctrinal tradition with the most orthodox and pious race of the Romans and the great church of God among them, though I desired this from the beginning when I was still in the East, I reached the West affected with the same desire and until now I longed to build a very beautiful church and round it a dwelling for monks and in it a burial place for the repose of my sinful bones, but because of the great number of the terrible sins that I had committed and because of the turbulence and change in the world and my movement from place to place and my self-indulgent way of life I was not thought worthy to bring to pass the wish of my heart; but now at the time of my old age, not through my intelligence or knowledge but through the unutterable mercy and goodness of our God and his immeasurable pity towards me, unworthy, [p. 33] worthless in every way, and the least servant of his power, he thought it right that I should rise from the very deep sleep and relaxing indulgence of this life and meditate on the day of my death and the fear that lay before me of my most wicked deeds and reflect and see myself with my inward eyes as empty and bereft of any action pleasing to God.

Wherefore I had recourse to my sure hope and that of all those who have sinned like me, the help and succor of all Christians after God, the very blessed mother of Christ our God, the ever-virgin Mary, immaculate Mother of God, and in addition, to the most glorious and greatest forerunner and baptizer of Christ who surpassed all those “born of women” (Matt. 11:11), Saint John, and likewise to the most splendid great martyr and foremost champion of Christ, the most divine George.⁶ So having made these my guides and intercessors with Christ our God on the fearful day of judgment along with all the other saints beloved of Christ, with all my heart and desire and with great toil and enormous expense “I have built” a site for “a church” (Hosea 8:14) and “a house for the glory of God” (Is. 6:1), and at the same time to the honor and glory of those three most glorious ones I mentioned above, a beautiful and most majestic one, to the best of my power and in accordance with the course of events over the years and among the unsettled people living in the theme of Philippoupolis in its more northerly parts, situated in a strongly protected ravine and on the outskirts of a village called by the local inhabitants Petritzos, and entitled Basilikis which was given to us through an august and honored chrysobull of our mighty and holy rulers in recognition of my many great and bloody struggles and my zealous efforts which I performed from my youth until this time of my old age, never sparing my own blood nor my own relatives who were with me nor also the great multitude of those serving under me for the well-being of the power of his Majesty among wherever I was appointed both in the East and the West to help Roman power, with the result that I came to be held in terrible imprisonments with a number of my relatives and my loyal and most dear people, and all of these were oppressed along with me at the hands of infidels. So, if I say that seldom did any of my relations and of those who served me with pious devotion die a natural death [p. 35] in his own bed, I will in no way be lying. For all of them shed their own blood by the sword and at the hands of the enemies of the divine cross and the Roman Empire.

So now since God has deemed me worthy to accomplish the longing of my heart, the holy

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churches have been completed with the fortified monastery round them and the cells in it out of my own very great and varied expenditure. For I dare to say that it was not completed with any other money belonging to someone else or as a result of any wrongdoing or even with forced labor, additional requisitions, and exceedingly abusive impositions on my dependent peasants, with them being forced to suffer for the building of holy churches or for the building of the said monastery around them, but from my own rights and personal labors and zealous efforts.

Chapter Two

Concerning the gifts and dedications dedicated by us in our holy church, about which the document is.

We have given and established property⁷ from the possessions bestowed on us by revered chrysobulls with an inalienable right of family possession, complete ownership and true authority, properties were established as free of tax by the terms of the revered chrysobulls; of these places, first and to begin with, is the fort situated in the same theme of Philippoupolis, that is, the village named Petritzos (generally called Basilikis by the common people) together with the hamlets below it—the field called Iannoba which has now been turned into a monastery, the field Batzakoba, the field Dobrolonkos, the field Dobrostanos, the field Bourseos, the field Lalkouba with that called Abroba—all these fields with the aforementioned fort together with all their territory, established tenure, ancient rights of possession and privilege of every kind and all revenue according to the summary of them in the previous delimitation.

In addition to these I have given the village situated next to these called Stenimachos along with the two forts built by me in it, also their hamlets, i.e. the field of Lipitzos and the field [p. 37] called St. Barbara situated near to Prinezes together with its hermitages of St. Nicholas and St. Elias and St. George situated above and likewise the one situated below near the village, these places similarly complete with all their ancient territory and tenure and according to the delimitation made by me of the places between them and my fort of Bodena. In addition to these I have also given the fort called Baniska with Brysis and all the rest of its villages and hamlets, and further, the pastures with all their territory and ancient tenure. Similarly I have also given in Topolinitza the village of Gelloba [known as] Praitorion with all its territory and tenure.

I have also given to our aforesaid monastery and the holy churches in it the estate called the estate of Zaoutzes with all its territory and ancient tenure in the theme of Boleron in the locality of the military district of Mosynopolis, and inside the fort of Mosynopolis the building sites bought by me and the houses built on them at my own expense, also the buildings bought by our man and agent Vardanes out of our money and similarly the ones inside the fort of Mosynopolis, together with the monastery outside it, the one set up in the name and to the honor of St. George on the mountain called Pappikion, with its vineyards and all fields and gardens and all the rest of its rightful landed property and its dependency inside the fort of Mosynopolis.

Likewise in the same theme I have given the estate situated near the military district called Peritheorion called the estate of Menas and the fields attached to it and all kinds of fields following the very clear description of them in the article of transfer; and inside the fort of Peritheorion the *aule* situated there, once possessed by Apasios the brother of Achsartanes of blessed memory, the governor there and my brother-in-law, with all its buildings and its varied tenure.

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All these places then, the names of which have been written above, I presented to the church of the very holy Mother of God *Petritzonitissa* in my Georgian monastery from henceforth with all their ancient territory and tenure and all the rightful landed property, also the pairs of plow oxen in them and all the crops sown in them, [p. 39] all the remaining property of movable and animate types, in simple terms all revenue and privilege belonging to them.

My blessed and most true brother who has passed away, *magistros* Apasios, stated in his written testament, “Wherever my own brother Gregory wishes to build his church and monastery and also a tomb in which he will be put, there also my body should be buried.” In addition to this in many of his other writings, he declared that his village called Prilonkion was a portion for his soul. Prilonkion is situated in the theme of Thessalonike near the *archontia* called Stephaniana, which was given to him by a revered chrysobull as recompense for his property which he abandoned in great Antioch,⁸ and he decreed in his aforesaid written testament as follows: “If my own brother does not find the chance to build a church and monastery, this village of mine, Prilonkion, should be offered to the place wherever my body is buried.” But since, under the guidance of God, the said revered church and monastery has been built by me, we have acted in accordance with his instruction and command, bringing the coffin with his corpse to this our church in the monastery and we have laid him in our family grave, burying him fittingly because of the intense anguish and grief which afflicts me for his departure from this life.

We did everything that was reasonable on his behalf honorably and lavishly, showing all reverence and all the affection which we had for him, having taken care of everything for the benefit of his soul strictly and truly, and distributing all that was distributed for his soul’s salvation with my own hands from my own treasures and money, accomplishing it well while still in Theodosioupolis. Now that we are in the West, we have given his aforesaid estate of Prilonkion in accordance with his command to our often-mentioned church and to the burial place in it in which his body, very dear to me, has been buried and we have decreed that there should be continuous and fervent prayers for him and divine liturgies carried out daily as has been written below. This village of Prilonkion was given with its ancient forts and the hamlets under it and hospices and all its territory and ancient tenure with all its rights.

In addition to this my blessed brother added the following in his written testament giving me in the form of a legacy out of the places bestowed [p. 41] on him by revered chrysobull, the village which is called Srabikion together with Kaisaropolis which is situated in the theme of Serres in the military district of Zabalta with its lake and the fishing places and the hamlet called Glaunon under it. He made me owner, heir, and established commander of this fort and village. But because of my unbearable longing for him and because I do not need any worldly goods (for by the grace of God and the favor of his goodness, by the help and joy of our mighty and holy emperors and because of my excessive zeal I needed nothing, as has been said), the aforesaid fort and village which he left me as a legacy I have assigned therefore to our aforesaid monastery and the holy church in it and to the family grave in which he was buried, for the salvation of his soul. All the names of the aforementioned forts, villages, and estates, all of which have been given to our holy church and the Georgian monastery called Petritzos, are all listed in the revered and honored chrysobull which has been issued for the monastery.

My aforesaid blessed brother stated and decreed that many other articles from his posses-

sions and wealth should be distributed by my hands for the salvation of his soul, both of money and wealth of every kind, of silver, clothes, and other articles of every sort, and also of animals (for by the favor of God he was rich in every way and not wanting for articles of any kind). Nor did I take back any of my wealth or money which he had in trust, some of which he received openly from my hands, the rest at the time of my appointment as *doux* of Theodosioupolis and when I went away to the East when he was persuaded by me to carry out the care and administration of all my possessions. He collected the revenues from these and kept them in his possession during all the years that I was on duty in the East; for I had no one more loyal than he or more dear or who cared for my soul, nor did he hold anyone above me. All that was in his keeping as a deposit and the revenues of my possessions were in the old coinage of Romanos [III Argyros], the *trachy* of [Constantine IX] Monomachos, the coins of [Constantine X] Doukas and the scepter coins; there were also coins minted by Michael [VII Doukas].⁹ After the death of my brother, on my return here from the East I found absolutely nothing left of it all, as I found none of his possessions, that were decreed by him to be distributed on behalf of his soul. [p. 43]

Such properties as have been listed above in this rule were handed over by us to the aforesaid monastery with absolutely all the things in them, i.e., the owners' plow animals, the dependent peasants and all kinds of animals belonging to them, all kinds of land both hill and plain, mountain pastures, land for pasture and for plowing, vineyards, all kinds of plants fruiting and not fruiting, milling establishments worked by water or animals, lakes and the fallow land around them, forts and all kinds of buildings in them and all articles and revenues from the immovable, movable, and animate property both inside and outside them.

In addition to these there are valuable icons, representations of Christ the Savior and all the saints, also valuable crosses with valuable relics of the divine life-giving cross, also holy gospel lectionaries both in the Greek language and script and in that of the Georgians, which were made at very great expense with various stones and pearls and enameling, and sacred vessels for the holy church, patens, chalices, and various silver chandeliers and lamps of every kind, very precious imperial garments laid up in the church, also the garments given to me by our mighty and holy emperor lord Alexios [I Komnenos] from among those which he put on his all-noble and most honored body on the occasion when with the great help and power of his divine right arm and with the good fortune of our holy emperor I crushed and destroyed his most terrible and most arrogant enemies (cf. Ps. 34 [35]:3; 73 [74]:13) who set themselves not only against the Roman Empire but also every race of Christians—I mean the Patzinaks¹⁰ whose defeat and complete destruction is altogether one of the most difficult things to set down in writing. For I am convinced that even for many years after my death the miraculous act of Almighty God which happened then will in no way be forgotten.

Together with these are the very valuable imperial clothes which our almighty and noble emperor gave me when I returned from the capture by the Cumans¹¹ and those which his most fortunate brother [Isaac] the *Sebastokrator* gave me at that time. Also there are other very valuable pieces of unsewn cloth and certain other different vessels of all kinds connected with the adornment and embellishment of the church which we donated in considerable numbers, wooden icons bearing very large numbers of most pleasing figures of various saints, bronze chandeliers and large numbers of candlesticks, all of which are listed carefully according to their type in this book, [p. 45]

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also all kinds of property of movable and animate types, and the number of these things given by us to our church will be easy to see because of this very detailed list registered here.¹²

Chapter Three

Concerning the fact that the holy monastery founded by us should continue free from exactions of every kind.

After all this we declare the holy churches and their most sacred precincts and the solitary places which the bands of celibates frequent in an orderly and reverent manner to be free of all constraints and disputes together with all the places written above. Further, we declare also concerning the bequests to the often-mentioned monastery consisting of immovable, movable, and animate property that they should be free and not liable to constraints in any way like the monastery itself being under its own authority, self-governing, with control over itself and not liable to exactions of any kind whatever; nor sufferings any harassment at harmful hands, whether imperial or patriarchal, or of any of the metropolitans most beloved of God, or of archbishops, or of any other persons of any kind whether ecclesiastic or governmental, or of any of our close or distant relatives, and in particular not suffering any harassment [at the hands] of the metropolitan of Philippoupolis and not being controlled by him in anything so that he should not be mentioned by name in the *synapte* of this holy church but he will be mentioned jointly with the rest of the archbishops in the phrase “on behalf of every episcopate of the orthodox who correctly expound the word of your truth,”¹³ and likewise at the hands of all sorts of lay persons in authority and religious leaders from the greatest to the least, all as they are listed in the revered word of the chrysobull.¹⁴

Chapter Four

Concerning the monks living completely in common and all brothers being prevented from living on their own in their own cells.

With the approval of our good God and following the tradition of the holy fathers who have gone before us, I, the insignificant and unworthy Gregory, [p. 47] decided to follow them in matters beneficial to our holy monastery and to all the brothers living here that they live as a community wisely and with understanding, the superior and all his followers settling matters among themselves, being completely of one voice and one mind in all divine and human matters, having adapted themselves to a peaceful and quiet life.

There will be one common dining table for them all. I am completely opposed to two sorts of bread or of any other food being brought to the table or two varieties of wine being drunk at it; for since they live as a community one of them ought not to eat better than another or drink better wine, not even their superior himself who should take it particularly upon himself to have humility and a solemn bearing so that he can excel the rest in his observance of the rule.

Further, I forbid all the brothers, any one of them, to make any private decision or arrangement, to follow a pursuit of any kind or possess any animals or hide anything edible in his cell. For these things we utterly deprecate, especially eating and drinking in secret or with shameless wrangling contrary to the habits of moderation and the promises which we made in the presence of God

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and his angels and not before men, a strict account of which we must give before the terrible judgment-seat of Christ. Nor must they have a vessel for heating water nor prepare cooked food privately and either eat this privately or serve it up openly and cause offense to the brotherhood so there would be, instead of the holy upper room and apostolic table, a trading place of abominations (Acts 1:13; John 2:16).

But if someone truly desires these things perhaps through weakness of body or very advanced old age this should be considered a necessity and be provided for this reason, and more so if it happens to be one of the very exalted or someone used to luxurious living. For in the case of such people attendants must be appointed, and a weak nature must be consoled by being given the necessary [p. 49] help. For arising from this there will not be any irregularity nor a change in the community law nor yet any very great harm or innovation either in the spiritual principles or even in the activities of the place. But if one of the disobedient or someone through obtuseness and idleness aims at something like this, in this case such a person should not get permission even if he is one of the officials lest instead of benefit and help very great harm is done to the attendants, and those meddling ones who take the wrong view will—to put it this way—of necessity have an involuntary excuse for indiscipline to the destruction of their obedience. The attendant ought to serve for the rest in a manner both wise and pleasing to God and encourage them by his own example of industry.

Individuals keeping food and drink in their own cells and wishing to eat it in secret or openly, this we completely repudiate. For we do not wish any of the brothers privately to possess any thing either great or small, or to receive anything from another person or to give something to another even if he is one of the poorest. For no one should be unaware that there will be no praise for such things; this is a work of the devil and outside the law and it destroys obedience to the rule.

For whenever someone does not have the power to be master of himself how will he control anything else as if it were his own? How does the man who has become subservient to all of his own interests care for those which are not his own? For the man who has denied himself and his own will (cf. Luke 9:23) once and has fallen under the service of righteousness then acts in accordance with his own wishes, what else is it except that he has been freed from righteousness and become a slave to sin? What help will this man be to Christ when he concocts a private righteousness and is not subject to the righteousness of God? How can he be regarded as a charitable and hospitable man whenever he does not put up with the lack of even the smallest things but instead of the article which he will give the poor he will ask for some other new one from the superior to replace the old one which he gave to the poor, wickedly exchanging the useless and the useful? Is there not that you acted not out of generosity and love for the poor but through love of gain and covetousness whenever you yourself, the new and compassionate lover of the poor, loved their need and accepted to be cold and go naked through love for your neighbor? And so in the end would you escape condemnation?

A person should follow rather the direction of the superior and consider this alone to be the law and command and divine injunction, and think that praise is not a thing to be praised and be aware that hospitality [p. 51] is a shared quality and that gifts are given jointly on behalf of all. So the person who does not abide by this but attempts rather more, reckoning on disturbing the heavenly obedience, will be reckoned as no true son and an alien to the brotherhood and if he does not mend his ways he will be thrust out from the holy dwelling.

Chapter Five

Concerning how the superior should be chosen and appointed and after the first superior, concerning how the second should be called to the same ministry and service of the monastery.

More truly and indeed more forcefully than all and before all [must be considered the matter] of all who in turn are going to act as superiors—I speak of what is fitting for the orderly existence of the brotherhood of the monastery about matters which concern me very much. Because of this, exercising all my thought and examining everything and after discussion, I found this to be right and a way rid of all disorder, that while I the founder of the aforesaid monastery am alive, whomsoever I install as superior of the monastery shall be so, and if he lives in righteousness according to the command drawn up by us, he shall remain in leadership until the end of his life. For whenever the superior in office at the time draws near to death, he himself installs the one to be superior after him who is going to shepherd the brotherhood. He appoints this man not because of kinship or any physical attachment but by the choice and testimony of the brotherhood. At the time of [the superior's] death [the superior-elect], [being a man] of ability and intelligence, will have to be most discerning and impartial and thus he will be entrusted with the office of superior through which he is going to lead the brotherhood, having come to this calling not of his own will but by the observance and regulation that I have mentioned above. For I wish them to carry out such an installation in this way but not contrary to the wish of the superior who is about to die.

After the resignation and the departure from this life of the first superior, the second one will have his authority with the advice of all the rest of the brothers of this monastery—and this I repeat, after the death of the superior—in the way that the office of the superior has been clearly explained by us and decreed. But if perhaps it ever happens that the shepherd of the flock is suddenly snatched away as is usually the way and did not have the chance to carry out what has been laid down, then they should appoint the superior by the judgment and with the approval [p. 53] of the better and virtuous and more learned brothers from the brotherhood.

Once again we turn to the superior-elect, that is the new superior, who should live and abide by the leadership of the dead one. Once he has been proposed and appointed with the consent of the superior, this is the way he establishes his leadership. When the superior dies, that is goes away to the Lord, and all the brotherhood has been gathered in the presence of the one about to die and the one who is going to be honored after him, the previous superior hands over to him his leadership in accordance with the rule laid down by us, so that they may all live together according to it and have no power to regulate anything on their own.

On the third day after the burial of the former superior, the recently appointed superior must do the following things: he must complete a night vigil and on the next day after the completion of the divine mystery the recently consecrated superior must stand in front of the holy altar, the whole brotherhood in the order of their rank kneeling to him and embracing him in turn. Then when those who have been called and have attached themselves to the Lord are thus happy, a bountiful table will be set before them. Binding them with an oath I say the same things, that the one who has gained the leadership must preside over the flock with kindness, showing the sincerest kind of righteousness towards the brotherhood in Christ Jesus our Lord “who searcheth hearts and reins” (Ps. 7:9), sharper than any sword “piercing to the division of soul and body” (Heb.

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4:12) and “rendering to every man according to his works” (Rom. 2:6). He should introduce nothing unworthy and unseemly into his flock entrusted to him by Christ, that is the brotherhood for whom he did not labor nor yet suffer hardship not even with personal “toil” (II Cor. 11:27) so as to say like the great apostle Paul, “the lazy man should not eat” (II Thess. 3:10) but he must do everything as if the Son of God himself were watching.

In this way he should carry out all the administration and abstain from all innovation and righteously do what is right. It is enough for them [the superiors] that they have pleasure in things they have not toiled for and in the sweat and labors of others, and where others have suffered hardship with the greatest zeal and the greatest labors, the fruits of which those who have tried know them for certain by, they themselves have now been thought worthy to share in all these without toil and without innovations. [p. 55] Therefore they should give thanks to God worthily and remember us unceasingly as being responsible for these their good things.

They will behave worthily and they will be grateful throughout their lives and thus they should give thanks to the Savior of all that they did not weary themselves traveling about searching for a most beautiful and fertile place. We however underwent this hardship, rushing up and down and traveling to every place among our possessions. While examining all these places and seeking a restful place for a dwelling of brothers, we did not find a more suitable or pleasing one than this. So divine providence working with us thought us entirely worthy of these good things in the first place to find this very pleasing and beautiful retreat. In every way it is most agreeable and furthermore it is very rich in all useful things. It contains in one place all necessities and season by season readily offers each person their use, readily supplying, I assert, the use of spiritual and bodily benefits and, to speak boldly, it is a place like that divine paradise where the most delightful life that was lived by the first man was straightforward, without hardship, and without care there.

This is especially so whenever anyone looks on the beauty of this wonderful and famous church, its decoration and hangings, the emanating sweet fragrance and delight of spiritual grace, the sweet-sounding and harmonious singing of the chants, the traditions that help the soul, guiding it along the most royal of roads, the journey that leads to tranquility and eternal life, and the variety and excellence of the fine things of all kinds which accompany these through which those who stand at the right side of the impartial Judge in the universal theater form an idea of the permanent blessings which they are to enjoy.

Since this is so and all these benefits have become your possession in this way without toil, how should you not thus live a life without sorrow and disorder, and with the most sincere mind sail the very turbulent sea of life with the sweetest wafting from the lightest breezes? Should you not live like the prophets of God who gaze on the divine throne or even the apostles, “scorning,” as Job says, “the crowded cities” (Job 39:7) and despising the voices of the tax-collectors?

More important than all this is that whoever is the superior should in everything be an example by his way of life especially in the matter of having no private possessions. For everything [p. 57] in the monastery is his so he can devote himself to prayers and supplications, adhere to the teaching contained in scripture, and apply himself to watching over the brothers, considering these things more valuable and loftier, as the holy apostle says, “with the weapons of righteousness for right hand and left, in honor and dishonor, in ill repute and good repute, treated as

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impostors and yet true” (II Cor. 6:7–8). So by “keeping the commands” (I Cor. 7:19) he will be kept safe for the promised life of righteousness and blessedness.

He should show love equally to all, both the old and the young, with the “love of Christ” (II Cor. 5:14) bearing with the faint-hearted and the lazy and, I must add, with the grumblers who are the most annoying and unbearable. For those who bear with them will gain a great reward and become “imitators of God” (Eph. 5:1). After all this, again I give this instruction that any man who has a large number of relatives should not become superior in this my monastery. We forbid this also, that any relative or servant of the superior should be performing any function either in the monastery or in places outside, whether villages, monasteries, or any other places.

Chapter Six

Concerning the amount and number of the monks which has been laid down by us to be unailing and how many of them should work and serve.

So it is our duty to legislate about the number of the monks as follows. Since God the maker of good things, who has formed the nature of men and created the material for all that exists from what formerly did not, has settled the order and rank for each of these with all wisdom and no one supposes that anything is more pleasing or more fitting than their creation, I wish the number of the monks to be up to fifty and the superior to be in addition to them as long as they are adorned with every virtue and shining with divine grace. I do not wish them to be less than fifty in number. I wish the superior to be over and above the fifty, as has been said. I bind by oath the successive superiors in this monastery never to disregard their aforesaid number, but if a [p. 59] decrease in their number should occur through death or some other reasonable chance cause, they should fill up their specified number so that the praise of God and the most earnest prayer to him should never be seen to be feeble. The form of hymn-singing will be very harmonious and unceasing, adorned with godly fear and accompanied with fitting attention and observance.

Out of this number of fifty-one, one is the superior who must be filled with all knowledge and understanding, virtue, fear, and love of God. Two others of them should be administrators, one within the boundaries of Philippoupolis, the other in the districts of Mosynopolis and the areas situated close to this.¹⁵ Another of them should be an ecclesiarch filled with knowledge and having a thorough experience of divine ecclesiastic practices, not lacking in knowledge of the established ritual laid down at the beginning. Six of them should be priests carrying out the divine liturgy, and two should be deacons usually celebrating the liturgy with them, and two others to be sub-deacons active in reading and leading the choir.

Another of them, equally adorned with understanding, experience, fear of God, and love, should be sacristan and treasurer, having the care and keeping of all the sacred treasures of the holy church, also controlling the receiving and paying out of money gathered from everywhere from all kinds of revenues, as if he was going to render account not only to those prominent in the holy monastery but also to Christ our God himself.

Another should be a lamplighter, under the ecclesiarch, dispensing the incense, the oil, the candles, the wine of the offering, and the flour from which the offering of bread is usually made, and he will issue all these things in the fear of God at the proper time. But in the great and distin-

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guished feasts of our Lord at which the service and ministry of the holy church will be increased, it is the duty of the superior to command certain others from the same brotherhood to help and give the necessary assistance to the one continually carrying out the lighting of the lamps.

Another should be a cellarer, called *tanouteres* by the Georgians,¹⁶ who according to the regulation of the monks and monasteries must without deceit and offense keep in his possession the bread and all the food supplies and the seasoning, olive oil, wine, and honey, and things like these and must himself issue these carefully at the proper time in the fear of God. Another should be a [p. 61] wine-steward carrying out this service prudently in the fear of God. Another should be a refectorian fulfilling the position of this person in the customary way.

Another should be guest-master and another to tend the old and be infirmarian taking good and wise care of them. Another should be an overseer, being chosen for his virtue and fear of God, whose duty it is to go round the cells of the brothers, and those who were absent from the holy service and did not arrive at the beginning of matins, while the six psalms were still being sung, he should take to the superior and the body of the brotherhood so that each of them may pay the appointed penalty according to custom and the rule. Another should be a baker and another a cook and another a gatekeeper, each of these carrying out his service prudently, carefully and with pious diligence.

All the rest of the brotherhood should spend their time in singing the hymns of the holy church with eagerness, care, and delight both at night and during the day. All these should be “of the same mind and spirit” (Phil. 2:2; I Pet. 3:8), unanimous, always grounded in godly fear and adorned with “love for one another” (I Thess. 3:12) and obedience to their superior for the help and maintenance of the most holy monastery often mentioned by us. So let no one dare to oppose their superior in any way or speak against him when he is giving instruction in divine mysteries in imitation of Christ and like a teacher giving advice for the benefit of the holy church, for the maintenance of the monastery, and for the edification of the souls of the holy brotherhood.

Chapter Seven

Concerning those who officiate as priests, how they should be chosen or carry out the divine priesthood.

The brothers and their superior should with a search make a selection very carefully and they should ordain those who are saintly and virtuous and who fear the Lord completely in every way for the rites of the divine mysteries so that through them our bountiful God and Savior Jesus Christ may grant salvation to our souls. But if one of those acting as priests is rude and arrogant and has fallen short in a serious and shameless manner, he should be debarred from the priesthood and another appointed in his place carrying out the divine priestly office with dignity, but the other should be appointed in another place outside the monastery and after he has shown [p. 63] repentance he should gain compassion and mercy and be put in the same category as the brothers who are not priests. On this point I adjure you and admonish you before God in no way to allow anyone to act as priest in our holy church unworthily—and this should be guarded against strictly by you, fathers and brothers—and in addition to this I urge you to carry out your examinations strictly lest

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through jealousy or hatred or any other of the passions that destroy the soul one of the priests should be falsely slandered and undergo abominations unjustly. It is a special transgression if a man worthy of honor undergoes dishonor because of envy. So the enquiry into these matters should take place with a strict examination and the one who is clearly convicted and of a shameless character should be driven from the divine priesthood and likewise from the holy monastery.

It was right that the priest who receives all his necessities from the holy church and is supported by it should perform the divine mystery for us and for those for whom we sanction it; yet for the greater benefit of those officiating as priests we make a distinction in this way, as has been set out below, that on the distinguished and famous holy feasts they should carry out the holy liturgies on our behalf and that of our people in all the churches as we have instructed, and similarly on three days of the week—Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. For much earlier it was specified that a celebration of the eucharist should take place for us on Sunday. If anyone has received anything from someone for a liturgy for people of whom the superior and ecclesiarch will approve, let the divine celebrations take place. But the remaining three days of the week belong to the priests and they should carry out the divine celebration for those they wish.

Chapter Eight

Concerning the preparation of the table and the good behavior and silence of those serving.

The activity around the table and the work of those serving should be carried out with decorum. As we have laid down a limit for food and drink, by that and what is settled here, we make everything quite clear as the explanation advances concerning those being served and those serving, concerning those sitting down to the meal and those standing by serving and furthermore concerning the overseers and administrators and concerning the appointment and the orderliness of these people. Thus those who stand and walk around the table should step about without noise and those who sit down at the meal should eat their food in silence with the result that everything will be to the glory of God [p. 65] and “seasoned with good salt” (Col. 4:6).

As for the seating—which is a matter for us to speak of—the superior should organize this, making it his aim that no confusion or disorder should arise nor that they, regarding someone as a stranger, should ignore him to the harm of each other and their own souls, as the holy apostle says “let no one seek his own interest but each that of his neighbor” (I Cor. 10:24), so that he may be saved, being exalted by such an attitude, and more so because of the command of the Lord which says “he who humbles himself will be exalted” (Luke 18:14). Further they should maintain securely the reading which usually takes place at the table and the pleasant and restrained silence and they should show their scrupulous conformity not only in these matters but always in everything, both in houses and outside, and they should live virtuously like this in the whole of their lives.

The bread and wine and the customary daily foods should not be changed, whether those in charge are remiss through niggardliness or they plead as an excuse the arrival of some monks, nor should they alter what has been prescribed by us, but the food which we have prescribed will be set forth without fail, that is, cheese will be set out on four days of the week as we prescribed, and it should not be withheld except only during the three fasts. Neither do we wish any of the four measures of wine to be withheld from each brother. We prescribe that three dishes should be

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provided for the brothers each day of whatever the providence of God supplies. But on Easter Sunday we prescribe that the table should be more lavish, for they will be tired and hungry having completed a vigil the previous night. Furthermore, during the days of the Holy Pentecost and after the saving birth of our Lord Jesus Christ until Epiphany, called the twelve days, there should be four courses set out for the brothers during these days. For supper on the twelve days we mentioned and the fifty leading up to Pentecost cheese should be set out for the brothers and whatever else divine providence supplies and two measures of wine for each of them. But if the superior of the time having the oversight and discretion considers it necessary to add something else to the food of the brothers, he should have this power with a view to blunting the impulses of those who favor indulgence.

If any item of food is brought into the monastery from the produce of an estate, or from flocks, or from some other pious people whether given by relatives of the superior or of the brothers, or from important friends as a refreshment, [p. 67] this item should be handed over to the cellarer and should be eaten at the table by the community of brothers, or he who received this gift of food could bring it to the table himself and offer it to the brotherhood.

It is right that this should not go unmentioned, namely that those who are visiting in this holy monastery either the superior or one of the brotherhood through friendship or family connection, such a person should not be sent away hungry, but if such a person is present at the time of a meal, the brother to whom he has come should take such a person with him. But if the time of eating for the brothers has passed or the visitor being eager to depart does not wish to wait until the time of the meal, there should be the customary provision of refreshment from the cellarer for this person as is appropriate. For a brother is not allowed to entertain his friend in his cell and offer such a person a meal. If the friend is a monk it is appropriate that this person should stay for three days and on the fourth day they should provide him with supplies as is appropriate and thus send him on his way.¹⁷ If some sickness should happen to strike the friend, they should keep him and look after him until he is completely rid of his illness. But if he should die in the monastery they should bury this person with psalms, hymns, and prayers and gain the reward for him from the God of all things.

Chapter Nine

Concerning the clothes of the brotherhood and the payment for them and how they should be distributed to the brotherhood by the superior, also concerning shoes.

After this we have taken pains to be concerned also about payment for clothes, and not only that but also about shoes and all other necessities. For this will come from the giving of allowances even if perhaps the expenditure turns out to be rather more. Therefore it seemed a pleasing idea to us to make provision for each member each year according to his own rank so that the brothers should have no excuse for going out of the monastery for such necessities, whether to buy something or to procure sandals, and be at the doors of leather-workers or other people and with this excuse incur harm, but rather they will be constantly at their prayers, hymns, and the rest of their services to the holy church carrying out the whole of their obligation.

So if it were possible that there should be a distribution of clothes following the custom of the most holy monastery of [p. 69] *Panagios* as prescribed above, nothing else could be better

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than this or more fitting. But because of the passage and instability of time we have prescribed that it should happen as we will now go on to say. There should be three orders of brothers and they should receive allowances. The superior of the monastery should receive 36 *nomismata*. The older priests along with the two administrators, the ecclesiarch, the sacristan, and as many as are notable among the brothers and of similar status to him—up to the number of 15—will be called the first order and each of them should get 20 *nomismata*. The second order too should likewise be 15 men and each of these should get 15 *nomismata*. The third order should be made up of 20 souls and each of these should get 10 *nomismata*. The full amount of their allowance should be in standard *trachy* coinage.

Since all the revenues of every kind are gathered during the month of September and the demands are dealt with then, the brothers could have received the cost of their clothes then too. But for this reason, namely so that the brothers, on the pretext of buying clothes and doing business, should not be compelled to travel too far, depart from the monastery, and neglect their service to it and their praying, we have ruled that they should receive these declared allowances, i.e., the cost of their clothes, at the time of the glorious resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ on Easter Sunday, when it has also been fixed that a fair be held beside the most holy monastery so that all of them may purchase their necessities. For everything that is necessary will readily be found at this fair.

Chapter Ten

Concerning the three holy periods of fasting and that all should fast in purity and perform acts of mercy to all each day.

During the three holy fasts they must fast without wine and olive oil except on Saturdays and Sundays on which they will all drink one cupful each for refreshment. In the gateway of the monastery each day sustenance must be distributed to their brothers in Christ, that is [p. 71] the poor. For they are the means of our salvation and secure the good things which are to come. But on Saturdays and Sundays during the great [Lenten] fast the food and the things that have been decreed should be provided and they should receive the measures of wine without fail. However they should not eat fish and for the five days of the week they should not have the seasoning of olive oil. On Tuesday and Thursday they should drink wine, one measure each. During the fast for the holy birth of Christ our God they will dine once in the day and then at the ninth hour, except on the days when we sing “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) and so forth, then let us drink two measures of wine each. In each week we should abstain from olive oil for three days. During the fast of the Holy Apostles in the same way let us spend three days without olive oil and let all of us dine together once in the day and then at the seventh hour and let us drink two measures of wine each and one in the evening.

Chapter Eleven

Concerning the feast of our holy church and the other famous and glorious feasts of our Lord and the special saints that they should celebrate them splendidly.

It has been decreed by us that the feast of the very holy Mother of God—her sacred and honored Dormition—should be celebrated in our church on the fifteenth of August as follows. We

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wish them joyfully to celebrate this world-wide festival of the Dormition of the Mother of God in reverence and splendor as is done in the famous and greatest churches. Also the anniversaries of holy martyrs along with all the rest of the saints should fail in no way and likewise the distribution to the poor, as we have prescribed among the festivals and the established anniversaries of the dead.¹⁸ But the feast of the revered Dormition of the very holy Mother of God should be honored even more, and in this connection I bind with an oath those who will succeed me not to fail in anything that is fitting but if possible in their devotion to the festival to make it even more splendid. For those who celebrate festivals in a splendid and zealous manner will gain great benefits and will be reckoned worthy of eternal gifts and will come to share divine grace.¹⁹ They should also celebrate the remaining festivals.

Chapter Twelve

Concerning the lighting of our holy churches, how it should be carried out, and concerning prayer, that it should be offered without distraction.

It is our duty to maintain continuously throughout each day and night three lamps in front of the icon of the very holy Mother of God [p. 73] and one lamp in the great sanctuary and before the holy sanctuary on the screen,²⁰ one lamp before the crucifix of the Savior and one lamp before the holy icon of the forerunner John the Baptist and one lamp before the icon of St. George and three lamps at our tomb.²¹ Also at each time of psalm-singing during the whole year, that is at matins, in the divine liturgy, and during vespers, along with all the lamps I have mentioned candles should be lit to burn continuously until the dismissal. After that, the candles should be extinguished but the lamps should remain burning continuously right through. Furthermore, before the [icons of the] twelve feasts of our Lord on each day at the time of hymn-singing twelve lamps should be lit until the dismissal. But in the famous and great feasts all the lamps in the holy church should be lit and all the candlesticks should be full of lit candles. During the holy festival of our holy church there should be a great abundance of lighting, and the festival and assembly should be great and very renowned with hymns and fragrances and a splendid table adorned with all the good things which the goodness of our God has given us.

Therefore whatever traditions are customary and have been prescribed for the glory of God, they must carry them out and fulfill them continuously without fail like some inescapable debt, and they should always heed the commands of God without faltering so that as they are mutually observed and passed on from one to another they will maintain securely, more than all that has been laid down, the divine glorifying of God in accordance with the rule handed down to us and the ordinance which the most pious brothers of the holy monastery of *Panagios* observe both at matins, in the daily singing of hymns, and furthermore, following their customary tradition, in the peaceful prayers during compline, and in all the night hymn-singing and reciting of psalms. The order for carrying out the divine sacraments should also be observed in the same way, except that the choirs should not snatch up the verses hastily from each other in reciting the psalms, but one choir should wait until the one that has begun its verse finishes it and stops at the end of it, then it should begin its own verse, and so the singing should take place in a pious and reverent manner.

Henceforth the one who transgresses the command should know that he falls under the patristic curse as one who has despised not only our command but also the threat of God and that

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he has been excluded from the covenants of God. We write these things not to those who are negligent on an occasion by reason of some infirmity or those who are engaged in the comfort and service of the brotherhood, either receiving guests who have come [p. 75] or having a responsibility for the poor, but we are trying to drive away deliberate neglect considering this to be a clear transgression of the monastic law. In accordance with this monastic law [we urge] the monks to live always in harmonious silence and more so at the time of the divine service during which of necessity silence should be observed and no one should continue speaking to other people, whether it is convenient or inconvenient, or laughing even with the merest smile, or addressing anyone and in this way hindering or disturbing the holy singing and assisting the evil spirits whose job it is to do this and support those doing it. They should not be distracted at all nor be continually changing their feet through indolence or foolishness, but should offer their praises to God in reverence and in a holy and calm attitude of body and soul. But if some are seen deliberately disregarding what has been said, let them be subject to the penalties laid down by the holy fathers. They must also perform an all-night vigil till matins on Sunday.

Chapter Thirteen

Concerning the duty of the brotherhood to confess each day to the superior the thoughts that have occurred to them, their words and their deeds if they have done anything.

It is the duty of the superior to examine the thoughts of everyone and in no way to despise those who are disturbed and distressed by their thoughts but he should examine them, if it is possible, through the whole day, correct their failings and cleanse them from every defilement of flesh and spirit. Also the brothers should reveal to the superior everything that concerns them in faith and with a contrite heart in simplicity of soul, and they should not go away somewhere else and confess to someone else like bastards and not true sons and with worthlessness and wickedness debase their confession.²² For the superior ought to know the thoughts of all, and not just this but also their steadfast actions, and they must not reveal these to anyone else but the superior alone, as has been said. Nor should any of the brothers turn away and do something following his own wish without the decision and choosing of the superior, and of his own will take on a task and become the agent of his own death. He will become an example [p. 77] of insubordination for the others through the superior not knowing the thinking behind his decisions and he himself not being able to correct himself without his help. For each person has his own faculty to choose though not knowing how to choose the good with discernment. For one must serve with different people at different times, yet in all this there is need for wisdom and the finest guiding discretion of the one who knows how to administer scrupulously.

So whenever the brothers become insubordinate and choose the way of their own desires, how will they be called most loyal sons of their father, that is the superior? For they have deliberately alienated themselves from him and have been deprived of their father's inheritance and will put themselves far from the divine confession; and "he who is not faithful in something little" (Luke 16:10) will also fail in the great commands and it is likely that in these people the saying of the apostle will be fulfilled which says, "if the unbeliever desires to separate, let it be so" (I Cor. 7:15), and like the parable of the fig tree which says, "why should you use up the ground" (Luke 13:7) and cause pointless toil to the farmer? I say there is no worse calamity than this, when

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someone is found insubordinate to the superior himself and speaks improperly in his presence. So such a person should be removed from the community so that he will not become an evil example to his fellow-brothers and those of his own age and a teacher of “disobedience” (Heb. 4:11), since he does not act in accordance with “the will of the Lord” (Eph. 5:17) but always follows his own will.

Chapter Fourteen

Concerning manual labor and toil and that we ought to sing psalms during work.

Those doing some physical work should not be prevented from singing hymns but while they are at work with their hands they should offer up psalms with their mouth. For this is a mystical incense-offering and acceptable according to the divine teaching of Basil the great bishop of Caesarea and a very swift summoner of angelic [p. 79] help.²³ For in the houses of the rich there are many “vessels, some of gold and others of earthenware” (II Tim. 2:20). For this reason the superior needs much wisdom to show [the brothers] the “way of righteousness” (II Pet. 2:21). For our “entrance into the kingdom” (II Pet. 1:11) of heaven is by one of various roads. For one person is successful in this, another in that and yet another in everything. Some the superior must rebuke, others he must admonish, and from yet others he must cut away the scars with the piercing sword of examination. But he must do all this with moderation and at the right time, and assign others to work and physical toil—people whose characters are not reliable nor hearts repentant. So willingly or not he must bring such people close to God through labors; for a soul that is fond of work is near to God and will find a cure early (cf. Is. 58:8).

Chapter Fifteen

Concerning the rule that the brothers should not go outside the monastery or leave it without the command of the superiors.

Those of the brotherhood who do not live quietly should not be allowed to go about wherever they wish in the vanity of their mind, but those who are bold with such a habit should be persuaded to remain at home appropriately in accordance with the command of the divine and holy rule. I urge that they be trained not only for this reason but also because of every other action which contains an element of lawlessness and disobedience, that as is fitting they will live together scrupulously. For a necessity is imposed on all shepherds not to cross the appointed boundaries and it is necessary that [the superior] should tend his spiritual flock in this way and discipline those who have slipped with a view to repentance and care about them from the depth of his heart and spirit, suffering along with them as if they were his own limbs so that they may not be liable to the just judgment of God. All that has been laid down by the superior is law, and those subordinate to him must pay attention to all his utterances as to the divine laws themselves and consider none unimportant or make distinctions in his utterances or contradict him or oppose him in any other way. For all these things are proof of disobedience and independence and furthermore of indiscipline which is the confusion and destruction of obedience and discernment, and just judgment for these actions will come on those who practice such things. [p. 81]

Therefore it is with the approval of God that I must say these things. For I do not wish

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anyone else to rule them nor yet that the law of submission be destroyed. For a monk is not allowed to utter anything in the presence of the superior other than “I have sinned, Father, pardon me.” “Peace and mercy” (Gal. 6:16) to those who live as monks in this way and observe this rule. But if any of the brothers is proved to be unwilling to live according to the terms of the rule but opposes it and considers the reproof of the superior harsh and unhelpful and does not consider his rebuke to be for his own help and benefit, fighting against his shepherd and doctor and not accepting his reproof, and therefore fights against him either in secret or openly—this is the very thing I do not want, for such a person will be possessed by the devil, intoxicating his neighbor with his foul drink, which often brings about a rift and separation in “the body of the church” (Col. 1:18). If such a person remains without improvement, then it is better that after the first and second and third piece of advice and rebuke he be cut off like a rotten limb and be far away from the divine flock.

In addition to this it is necessary for the steward of souls, that is the superior, to know how to care for them with watchfulness and forbearance and thus, as Paul says, “to test everything” and pick out what is better and “abstain from every form of evil” (I Thess. 5:21–22) “trespass” (Gal. 6:1) and not disregard anyone with some small sin in order to prevent “the small piece of leaven leavening the whole lump” (I Cor. 5:6). Again, suppose that someone attempts great acts of abstinence, choosing by himself and showing contempt for the standard laid down by the holy fathers, which they first handed on to us by choice and with careful examination according to their divine traditions—the true, unerring, and moderate path—that is the cutting out of one’s own will, for the self-willed person is always in error lacking experience and is unreliable. Now the rules of submission have been tested, by reason and time, by everyone and will remain unchanged.

The superior, therefore, must not tolerate men who are so disposed. As for those who make a show of themselves and hypocritically parade themselves in public and those who practice abstinence without the consent of their brethren and [p. 83] without the approval of their superior and who make a show of themselves in public with a view to persuading those who see them with the pretense of their prayer and of being different from others before them (?)—[those who see these men] will be beguiled and deceived and in this way they will admire those against whom we must “contend”. . . will be beguiled and deceived in this way to their consternation. Against these men “we contend” (Eph. 6:12) and fight as the holy apostle says. For such a man is darkness and pretends to be light. This is enough of a warning for us. For concerning these matters we have been clearly instructed by the holy and revered monastery of *Panagios*, and from there we should learn, we who wish to do so.

Again I say [the superior] must deliberate with regard to all without distinction and counsel them all and guide them towards goodness and raise their minds from earthly sins so that everything may take place according to his decision and suggestion and through their close relationship with God. For everything that does not bring them near to him is useless. I say this too, that they must keep their minds above all wicked thoughts and that from here the road of wickedness and goodness begins. They should keep themselves away from wickedness and always advance in goodness from which so great a harvest of goodness and righteousness is produced, as the great trumpet [St. Paul] of Tarsus proclaims. What then is this? “Love, joy, peace, patience, goodness” (Gal. 5:22) and the rest. For self-willed people who practice abstinence for show, who in

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appearances have the semblance of dignity, on those people madness comes and flourishes strongly in them and will be displayed to those outside who follow in empty fancy. “Their end” (Phil. 3:19) comes through laxity, and such a man seems to have a great opinion of himself, and this is more harmful than the whole business.

For what is really not virtue persuades those who only see it that it is virtue, as some of the fathers declared and as also the prophet says, “If anyone bends down his neck as a ring and spreads under him sackcloth and ashes, I have not chosen such a fast [saith the Lord]. But break thy bread to the hungry and lead the unsheltered poor to thy house, clothe the naked and do not disregard the relations of thine own seed” (Is. 58:5–7). For as much as “anyone humbles himself, so much will he be exalted” (cf. Matt. 23:12), in amount just like the abundance of irresistible seawater quietly increasing the cultivation of righteousness. As much as anyone calls himself to account so much will he be exalted, for humility teaches a person all the more to examine his faults, look only at himself and condemn himself. For this is the law of our fathers [p. 85] and the means of entry into the kingdom of heaven. For this will send us to “the place” of rest (Rev. 12:6) that has been made ready so as to “give a portion not only to seven but even to eight” (Eccl. 11:2), according to the word of Solomon. For the word of the Lord refers to this which says, “learn from me that I am gentle and lowly in heart and you will find rest for your souls. Take my yoke upon you and learn that my yoke is easy and my burden light” (Matt. 11:29–30). So that God will not only bestow on us the good things in the afterlife but he also gives us our present blessings and guides our way for the one who does his will. We must reckon up all the guidance of God and commit to him all our life and set God in our mind so that “our place will be in peace and our dwelling place in Sion and there the Lord will break the power of the bows” (Ps. 75 [76]:5). Faith, hope, love, and the desire for divine love are there. A light is there because “Thou doest shine forth from everlasting mountains” (Ps. 75 [76]:5).

So concerning the table in the house and the good conduct of those ministering and the common orderliness and arrangement and all the rest of the management, let this much be said with God’s blessing as has been laid down by us.²⁴ On the matter of the regulations for the church and its offices it is clear to all and I will speak briefly.²⁵ For it is necessary to perform the ministry of the priesthood with love and watchfulness day and night continuously according to the grace of God and the gift given by the Savior to each tongue according to its own sound in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be the glory for ever and ever, Amen.

Chapter Sixteen

Advice about the administrators of the monastery.

Again, following on what has already been said, I give this instruction too urging it with an oath and I prescribe this to my brothers in love, the ones in our monastery, that they do not allow this holy monastery to be without administrators. But it is our particular wish that selected and experienced men should have the administration. After the death of these, others must be chosen from the brotherhood, reverent ones with the fear of God, whether they be from the clergy or from the lay people. Those who receive this power should be from among those who love God, [p. 87] being people whom the monks will appoint to the control both of the monastery and of their own souls. But I do not want the monks to be without administrators (nor yet without a superior) so that

they may not only maintain without alteration the spiritual order as laid down by us, but they will also take care of material things to keep them securely, and of those who serve in the monastery, that they will not lack anything that is necessary.

Chapter Seventeen

It is necessary to give an aim and an instruction concerning eunuchs and young boys.

Concerning eunuchs, that is those called *thladii*, and young boys, since many of the holy fathers kept them from the sacrament of the church to prevent offense and in the beginning laid it down to remain so for ever, such a person should not be received in the monastery on the pretext of some service or ministry. For irreverent disobedience will be seen in this. For I speak fittingly since often the fathers in the *sketis* proclaimed clearly, “Do not bring young boys here, for how many churches have been defiled through them?”²⁶ But we neither leave these as an object of offense to those after us, both superiors and subordinates, nor do we allow them to receive any such on any pretext whatsoever since they have a blameworthy reputation. Let us not grant wickedness an entry. Though, prior to this regulating ordinance of ours,²⁷ we legislated particularly on the impropriety of this matter, our ordinance has maintained the same (principle) and seems to be right in taking as its target a pressing and serious error. So what has been rejected once from sacred regulations we ought in no way to take back. Therefore enjoin these people, that is the superiors and administrators in this holy monastery after us, and bind by oath the whole brotherhood too by Christ our God himself, and his immaculate [p. 89] Mother, never to accept anything else that lies outside this regulation of ours and the tradition of the fathers for the management of this matter on whatever pretext, not only to the ruin of their souls and to share the greatest condemnation of the fathers, but also to become liable to the most just sentence of divine judgment itself.

Chapter Eighteen

That our monastery should be free from all official and violent force or exaction of any other kind.

I wish our present most holy monastery to be free from all those who wish to seize it by force, all strangers and our relatives, those alive now and those who will come after us, also the legatees and executors of our bequests and all other people of any kind, as none of them has the right individually or together to bring disturbance of any kind on it, nor yet to take away any of the possessions decreed to our holy church or any of the people living in them in any way, even down to the least important object. If any of our relations is discovered to be without a legacy through an oversight or some other such reason and is very insistent that he get a share, we rid this person in every way of this wicked notion and decree that he should receive twelve *folleis* only as a bequest from our administrators and should cease from this shameless insistence. For I have this holy church and the most holy monastery around it as my appointed and substitute heir, as I have explained clearly and in detail above and in what follows.

For I have offered this most holy monastery with all in it as a gift to God, the maker and sustainer of all things, for my life and my very sinful soul, to be self-governing and free from all force of every kind both from our relatives and from strangers, quite simply from any sort of

person. Nor should even the smallest of the things placed as the property of this holy monastery be transferred or taken away either by the decision of its superiors or through the deceit and treachery of any of its monks. Nor should the monks in this monastery be subject to some other person, whether a servant or relative of ours or a stranger, or give him an opportunity to have authority over anything whatsoever in it. For I wish the superior and the rest of the brothers only to rule and have authority in it, [p. 91] as has been said above and as the words of the chrysobulls make clear, and each of them to spend his time at his own task, as the present *typikon* specifies, and to pray for our pious, mighty, and holy emperors, the army devoted to Christ, and for my sinful soul and its salvation.

So, may no one have the power to lay a destructive hand on the property in the holy monastery nor may the monks be subject to anyone. For I am setting up this holy monastery as a dwelling and for the maintenance and peace of the monks and I wish it to be for ever independent and self-governing on the basis of what has been said above, with the superiors maintaining for their periods of office the suitable care, management, and regulating of it. For we have acted and prescribed in this manner, not like some who set up monasteries or some other kind of hallowed place and put it under the authority of their relatives in succession after the death of the founder. May it not happen that we should act like this or have such an intention at all and provide an excuse for opposition and strife among them, introducing hatred and an excuse for lawsuits, with each of those who have been renounced calling himself the lord and master of those in the monastery, as we have often seen such people contesting in the law-courts; and such things progressively get worse, for often the unworthy among such people are preferred to the worthy in a legal decision and unjust men are selected in preference to just ones. Wherefore I do not wish this place which is consecrated to God to be conferred on my relations or anyone else.

If anyone will be seen, whether of our genuine relatives or of those called such or of our men, wishing to set himself up against my church or monastery or the villages in its control or the forts and hamlets in any way whatsoever or wishing to build a house or what is called a *stalion*, that is a refuge, in the forts and to live in them or is seen plundering the money collected from those places in any way whatever, or making a despicable profit by some important or trifling means or is causing trouble there by just a mere word or intention, first he should have the curse of the 318 inspired holy fathers who met at Nicaea and be anathematized and expelled from the Christian faith and counted with Judas Iscariot. Also whatever will have been given him by me, whether movable, immovable, or animate property, this holy church of mine and the monastery around it has the power to take it away from this person and set it up as its own.

If anyone of those holding the position of superior in this our monastery, or any of the monks in it, [p. 93] is discovered transgressing anything from this *typikon* or being in possession of any of the things consecrated in this our monastery with deceitful intention or assisting one of our relatives or strangers to steal something or to establish his authority [in the monastery] or to gain access to it altogether, then drawing the same curse upon himself he will be driven out of it, condemned as a traitor and a transgressor of what is recorded in our present *typikon*.

I pray that none of my relatives will be so ungrateful. For I treated all of them well, bringing them up and raising them to the prime of life, not because of any obligation or because any of them had a justifiable claim but only through God's command and the physical relationship I had

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with them. For our father of happy memory died suddenly a long time ago and left us very small and young, and our mother through her womanly nature put all his possessions into necessities for her children and into dowries for our sisters and left us destitute with our hands empty of all our father's money and, what is more, of her own, that is of our mother's money. Our sisters went off with their dowries to their husbands in different places and I spent a very long time traveling in Armenia and Georgia and Syria and visiting the Roman Empire too, seeking to provide for my own life. I gained all these things, namely possessions and money and honors, with the help of God and through the holy prayers of my parents, and they came about through the circumstances and misfortunes which I faced, by labors and my blood which I spilt, and not by the help or mediation of anyone else.

Furthermore all my relatives and my people have gained glory and benefits because of my own toil and service and the favor of our revered emperors towards me and my position of honor, and I have given a legacy to certain of my relations or will still do so. But the things decreed to my holy church and those that will be decreed are alike my own property and I have given all my personal possessions to whomsoever I have given them. Besides, whatever favor I did for my relatives dead or alive I did for the salvation of my soul, not using other men's property or gifts.

So for all these reasons I wished that my holy monastery should exist, now and in the future, in every way free from everyone, from my relatives or strangers and other people of all kinds, even from the imperial and patriarchal classes, as was decreed in advance by the revered and venerable chrysobulls. So it was not necessary for me to receive another revered chrysobull [p. 95] about my personal possessions since the previous ones pronounce rightly and suitably about them; but for this reason I made an ardent and earnest request of our most powerful emperor that my decrees and regulations concerning this my holy monastery be kept unaltered, secure, and firmly fixed and valid to the end.²⁸

Chapter Nineteen

Concerning the position if the superior of the monastery commits some error or someone else of those in charge of the people entrusted with its services, and concerning those who spend the money belonging to it unsuitably and recklessly, that these people must be driven out of the monastery.

If those in charge of the monastery despise the rules laid down by us—which I pray does not happen—and, instead of helping, cause harm to the brethren, we instruct the subordinate brethren themselves, both those in charge and the old members and especially those given preferment for their virtue and knowledge and those monks of the monastery carrying out its ministry at the time, to rise up in a body to take revenge on them and most zealously set right these outrages so that the dwelling of these very good men should not be destroyed by these people and become deserted and useless. But if anyone is content while such things are going on and allows them to happen, he places himself under no small condemnation from Christ the Savior through the prayers of his immaculate Mother as has been declared before. For if someone openly does wrong for some reason and does not exercise a pure judgment, but is seen as a wolf instead of a shepherd to his flock and disposes of the property of the monastery and its sacred possessions wrongly and recklessly so that he accomplishes the act of a savage to his own perdition, first, in kindness and

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encouragement, you ought to counsel such people in holy fear, then if he does not correct himself, despite meeting with such proper care, he will be removed from the holy monastery with the agreement and by the witnessed decision of the community and afterwards in place of this man they should bring forward a deserving person and appoint him by a joint decision.

Chapter Twenty

Concerning lay people who give money in the holy church for liturgies to be held for the dead, and advice from what sort of people they ought to receive it.

They should accept and receive from people who offer gifts only those from which there is no occasion for harm to the monastery nor likelihood of any innovation, [p. 97] but which contribute instead to the strengthening of its established aim and reason—the obedience that leads to faith, although without oppression—and which serve both to encourage the prescribed task and to benefit the souls for whom they are brought as well as those who offer them. For this is well-pleasing to God, namely to bear genuine fruit and to obtain the great reward and not to disguise his true motive for such an action and harm the soul. It is necessary to introduce this matter in accordance with my wish for salvation. All my utterances and writings are for its sake, and I must speak of it and set it as the culminating point at the end of my firm Rule,²⁹ so that it may be firmly established among us and may be a most evident token and very clear reminder for the united brothers at the time of their own death.

Chapter Twenty-One

Instruction from us to the brothers concerning my commemoration and that of my relations and concerning the memorial repast and feasting they should have on the day when we are remembered and concerning the distribution of gold coins to the brothers in Christ and concerning the showing of every mercy towards them.

So now we give instructions about the commemoration of my late brother the *magistros* Apasios now at glorious rest to be carried out on the day of his death, that is the 20th of September, on which the most honored festival of the great martyr St. Eustathios and his companions is also held. A splendid banquet should be prepared and a table filled with all kinds of good food supplied to us from God, and, over and above the things received by the brothers in accordance with the decree, two more measures of wine should be added for each of them; and those who are priests of the brothers in the monastery and of those brothers in the hermitages and priests of the people in the villages, estates, forts, and the complete holding of our holy monastery should on that day offer gifts³⁰ to God on his behalf. There should also be on that same day a distribution of 72 *nomismata* to the brothers in Christ and after the dismissal from matins and the holy liturgy 24 *nomismata* should be distributed in his memory to the brothers in Christ and to the other strangers who are there.

In this context I wish to speak about myself also. For as it has been written, “each shall receive his wages according to his work and the labor” (I Cor. 3:8). [p. 99] But to boast will be of no benefit except to do so in the Lord. As he says, “he who boasts, let him boast in the Lord” (I Cor. 1:31). For you yourselves, who have known me closely from the beginning, know of my

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hardship and “labor, my toil” (I Thess. 2:9) and sweat and the gift of God which was active in me and not I myself. I know well your love toward me, that without our reminding and instruction you do not forget nor neglect to do in my memory all that is due and fitting. Nevertheless, act with honor, always making mention of us and also those to come after us with zeal and faith.

I ask you as fathers and brothers that you in no way forget us. In our commemoration you should remind yourselves, brothers, as you look at this our delightful house of God which is the holy church, of the annual income and the other revenues, bearing in mind that after God we have been responsible for these. On whatever day, with the approval of God, death comes to me, Gregory, on that day perform my commemoration and distribute to the brothers in Christ 72 *nomismata* and the brothers should be refreshed with a very abundant table laden with food and drink and after the dismissal from matins and the sacred liturgy, 24 gold *nomismata* should be distributed to all those who have come to our aforesaid commemoration. If any of the decreed *nomismata* be left over or any other of the requirements, then these should be distributed to the poor on another occasion. Furthermore, if anything is left over from all the income of this holy monastery, half of all this should be distributed in the same way on the day of our commemoration, for the salvation of my soul, to the pious brothers in Christ, both the poor and those who serve this monastery as hired laborers and dependent peasants, everything being distributed by the superiors and stewards in the fear of God, with a pure conscience and impartial mind, knowing that “the one who held the money box and carried what was put into it” (John 12:6; 13:28) suffered condemnation as he was revealed as a thief and traitor by his stealing, and how in olden times Gehazi was condemned as a leper through his love of money (cf. II Kings 5:27). I wish all these things to be maintained without change steadfastly and securely and that none of these things that I have said should be omitted for any reason. But if money should mount up from the produce of the brothers or any others, the surplus of this should not be distributed to the poor [p. 101] for our sake but should be kept for those who produce it, and they should provide the money on our behalf from the revenue of the holy monastery.

Each year on each day the offerings of the divine mysteries should be made for the salvation of my soul and the bread baked in the bakery, i.e., the three offerings, should be given out—two of them outside the monastery to the sick and other poor people, one will be for my soul and the other for that of my brother. The other offering should be given to the brothers. If perhaps both were offered on my behalf, I give this instruction to all the brotherhood with a word of reproof that, if it were to happen, two liturgies should be celebrated and the three offerings should be made for the salvation of our souls, that is our father’s, mine, and my brother’s. Also in all the churches offerings should be made expressly in my memory and for the salvation of my soul and you “will find mercy” (II Tim. 1:18).

On the day of the feast of our holy church all the priests must perform the holy liturgies on our behalf—mine, my brother’s, and our relatives now dead. Furthermore, holy offerings should be made on our behalf on the day of the resurrection of Christ our God for the whole world, which we are accustomed to call Easter, on the day of the Ascension of Christ our God into heaven, on the holy day of Pentecost on which the Holy Spirit came to stay with us, in the same way on the day of the Annunciation, similarly on the day of the holy birth, and at the divine baptism of the Savior Christ our God, and on all the other feasts of our Lord. In addition to these, offerings

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should always be made on Saturday alternately, on one Saturday for me and on the next for my brother. Also, on every day that the priest performs the liturgy, after the completion of the mysteries and the distribution of the holy gift, turning to the holy altar he should remember me and my brother begging forgiveness for our many sins while the rest of the brethren bear him witness; and at the dismissal from matins and at the end of the evening hymn the brethren should again remember me and my brother by name, saying "May God pardon the transgressions of our founders."

On the revered and holy day of Holy Thursday a commemoration should be held for our blessed and glorious father Pakourianos, Prince of Princes, in sacred liturgies and splendid tables; and on the same day 24 *nomismata* should be distributed to the poor. [p. 103] Remember the hardship of my excessive toil which I put up with for love of you, for which may we find our reward from God by remembering and being remembered in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Chapter Twenty-Two

Concerning a superior of this holy monastery who has died and the other brethren and how they should remember them with holy liturgies and prayers.

When the superior of this monastery dies all the brothers must honor him splendidly with incense and candles, in psalms and hymns completing for him the customary rite—that of a priest if he be a priest, but if he is a monk, completing a simple rite that is appropriate to him. They should also make a distribution of twelve *nomismata* in his memory and on that day they should provide for the brothers a refreshment with extra food and drink and the liturgies of all the priests should be celebrated on his behalf. On the third day a night office should be held and again the liturgies should be celebrated on his behalf, also on the fortieth day and on the day that completes a year. But if the dead person is a brother, they should bury him in the same way with hymns and prayers and on the third day the liturgies should be celebrated on his behalf and also on the day that completes a year [from his death].

Chapter Twenty-Three

Concerning the fact that a woman should not enter my holy church and a women's monastery be built within the boundaries of our monastery.

I do not wish a married woman to enter my church or monastery for any reason whatsoever, nor a married couple to reside within those boundaries, nor even any young children, lest there should ever be any scandal, but they should live away somewhere in the villages and the fields. I forbid also a monastery for women to be built within the boundaries of our monastery at the instigation of either the mother of Jovane or of the sister of Ephraim, but instead they must remove these two women away from there. [p. 105] For I order and advise you that our holy monastery should be and remain for ever untrodden by any woman as we prescribed about this before. A woman who wishes to be present for prayer should not be prevented but only on the feast day of this holy church until the time of the holy liturgy; then she should quickly depart. Making prohibitions for this reason we condemn the presence of any in this monastery at any other time except on the aforesaid day.

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Chapter Twenty-Four

Concerning the ban on appointing a Greek³¹ as priest or monk in my monastery for any reason at all.

I command all those in the monastery and impress it upon them with a most strict ordinance, that a Greek should never be appointed a priest or a monk in this holy monastery of mine, except only as a notary, knowing how to write and send the opinion of the superior to the rulers of the time and, when sent to the same people by him, he could go and deal with the needs of the monastery. I give this instruction and insist upon it for the following reason, lest [the Greeks], being violent, devious, or grasping, should create some deficiency or cause harm to the monastery or lest they appoint someone opposed to the place and eager to gain control over it or gain for himself the office of superior or appropriate the monastery on some other abominable pretext. These sort of things we have often seen happen among our people, caused by simplicity and a gentle disposition. Otherwise we follow these men in the faith as our teachers and we obey their doctrines.

Chapter Twenty-Five

Concerning our Georgian relatives and our men who have entered and will enter the monastic order—how they should receive them.

If then there are some of our relatives, preferred because of their degree of kinship with us, living by the monastic order, men endowed with experience and understanding and suited to promote the interests of the holy monastery and very influential, then we think it necessary and beneficial that these men be preferred to strangers and foreigners. But if they are outside the ranks of the clergy and a virtuous way of life, and not only do they not have the ability for this but are in every way without the aptitude for orderliness, and will be known not to serve wholeheartedly [p. 107] these divine rules, it should not come about that power is handed over to them. For I wish to decree that this dwelling of monks, as has often been stated, be in every way free both from strangers and our close relatives; we also forbid them to make it subject to any other person, but it should continue always forever independent and self-governing. If apart from our aforementioned relatives or men some other Georgian has been tonsured and the decreed number of the monks is deficient, then they must choose such men in preference to others and introduce them to the monastery and enroll them in place of those that are missing to fill up the decreed number, while they are under an obligation to live in accordance with the decreed rule of this monastery and be in harmony with the brothers in the community and be subject to the superior. The decreed number of the monks should never fall short.

Chapter Twenty-Six

Concerning the stewards and the other officials being called to account by the superior and the superior being called to account by the community of the brethren.

It is necessary and right that in the course of a complete year the chief steward of our aforementioned monastery should call his assistant stewards to account and the different people who have been entrusted with positions of service once in the month of September and again at

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holy Easter in the fear of God. If they are discovered to have something left over, taking it from them he will make out a receipt for them. The chief steward should be called to account by the superior and being examined by him should receive a receipt from him. The superior, in the fear of God and with the knowledge of the rest of the brothers, should make payment for the needs of the church and the monastery, and should give what is left unspent to the treasurer for the good and benefit of the monastery and they should receive a receipt from him. At each Easter the superior should be called to account by the stewards and the treasurer and the brotherhood. Similarly the treasurer should be called to account twice a year by the superior and the brotherhood. If any of these has defrauded or spent the church's money improperly or foolishly, he must make up again and restore what is missing and spent and they should dismiss him from the service which is in his care. [p. 109]

If anything remains left over from the church's revenue in excess of the expenses decreed by us and other just bequests, whatever there may be of this money should be kept for the benefit of the church and for its good, so that at a suitable time it will be found and spent for the good of the church, as I have said. We also give this order, that the monastery should never be without a sum of up to ten *litrai* [of gold], so that at a time of need it could meet the requirements of the monastery and they should give any money in excess of the ten *litrai* [of gold] to purchase property and they should assign the property to the monastery.

Chapter Twenty-Seven

Concerning the commemoration of the dead in the holy liturgies and the sacraments to make mention of their souls in continual prayers.

This instruction I give you also, my fathers and brothers, with all assurance and certainty and, furthermore, we write it urgently with a word of warning that you celebrate the mystery of the divine liturgy always without fail, continually making mention of the souls of the dead in the customary way, as we have received it from the beginning from those before us and have preserved it up to the present by the grace of God in all the holy churches; so you also guard it well by the favor of God. For all the faithful must keep the present command unshaken and monks even more so. For by this means all the strength of the "adversary" Satan (I Tim. 5:14) is destroyed. In the chapel of St. John the Baptist³² a priest shall be appointed to carry out there the commemoration of the dead always and unfailingly. A commemoration of all the brothers should be celebrated with a vigil and the singing of psalms all night and a divine liturgy, and not only this but if someone from outside offers a gift in faith, doing a service to this monastery with the donation of money, for a daily commemoration or for a joint commemoration from time to time, they should pray in common for these people zealously and, following our tradition, remember them with the mystery of the divine sacrament. All those who come after us should maintain all these things according to our instruction unfailingly until the end of time. [p. 111]

Chapter Twenty-Eight

Concerning the old and those in danger from infirmity, how they must look after them and provide them with a good rest.

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So those of the brothers who are completely worn out and are in distress, suffering from old age or infirmity or some other misfortune, must be especially cared for and looked after and provided with consolation. They themselves must bear up in their affliction and not be faint-hearted or grumble, for they and those doing this service will get their reward together from the just judge, Christ our God. For this is the will of God, to show consideration and love and goodness towards fellow servants. But it is right that the superior should not only show this and act to care for the body but should also care for their souls by means of teaching and in fact like a doctor heal their souls with words; for this is the thing in which we rejoice, about which our whole work and meaning is. For nothing else pleases God more than to bring the intemperate to their senses, to turn drunkards into people with self-control, and to make the violent mild and long-suffering and the arrogant humble. For this is the first wisdom and this the “image” and likeness “of God” (Gen. 1:27) (as far as is possible for a man) who “took our infirmities and bore our diseases” (Matt. 8:17), and what else will such a man be than the mouthpiece of God? As the prophet says, “He who brings forth the precious from the worthless shall be called my mouth” (Jer. 15:19) and will raise his likeness in likeness to the image of its original.

Chapter Twenty-Nine

Concerning the three *klimakes* established by me and called hospices by us and how we set them up.

Below the village called Stenimachos one hospice was established above the two roads. So I lay down and prescribe that from the revenues of the aforesaid village of Stenimachos they should give to it for travelers and the poor on each day that God has made, two *modioi* of grain and two measures of wine and for other food or cooking whatever God’s goodness provides, for example some legumes and vegetables. From the private mills which are in Stenimachos, I have also set aside a water mill to grind [the hospice’s] meal and I have designated one dependent peasant from this village to be free from all requisitions and service, to which this whole village is subject, [p. 113] and to be subject only to the service of this hospice—that is, to carry wood and water in it and carry out all suitable work for the hospices [lacuna in the text]. . . . Through him this provision is made for the poor and for travelers. So he should be a man of a pure mind and with the fear of God and he should make this provision of necessities honestly and he should receive, along with the other brothers from the monastery, the allowance which falls to him as a brother of the third rank. Many beds should be put in this hospice and there should be a built-in stove and a portable stove there, both hot, so that whenever a stranger comes on winter days, he may warm himself, find shelter, and rest in this hospice. If one of the travelers and friends who are there is in a serious condition with some disease, it is right that he should rest for three days. After these three days they should send him on his way. But if someone reaches a state of great weakness and cannot travel, they must keep such a person and give him rest until he is completely well. They must build a tower on the mountain near the hospice and, if some cause for fear should arise there, they must provide protection for the provisions in the tower so that if any violent person should come, his hand may not reach them.

Also in the hospice called Marmarion, which is near the bridge, and in the other hospice which is near the sea and our monastery of St. Nicholas³³ (we built and established these two

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hospices for the salvation of my blessed brother's soul) some picked men who are monks should be similarly placed to minister to travelers and poor people, one in one and the other in the other, and they too should receive allowances just as the one in Stenimachos. To the hospice of Marmarion there should be given each day from the revenue of the village Srabikion one *modios* of grain and one measure of wine and a dependent peasant should be freed to grind the meal, carry the wood, and fulfill all the other necessary service for this hospice. Similarly to the hospice of St. Nicholas there should be given each day from the revenue of the village Prilongos one *modios* of grain and one measure of wine and for cooking whatever there happens to be and divine providence supplies, whether legumes or vegetables; and there too a dependent peasant should be freed to grind meal, carry wood, fetch water, and carry out the remaining services for the hospice.

I bind on oath the superiors of this holy monastery after us never to allow these hospices to suffer a deprivation in whole or in part of the necessities laid down for them. [p. 115] I trust in the goodness of God and the intercession of his saints that, if for no other reason then for these hospices alone, all that has been established and decreed might always be kept safely for ever always without harm and disturbance. If by divine providence the revenue of our monastery becomes greater and more abundant, then the manner of the hospitality should be similarly increased to become the finest and of a superior kind. If not, these services laid down by us in these hospices should remain uninterrupted and untouched, or rather unshaken and firmly fixed; and if any of our successors wishes to check or trim this hospitality established by us, this action will be counted against him as a great sin and he will be liable for our sins.

Chapter Thirty

Concerning the first superior of our monastery appointed by me, the monk Gregory, and the commemoration of him after his death.

This monk, loved by us from the beginning because of his loyalty to us and his zealous service and his earnest prayer for us, but more especially because he was entrusted by us with the careful building and construction with God's help of this often-mentioned very holy monastery of ours and has gained our special love and affection, for this reason in compassion for him we have decreed that after his death the day of his commemoration should be that of the glorious feast of St. Gregory the Theologian.³⁴ I instruct the priests and brothers to carry this out and to console the brothers with all food and drink and to distribute to the brothers in Christ on each commemoration of him six *nomismata*. They should carry out these instructions on the day of his death and on the third day after that and, furthermore, on the fortieth day and the day that marks a year, as has been described above concerning the superior, if the superior already mentioned keeps safely and steadfastly all that is written in this my *typikon* and is not found to be the cause of ruin to our monastery in a great or small way. For if he be found to be such either in his lifetime or after his death, instead of being remembered he will share in a curse and will have no part in this our holy monastery and the brotherhood in it.

Chapter Thirty-One

Concerning young boys, where they ought to live and be brought up and be taught reading and writing [from the holy scriptures].

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It was decreed by us that these boys should stay in the monastery of St. Nicholas,³⁵ the one near the fort, and be brought up [p. 117] and instructed there, and an old man, one of the priests,³⁶ full of virtue and knowledge, should be in charge of them and teach them the holy scriptures, also he should act as priest in the most holy church of St. Nicholas. This man should receive his allowance and all that he needs unfailingly just as the brothers of his rank in the great monastery. This man should celebrate the divine mystery on three days each week, on the first of which our blessed father Pakourianos should be remembered in the holy liturgy, on the second his brother Chosrienes, and on the third his son and my cousin Pakourianos.³⁷ It has been decreed by us that incense, oil, and candles, also offerings and elements, sufficient for the aforesaid sacraments, should be provided without fail for St. Nicholas from the great monastery.

Six of the boys mentioned above should be instructed by the old priest already described, receiving from the great monastery their food and all their clothes as is fitting, and they should remain there until they have completed their learning and attained the proper age for the rank of the priesthood. Then, when they grow their beards, those who are suitable to enter the order of the priesthood should according to the law be appointed to celebrate the sacraments with the other priests in the monastery, even if the prescribed group of priests is not deficient in number. They should also receive without fail all the things that the first priests receive. Those who are not worthy of the priesthood should be completely expelled as being responsible for this to themselves, but the number of six boys under instruction in the church of St. Nicholas should in no way fall short.

Chapter Thirty-Two

Concerning the letting or selling of fields or property to persons in the name of the monastery.

We are against this and we lay it down that, in accordance with the rule of the monasteries of the East and the West,³⁸ the superior of our monastery has in no way at all the power to give to any brother any of the possessions of our monastery, neither a dependent peasant's holding nor other land nor a garden nor a vineyard nor any such thing belonging to the aforementioned monastery, so that the very fine harmony and concord of the brotherhood should not be destroyed. Similarly, he should not sell or let to any persons. For I firmly instruct and earnestly beg that he should not only [p. 119]—God forbid—not do this but not even consider making over in any way to any person any of all the property of the holy monastery except only to the dependent peasants who customarily work for it.

Chapter Thirty-Three

[A] Concerning the safekeeping of the present document³⁹ of the monastery with the regulating order for the often-mentioned most holy monastery recently built by us with God's help, and to prevent the removal of any of the items contained in it as has been decreed by us, or their alteration, or the accepting of any relaxation.

Those superiors and other brothers of this monastery who have the care of it after me and those with them and under them I bind by oath before the Lord God and secure them with penalties, that they do not dare to alter anything of what has been laid down by me for our monastery or cause the pilfering or diminution of its properties and possessions in any way or misinterpret what

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has been laid down by us or alter the present *typikon* in any way or change it, take away so much as a syllable of it or even destroy it completely or try to steal it and take it away from this monastery and deprive the monastery of things bequeathed by us. Such a person will be under the condemnation of the Lord God Almighty and banished from all his saints, subject to our anger and sin and accountable for our transgressions before Christ on the fearful day of judgment when I pray that we all be not liable to condemnation and punishment but share in everlasting blessings and have eternal enjoyment in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be the glory for ever and ever, Amen.

[B] Concerning the sacred treasures and revered holy icons and the rest of the offerings of all kinds assigned, consecrated, and handed over to our aforesaid holy monastery, and further about the grazing animals in its control and other animals.

Two icons of enameled gold having precious wood in them.

A large enameled icon of the Transfiguration. [p. 121]

A large octagonal enameled icon with precious stones.

A small enameled icon of the Mother of God, with wings.

A large enameled cross with precious stones for the holy table.

A silver military cross with red precious stones.

A wooden cross covered with gold and precious stones, namely five bluish-purple hyacinths.⁴⁰

An icon of the Crucifixion made of stone, with wings.

An icon of St. George painted on wood⁴¹ with a silver frame.

Icons painted on wood with gold nimbuses (?),⁴² 27 in number, and one templon⁴³ depicting the twelve feasts.

An icon of St. George and St. Theodore of bronze,⁴⁴ with a silver frame.

One set of silver-gilt paten and chalice with precious stones of which twelve are missing.

A jasper paten with gold and enameling.

Three sets of silver paten and chalice.

A silver spoon.

Three silver censers and one silver casket.⁴⁵

A reliquary, that is a silver box⁴⁶ of holy relics.

Two silver chandeliers⁴⁷ with their chains, one of which is inlaid with gold.

A Greek Gospel lectionary with precious stones and gold and enamel [decoration on its cover].

A copy of the four Gospels in Georgian with silver gilt [cover].

Another small copy of the four Gospels with small silver studs [on its cover].

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Another copy of the four Gospels with silver studs [on its cover].

A Gospel lectionary for daily use with silver gilt [cover].

Another Gospel lectionary for daily use without decoration.

A book containing a commentary on St. John's Gospel.

A book of [St. Gregory] the Theologian.

A book containing the *Moralia* of St. Basil.

A book [containing] a collection of the miracles of St. Symeon. [p. 123]

Two books by St. Maximos [the Confessor].

Two copies of *The Heavenly Ladder* by John Klimakos.

Two other books about the Mother of God.

A book by Theodore the Studite.

Three *Menaia*.

One copy of the *Oktoechos*.

One copy of the *Synaxarion*.

One copy of the *Euchologion*.

Two copies of the *Apostolos*.

One copy of the Psalter.

Another copy of the *Euchologion* with silver studs.

A copy of the *Parakletike* in four modes.

One copy of the *Parakletike*.

A book by St. Isaac.

Another copy of the *Menaion*: a collection.

Four violet-purple imperial over-tunics,⁴⁸ one of which is woven with gold.

Four belted outer garments,⁴⁹ with gold letters.

Two garments of violet purple silk.⁵⁰

Five heavy *skaramangia*.

One garment of Maurianites silk.

One tricolored silk garment.⁵¹

Another *skaramangion*.

An altar cloth made of Maurianites silk with all its fittings.

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Two similar altar cloths for the two other churches—complete.

Another altar cloth of white samite⁵² having an icon of the Mother of God with pearls.

Changes of vestments for a priest.

Three *maphoria*, one of which has an icon with pearls.

Another *maphorion* with trimming⁵³ and three other *maphoria* of silk.

Twelve large bronze candlestands,⁵⁴ and two other small ones.

One complete candlestand⁵⁵ for the *templon*⁵⁶ with its spikes, and two other small ones with their handles.

Two arched candlestands.⁵⁷ [p. 125]

Nine dragon-shaped⁵⁸ brackets with their chains.

Ten other dragon-shaped brackets without chains.

Seventeen chandeliers⁵⁹ with their chains.

One small basin for the feast of the Epiphany.

One small lamp in the shape of a basket.⁶⁰

A basin and ewer⁶¹ for washing and one stool.

Seventeen conical glasses.⁶²

Also one pitcher.

Also one bowl.

Another pitcher made of rock crystal.⁶³

Another green pitcher called a *mena*, and other glass cups and various lamps.

[C] Concerning the animals.

Stallions and mares with their foals, all together 110.

Male donkeys and females with their foals, 15.

Milk-producing buffaloes,⁶⁴ 4.

Calves, 2, and plowing oxen, including those in all the properties of the monastery, 47 yoke.

Heifers and bullocks, 72.

Milk-producing sheep, 238.

Rams, 94, and goats, 52.

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[D] Concerning the chrysobulls kept in Constantinople in the great church of God.⁶⁵

Three chrysobulls concerning our possessions in the East, that is, one about the district of Anion, the second about the district of Tais, and the third about the district of Tzourmere.

Two chrysobulls concerning my possessions in the theme Armeniakoi, one about those in Labaka and the other about those in Arnasakion and Martisapao. [p. 127]

One chrysobull concerning the monastery of lady Euphrosyne in the village Libadion.

Three chrysobulls of the Emperor Michael [VII Doukas] concerning my possessions in Mosynopolis.

Four chrysobulls concerning my possessions in Philippoupolis.

A chrysobull of exoneration for my administration at Kars.

Two chrysobulls of exoneration for my administration at Theodosiopolis.

Another chrysobull of exemption concerning my possessions in Philippoupolis and Mosynopolis.

A chrysobull concerning the village of Xantheia.

A chrysobull for Margon on papyrus⁶⁶ which I have as a guarantee.

Two *libelloi*, the one concerning the village of Eudokimou and the other concerning the village of Kotresi.

The *semeiosis* of the Emperor Michael [VII Doukas] concerning the matter of the Patzinak which had arisen then.

Similarly another *semeiosis* of the same person concerning the metropolitan of Philippoupolis.

Another *semeiosis* of [Nikephoros III] Botaneiates concerning my possessions at Philippoupolis.

Imperial *pittakia* published in different departments and other ordinances on different matters, sixty-five in number.

There are also copies of the three chrysobulls concerning my possessions in the East.

[E] Concerning the chrysobulls stored and preserved in our monastery.

Two chrysobulls of exoneration for my administration as the *mezas domestikos*.

One chrysobull concerning the fort of Baniska and the village Tzerbena.

A chrysobull concerning improvements on my properties, the building of fortresses, villages, and monasteries.

Another chrysobull on the same subject and stating that, if the revenue of our possessions should become exceedingly great, I and my successors should have untroubled possession of it.

A chrysobull about our monastery of Petritzos concerning the [right of] dominion, independence, and complete freedom of the same monastery and concerning my properties assigned to it.

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A chrysobull concerning Spasma and Pankalitze. [p. 129]

Two chrysobulls maintaining my non-liability and freedom from having to account for the imperial money I paid to summon the Cumans.

A chrysobull of exoneration (for my administration) in the theme of Smolenoi.

Two chrysobulls concerning my possessions in Achrido, concerning the village Sikonion and the village Charpetikion.

A chrysobull on the matter of the sacred objects of the most holy monastery of Chachou.

A chrysobull which gives me permission to transfer my possessions to whomsoever I wish, both to my relatives and my people, even if they happen to be of the Armenian faith.

A copy of a chrysobull about my possessions in Boleron and Mosynopolis.

Another copy of a chrysobull concerning my possessions in Philippoupolis.

Three other copies of a chrysobull concerning my possessions in Philippoupolis.

A copy of a chrysobull concerning my administration in Theodosiupolis.

An imperial *pittakion* concerning the taxation of all my possessions.

Three other *pittakia* concerning exemption from seizure.⁶⁷

Another *pittakion* concerning the theme of Smolenoi.

The receipt for the gift of three *kentenaria* [of gold] which the Franks received and the ordinance concerning these matters and various other receipts.

A *semeiosis* of the archivist and a *pittakion* addressed to the judge of a theme. List and receipt of our chrysobulls and other titles of ownership deposited in the church of Hagia Sophia.

The copy of the cadastral survey⁶⁸ for Srabikion and the guarantees for the inhabitants of the same village.

The copy of the cadastral survey for the village Prilonkos.

The documents of purchase of Vardanes concerning the *aule* in Mosynopolis and the monastery of St. George in Pappikion.

Receipts for the amount brought in for the tax-requirements from the theme of Smolenoi.

The *praktikon* and delimitation of my possessions in Philippoupolis.

The *praktikon* and delimitation of my possessions in Mosynopolis, similarly the receipts of the steward concerning the *libellikon* tax. [p. 131]

The *pittakion* [establishing] the taxation for my possessions in Mosynopolis.

The *praktikon* and the articles of transfer for Labaka.

The guarantees and the receipts of those conducting the fair of Stenimachos.

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The report made by Mesopotamites under imperial command concerning Bodena and the village of Zachariou.

[F] The present *typikon* was written in Greek,⁶⁹ Georgian, and Armenian for our very sacred monastery of the most holy Mother of God *Petriztonitissa* in the month of December of the seventh indiction, year 6592, and was signed in Armenian by me myself, Gregory Pakourianos, the *sebastos* and *mezas domestikos* of the West and by the most holy Patriarch of Jerusalem, lord Euthymios,⁷⁰ to guarantee and confirm all that has been written in the same, since he happened to be here by order of our mighty and holy Emperor requiring him to be in Thessalonike for peace with the hateful Frank and on his return again arrived here with us at my estates at Philippoupolis. It was written in Greek, Georgian, and Armenian because the monks of this monastery happen to be Georgians and do not understand Greek writing and so it is necessary for them to read this *typikon* in Georgian and Armenian. But we decree that the complete Greek version here has supreme authority because it received the signature at the end of its text. A copy of this also was made and was also signed in the same way and was deposited in the most holy monastery of *Panagios* which is in the city protected by God, to be stored and guarded in this monastery for ever. If—something I pray may not happen—any of the superiors in this aforesaid holy monastery of ours, or any of the monks in it, to the ruin of the monastery and its property rises up and tries to set aside what has been written in the present *typikon* and is prompted to bring about its downfall and destruction, the *typikon* stored in the aforesaid monastery of *Panagios* will be produced and will convict the one who has dared to commit this outrage and he will be called to account as is right and restitution will be demanded for whatever sin he commits and he will be expelled from the monastery. Then this [p. 133] *typikon* should be deposited once again in the aforementioned monastery of *Panagios*. For in no way do we wish it to be sent for or kept outside this monastery or the city; for this reason we put on oath the superiors in this monastery and the other brothers by our immaculate Mother of God herself that this present wish of ours should remain in force and the *typikon* of our monastery should be kept safe in it. Furthermore, if there is some need of it on the part of some outside quarreling about something in the *typikon* stored in our monastery, a copy must be made and authentication obtained from the superior and the brothers and this sent to them, but the original, as has been made clear, should never be moved from the monastery.⁷¹

I, Euthymios, by the mercy of God Patriarch of Jerusalem, the city of the Holy Resurrection of Christ our God, have signed with my own hand the present *typikon* of the Georgian monastery of the most holy Mother of God *Petriztonitissa* of the *sebastos* and *mezas domestikos* of the West, the lord Gregory Pakourianos.

Notes on the Translation

1. For Pakourianos' family, see Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 158–61.
2. For the problematic relationship of *Panagios'* *typikon* with the present document, see Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 132, n. 44; *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 29–30; and “La vie ancienne de saint Athanase l’Athonite

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- composée au debut du XI^e siècle par Athanase de Lavra,” in *Le millénaire du Mont Athos, 963–1963*, vol. 1 (Chevetogne, 1963), p. 85, n. 72.
3. The founder is impossible to identify with certainty. He may have been Athanasios the Athonite’s successor Antony, who, according to Noret, *Vitae duae*, pp. cxviii–cxxxiv, following Leroy, “Les deux vies de S. Athanase l’Athonite,” *AB* 82 (1964), left Lavra to assume the superiority of *Panagios*, at that time a Lavriote dependency. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 132, n. 44, suggested that the founder referred to here was a monk Panagios, who makes an appearance in the sources in 1078 as an opponent of the projected marriage of Nikephoros Botaneiates to Eudoxia, daughter of Constantine X Doukas.
 4. See Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 4.2, *PG* 31, col. 1349B.
 5. The table of contents is an occasional feature of the more formal organization of monastic *typika* noticeable from the late eleventh century onwards; see also later indices for (34) *Machairas*, (45) *Neophytos*, (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, and (58) *Menoikeon*.
 6. St. John’s and St. George’s were subsidiary chapels rather than separate churches in their own right; see [12] and [27] below; according to [27], St. John’s was a funerary chapel.
 7. For a full discussion of Pakourianos’ landed properties, see Lemerle (with Catherine Asdracha), *Cinq études*, pp. 175–81.
 8. Presumably as a result of the loss of Byzantine control over the city to the Armenians under Philaretos Brachamios in 1078, six years before the Seljuk conquest in 1084.
 9. See the discussion of these coinages in Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 137, n. 54.
 10. Pakourianos’ announcement of the defeat of the Patzinaks (Petchenegs) is premature, of course, for he died at their hands in a battle near Philippoupolis in 1086.
 11. The Cumans, like the Patzinaks a nomadic people of the eastern European steppe, were originally allied to them; plundered Thrace in 1087, then were employed by Alexios Komnenos against the Patzinaks in 1091.
 12. See the inventory, [33B] and [33C] below.
 13. Cf. Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, ed. F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (London, 1896), p. 388.
 14. A reference to the sixth chrysobull listed in the inventory, [33E] below: “A chrysobull about our monastery of Petritzos . . .”
 15. Philippoupolis and Mosynopolis were the locations of two of the largest clusters of Pakourianos’ landed properties; see the map in Lemerle, *Cinq études*, after p. 191.
 16. In fact, the word is Armenian, which has fed the already intense debate about Pakourianos’ origins; see Chanidzé, “Bakurianis-Dzé,” pp. 159–63; Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 141, n. 64, thought it might be a marginal annotation that has been introduced into the text of the *typikon*.
 17. There are similarities between the wording used here and that found in the somewhat later (21) *Roidion* [B2] and [B5]; the respective contexts of these documents make borrowing unlikely, but the passages may derive from a common source.
 18. See [21] below.
 19. (20) *Black Mountain* [52] is critical of this sort of patronal designation of feasts that might interfere with the observance of fast days.
 20. *kankela*.
 21. This is an apparent reference to the Bačkovo ossuary; for the two subsidiary chapels, see also [1] above.
 22. Yet this is permitted later in (32) *Mamas* [29] and (33) *Heliou Bomon*.
 23. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 37 ([LR 37]), *PG* 31, col. 1012C.
 24. See [5], [6], [8], [10] above.
 25. See [21] below.
 26. Cf. Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, chap. 29, ed. E. Schwartz (Berlin, 1938), p. 114.

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27. The reference to another regulatory document is obscure, but note the possible reference to a liturgical *typikon* with detailed dietary prescriptions in [8] above.
28. Perhaps the fifth chrysobull listed in the inventory, [33E] below; cf. (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 11], a chrysobull the author of that document had obtained from Nikephoros III Botaneiates to confirm [INV 10], an earlier chrysobull of Michael VIII Doukas.
29. This suggests that Pakourianos originally intended to conclude his *typikon* at the end of [22] below.
30. The “gifts” are the eucharistic oblation.
31. *Romaïos*.
32. For this chapel, see also [1] and [12] above.
33. For this dependency, see also [31] below.
34. Gregory Nazianzen’s feast day is January 25.
35. See also [29] above.
36. See [7] above.
37. See the family tree in Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 159.
38. The reference is obscure, but cf. *C. Nicaen. II*, c. 12 (R&P 2.592–93), which forbids bishops and superiors to lease out even profitless tracts of land to state officials.
39. Addressed below in [37F].
40. *meta hyakinthinon menepson*.
41. *hylographia*.
42. *meta petalon*: Gautier translated ‘lamelles’ and observed that these were of gold according to the Georgian version of the *typikon*; see “Pakourianos,” 120, n. 1686. For the view that *petalon* denotes a metal nimbus around the face of a saint, see Lemerle, *Actes de Saint-Pantéléémôn*, 71, commentary on lines 22 and 23
43. Sanctuary barrier.
44. *saroutin*.
45. *kamptrion*.
46. *sirtarion*.
47. *polykandela*; the translation of names for Byzantine lighting devices follows Laskarina Bouras, “Byzantine Lighting Devices,” *JÖB* 32.3 (1982), 479–91.
48. *epilorika oxykastora*; for the imperial garments mentioned here, see [2] above.
49. *sphinktouria*. See Koukoules (*BBP*, vol. 6, pp. 293–94), who argues convincingly that *sphinktourion* was an outer garment worn with a belt.
50. *blattia oxykastora*. For *kastorion* denoting a purple murex dye, see Koukoules, *BBP*, v. 2.2, p. 25, n.6.
51. *blattion triblattion*. For the meaning of the terms *diblattion* or *triblattion*, see (19) *Attaleiates*, n. 35 on the translation.
52. *hexamiton*.
53. *simenton* (Lat. “segmentum”): trimming made with decorative fabric. See Koukoules, *BBP*, vol. 2, p. 47.
54. *manoualia*.
55. *manoualion meta keropegion*. According to Bouras (“Lighting Devices,” p. 481) the reference may be to a *lamna*, for which see Glossary below.
56. Sanctuary barrier.
57. *kamarai manoualia*.
58. *dracontaria*.
59. *polykandela*.
60. *kaniskion*.
61. *cherniboxeston*.
62. *mouchroutia poteria*. Bouras, “Lighting Devices,” p. 481, suggested that these were probably “conical glasses related to the seventeen polycandela” included in the inventory.

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63. *kryon*.
64. *boubalia amelgadia*.
65. See the discussion in Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 162–63.
66. *xylochartion*.
67. The translation of *apochideumos* follows Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 155, n. 87.
68. *isokodikon*; for the meaning of this term, see Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 156, n. 88.
69. *romaikon*.
70. Apparently not otherwise known; see V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958), p. 452.
71. Pakourianos' signature is not found in the Greek manuscript on which Gautier's edition is based, but Petit, "Typikon," p. 57, supplied a Greek text for the Armenian signature he found in his manuscript, Codex Bucharest 694 (18th c.), which translates as follows: "I, Gregory Pakourianos, the *sebastos* and *mezas domestikos* of the West, have signed the present *typikon* of my sacred monastery of the most holy Mother of God *Petriztonitissa* with my own hand."

Document Notes

- [1] Foundation history. Cf. other examples in (6) *Rila* [1]; (9) *Galesios* [246]; (10) *Eleousa* [3]; (13) *Ath. Rule* [2] ff.; (17) *Nikon Metanoieite*; (22) *Evergetis* [2], [3]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A2] ff. For the sensitivity towards the peasantry expressed herein, see also (9) *Galesios* [246], (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [14], (19) *Attaleiates* [39], (24) *Christodoulos* [A13], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [71], [76], [103] as well as the philanthropic provision in [21] below.
- [2] Dedications of landed property and sacred artifacts by Gregory and Apasios. Many of these dedications are also listed in the inventory in [33] below. (19) *Attaleiates* [3], [4], [5] also provides a detailed accounting of consecrated offerings.
- [3] Free and self-governing status. The choice of this status is justified in [18] below. See also earlier provisions in (9) *Galesios* [247] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* as well as contemporary provisions in (19) *Attaleiates* [14], (22) *Evergetis* [12], and (24) *Christodoulos* [A16]. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 138, n. 58, thought that this chapter, less the mention of the metropolitan of Philippoupolis, was borrowed from the lost *typikon* of *Panagios*.
- [4] Requirements of communal life. Note the intense hostility to kelliotic and other alternative forms of monasticism evident here. (10) *Eleousa* [4], (11) *Ath. Rule* [31], and (22) *Evergetis* [26] also provide for equality of food, while (9) *Galesios* [187] advocates it. (20) *Black Mountain* [24], [69], [71], [72] and (22) *Evergetis* [22] with its related documents likewise condemn secret eating. Private possessions are prohibited or severely restricted in (3) *Theodore Studites* [2]; (6) *Rila* [6]; (10) *Eleousa*; (11) *Ath. Rule* [34]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [30]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A22]; cf. the discussion in (9) *Galesios* [138], [191], [192]. (12) *Tzimiskes*, Introduction; (15) *Constantine IX* [13]; (19) *Attaleiates* [42]; and (27) *Kecharitomene* [4] all assume the existence of or explicitly permit servants; (22) *Evergetis* [24], however, along with many related documents, forbids servants.
- [5] Selection of the superior. See other procedures in (10) *Eleousa* [15], [16]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [15], [16], [17], [19]; (14) *Ath. Testament* [13], [14]; (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [13]; (18) *Nea Gephyra* [3]; (19) *Attaleiates* [26], [29]; (22) *Evergetis* [13] and related documents; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A18]. (3) *Theodore Studites* [3]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [30]; and (22) *Evergetis* [18] and related documents also forbid the superior to show favoritism to his relatives. Gautier, "Pakourianos," p. 50, n. on line 521, thought this chapter and the preceding one were borrowed from the lost *typikon* of *Panagios*.
- [6] Number of monks; the monastery's officials. The set number of positions is reiterated in [25] below. For the fixing of a specific number of monks to be supported in a foundation, see also (9) *Galesios* [246]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [37]; (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [6]; (19) *Attaleiates* [27]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [5]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [48]; (30) *Phoberos* [42]; (32) *Mamas* [5]; and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5]. (22) *Evergetis* [23], however, rejects the idea of a fixed number of monks. There is a complete list of the monastery's 26 officials in Chanidzé, "Bakurianis-Dzé," p. 158. In [9] below, the monastery's monks are divided into three orders of differing privilege.

- [7] Qualifications and responsibilities of the priests. According to [6], there were to be six priests for the celebration of the liturgy. Note the ambivalent attitude expressed here towards priests. In [31] below, one of the priests is assigned to the dependency of St. Nicholas, where he was to educate youths with a view to becoming priests themselves. (27) *Kecharitomene* [15] discusses the qualifications of priests to be recruited for the convent for which it was written. (22) *Evergetis* [5] also provides for a daily celebration of the liturgy.
- [8] Refectory procedures; hospitality for visitors. This chapter presumes acquaintance with a more detailed dietary regulation evidently once contained in a separate document (a liturgical *typikon*?) that is no longer preserved. See comparable treatments of refectory procedures in (4) *Stoudios* [28], [29]; (10) *Eleousa* [4]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [21]; (20) *Black Mountain* [33]; and (22) *Evergetis* [9], with related documents. Cf. provisions for hospitality here with those for visitors at the foundation's lodging houses in [29] below. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, p. 141, n. 66, and Gautier, "Pakourianos," p. 62, n. on line 731, thought this chapter was borrowed from the lost *typikon* of *Panagios*.
- [9] Clothing allowances. The implication is that *Panagios*, the model *typikon*, had a communal provision of clothing, which is here rejected. Allowances are similar to those found later in (32) *Mamas* [28], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28], and (58) *Menoikeion* [12]; cf. the communal provision of clothes in (22) *Evergetis* [25] and related documents.
- [10] Dietary regulations for fasts. The diet prescribed is somewhat stricter than (22) *Evergetis* [10] and [Appendix], which is more liberal in permitting the use of olive oil and the consumption of wine during fasts.
- [11] Celebration of the feast of the Dormition. See similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [11]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [59]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [10], [29], [65]; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [112].
- [12] Liturgical prescriptions. For the illumination of churches, see (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [13] and (28) *Pantokrator* [29], [34].
- [13] Requirement of confession to the superior; expulsion of the insubordinate. See contemporary treatment of confession in (22) *Evergetis* [7], [15] and related documents. For expulsion, see also [15] below. (2) *Pantelleria* [21], (14) *Ath. Testament* [9], and even (22) *Evergetis* [9] and related documents provide for expulsion under certain circumstances, but generally the emphasis is on retention—see (20) *Black Mountain* [76]—perhaps for fear of losing the reprobate monk's entrance gift.
- [14] Manual labor and prayer not incompatible. (32) *Mamas* [21] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [21] imply the same; but cf. the exhortation of officials in (22) *Evergetis* [33] and related documents. Note penal connotation of manual labor here, for those "whose characters are not reliable nor hearts repentant."
- [15] No unauthorized departures or self-imposed ascetic observances; disciplinary guidance. See the injunction of monastic stability in (12) *Tzimiskes* [8] and the more sympathetic treatment of voluntary asceticism in (20) *Black Mountain* [72]. Penalty of expulsion also appears in [13] above.
- [16] Property administrators. See similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [34] and related documents.
- [17] Eunuchs and young boys banned. (12) *Tzimiskes* [16], (13) *Ath. Rule* [48], and (15) *Constantine IX* [1] ban youths and eunuchs; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [49] and (30) *Phoberos* [58] ban youths; (3) *Theodore Studites* [18] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34] ban adolescent disciples.
- [18] Rationale for independent and self-governing status. See also [3] above, with cross-references. For lawsuits over legal rights in private religious foundations, see (15) *Constantine IX*, Introduction, [8], and (19) *Attaleiates* [34], [43].
- [19] Expulsion of the superior or other officials wrongfully disposing of property. See also the ban on sale or rental of monastic property in [32] and the curse on violators in [33] below. For removal of the superior elsewhere, see (14) *Ath. Testament* [16]; (18) *Nea Gephyra* [3]; (19) *Attaleiates* [26]; and (22) *Evergetis* [14] and related documents. For removal of other officials guilty of deceitful or careless administration, see (22) *Evergetis* [32], cf. [42] and related documents. Gautier, "Pakourianos," p. 94, n. on line 1248, regarded this chapter and [20] below as likely borrowings from the *Panagios typikon*.

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- [20] Selective acceptance of donations for memorial services. See also [27] below. (19) *Attaleiates* [30] is much less critical, while (22) *Evergetis* [36] implies acceptability of such donations. Note premature announcement of the impending conclusion of the *typikon*, presumably after [21] and [22] below.
- [21] Commemorations for the founder, his father and brother. See the earlier provision for patronal commemoration in (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [1] and the contemporary provisions in (19) *Attaleiates* [31], (22) *Evergetis* [35], and (24) *Christodoulos* [B5]. (20) *Black Mountain* [52] is critical of patronal designation of feasts that might override canonical days of fasting.
- [22] Funeral rites and commemorations for departed superiors and monks. See also [27], [30] below. See similar provisions in (21) *Roidion* [B12], (22) *Evergetis* [36] and related documents, and in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [54].
- [23] Exclusion of women from the premises; no nunnery to be established. See similar earlier provisions in (3) *Theodore Studites* [15], [16]. (22) *Evergetis* [39] and related documents, (24) *Christodoulos* [A10], and (28) *Pantokrator* [18] also ban women. Like this document, many others make an exception from the general principle of exclusion on the patronal feast. Judging from the declaration in [20] above and the repetitive treatment of the number of monks in [25], cf. [6] below, this and the following chapters are probably later editions to the *typikon*.
- [24] No Greek priests or monks, except for a secretary. Quite likely Pakourianos was aware of the conflicts between Georgian and Greek monks at another foundation to which he had extended his patronage, the Iveron monastery on Mount Athos; see the discussion in Chanidzé, “Bakurianis-Dzé,” pp. 143–44, and Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, pp. 42–45.
- [25] Preferential admissions for Georgian monks; maintenance of the set number of positions for monks. Later, both (27) *Kecharitomene* [4] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [50] will provide for preferential admissions for the founders’ relatives. The requirement to maintain the number of monks revisits the requirement first set down in [6] above.
- [26] Accountability of financial officials; cash reserve fund. (22) *Evergetis* [30], along with various related documents, holds financial officials—but not the superior [18]—accountable, as does (19) *Attaleiates* [23], [41]. Cash reserve funds are found also in (27) *Kecharitomene* [24] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [94].
- [27] Prescriptions for liturgical commemorations of the dead. See also [20], [22] above. There is an earlier provision of this sort in (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [1], [4] and contemporary ones in (19) *Attaleiates* [31], (21) *Roidion* [B12], (22) *Evergetis* [36], and (24) *Christodoulos* [A7].
- [28] Care for old and sick monks. See the provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [41] and related documents as well as in the later (28) *Pantokrator* [10] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [61].
- [29] Funding and staffing for the three hospices. Cf. provisions for hospitality for visitors to the monastery in [8] above. The contemporary (19) *Attaleiates* [20], (21) *Roidion* [B2], [B3], [B4], [B7], [B8], and (22) *Evergetis* [38] also provide for hospitality in their hospices.
- [30] Liturgical commemoration for the first superior, Gregory. See (13) *Ath. Typikon* [5] ff. for an earlier example of a relationship of this sort between a patron and his monastic director.
- [31] Training of boys for priesthood. See discussion in Konidares, “Hieratike Schole.” The number of students was to match the number of priests set in [6] above; perhaps the intent was to provide a dependable source of clerics socialized to the mores of the foundation, thereby freeing the monastery from the necessity of the external recruitment contemplated in [7] above. (34) *Machairas* [115] also makes a provision for a boys’ school.
- [32] Ban on sale or rental of monastic properties. Functionally equivalent to the declarations of the inalienability of same found in (15) *Constantine IX* [9], (10) *Eleousa* [18], (19) *Attaleiates* [7], [22], (22) *Evergetis* and related documents.
- [33] Maintenance of the *typikon*; curse on alienators of monastic property; inventory of movable property; provisions for security of the *typikon*. For preservation of the *typikon*’s provisions, see (8) *John Xenos* [3]; (9) *Galesios* [246]; (10) *Eleousa* [22]; (19) *Attaleiates* [7], [8], [9]; (22) *Evergetis* [40]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A27]; (32) *Mamas* [15]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [15]; and (34) *Machairas* [158]. The

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inventory mentioned in (22) *Evergetis* [3] is now missing in that document, but (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 4] ff. provides a comparable contemporary example. The idea of keeping a copy of the *typikon* on deposit at a friendly institution would be adopted later in (32) *Mamas*, Addition, Second *Semeioma*; see also (19) *Attaleiates* [40] for using a copy rather than the original of the *typikon* for ordinary purposes.

24. *Christodoulos: Rule, Testament and Codicil* of Christodoulos for the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos

Date: Rule: May 1091

Translator: Patricia Karlin-Hayter

Testament: March 10, 1093

Codicil: March 15, 1093

Edition employed: F. Miklosich and F. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, vol. 6 (Vienna, 1890), pp. 59–90.

Manuscripts: Codex Patmou 267 (12th c.) for the *Rule*; autograph manuscripts in the Patmos archives for the *Testament* and *Codicil*

Other translations: Modern Greek translation of the *Rule* by Theophilos Georgousakes, *Akolouthia hiera tou hosiou kai theophorou patros hemon Christodoulou* (Chania, 1913), pp. 32–41.

Institutional History

*A. Sources for Christodoulos' Life*¹

The present document, especially the *Rule* [A], is an important source for Christodoulos' life because it contains many autobiographical details. The hagiographic tradition, though later, is also useful.² John, metropolitan of Rhodes, wrote the first hagiographic *Life* of the founder, circa 1140.³ The *Eulogy* by the Patmian monk Athanasios, who later became patriarch of Antioch (1156–70), is a derivative work based on John's *Life*.⁴ A part of Christodoulos' correspondence with various patriarchs of Constantinople is preserved,⁵ as are many imperial chrysobulls and other official acts concerning his famous Patmian monastery and his earlier foundations at Strobilos and Kos.⁶ From this rich stock of documentary evidence, only the most important pieces are discussed below.

*B. Christodoulos' Earlier Monastic Career*⁷

Christodoulos' monastic career began as a monk on Mount Olympus in Bithynia, cf. [A2] below. He undertook pilgrimages to Rome and the Holy Land [A3] after the death of his spiritual father. He fled Palestine after the Seljuk conquest, perhaps after Atsiz captured Jerusalem in 1070. Christodoulos then settled at Paul the Younger's venerable *Stylos* monastery at Latros, (see (7) *Latros*, *Institutional History*, and [A3], [A4] below). Later, Patriarch Kosmas I (1075–81) appointed him *protos* (1076–79) of the confederation of neighboring monasteries there. The advance of the Seljuk Turks motivated him to abandon his post, though not before appointing the monk Sabbas as successor to his position as superior of *Stylos*.⁸ Christodoulos and a few of his monks fled [A6] first to Strobilos on the Aegean coast, where the monk Arsenios Skenourios sought unsuccessfully to persuade him to take over the direction of his own patrimonial monastery. As noted below in [A6], [A7] Christodoulos settled for a time in a new monastery at Pelion

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on the island of Kos. He secured a chrysobull for the foundation, located on land donated by Skenourios, from Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–81), but when he quarreled [A8] with his neighbors, he and his monks decided [A9] to move to the deserted island of Patmos instead.

*C. Original Foundation of the Monastery on Patmos*⁹

Christodoulos gained an audience with Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) to request an exchange of his properties at Strobelos and on Kos for Patmos. Christodoulos claims [A9] that the emperor's mother Anna Dalassena was influential in getting her son to accede to his request. The emperor duly donated [A10] Patmos to Christodoulos in a chrysobull of April 1088, the original of which is still preserved at the monastery.¹⁰ In another preserved chrysobull that is contemporary with the foundation, the emperor granted the monastery's boats an exemption from customs duties.¹¹ A *praktikon* issued by Nicholas Tzanzes, imperial judge of the Cycladic islands, formally turned Patmos over [A11] to Christodoulos in August 1088.¹² According to this document, the island was waterless and desolate, without houses or other buildings, except for a little chapel of St. John the Theologian. Christodoulos began [A12] construction of a monastery surrounded by fortified walls. The island was attacked by Tzachas, the Turkish emir of Smyrna, circa 1090. Christodoulos issued his *Rule* [A] in May 1091, but discontent among his followers and fears of future attacks led Christodoulos to abandon the island in 1092 and move to Euboea around May, where he died on March 16, 1093, six days after having issued his *Testament* [B] and only a day after drawing up the *Codicil* [C].¹³ He had spent three years and ten months on Patmos and eleven months on Euboea. His alternative choice for *charistikarios* of the Patmian foundation, the patriarchal notary Theodosios [B5], [C1], resigned his claim on March 5, 1094 in a document drawn up before a notary in Constantinople, citing, among other reasons, his fear of undertaking the foundation's superiorship while the monastery lay open to Turkish attack.¹⁴ He notes (correctly) that Christodoulos was dying at the time he wrote his *Testament* and *Codicil*. Thus the foundation appeared unlikely to survive its founder.

D. Revival of the Foundation after Christodoulos' Death

By the time the First Crusade passed through Asia Minor in 1097–98, however, conditions in the Aegean had improved. Even before, in the course of the summer of 1092, Alexios Komnenos' brother-in-law, the *mezas doux* John Doukas, who would later become a monk at *Evergetis*, had reconquered the neighboring islands of Chios, Lesbos, and Samos from Tzachas.¹⁵ Some monks returned with Christodoulos' body and resumed work on the monastery. The completion of the *katholikon*, the cistern beneath it, the wood-roofed refectory, a number of cells in the south wing, and a large part of the walls date from Christodoulos' original labors at the site in 1088–92 and from this stage of work soon after his death.¹⁶ Both the *katholikon* and the refectory were unpretentious structures of distinctly provincial workmanship.

*E. The Patmos Monastery at Its Height in the Twelfth Century*¹⁷

The monastery received reconfirmations of its patriarchal *stauropegion* from Patriarch John IX Agapetos (1111–34) in 1132 and from Patriarch Luke Chrysoberges (1157–70) in 1158.¹⁸ The *stauropegion* exempted the monastery from the control of local bishops; the original grant, which

is lost, must have been issued by Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos (1084–1111). The *Testament* of the superior Theoktistos, dated to 1157, is preserved.¹⁹ Though Arabs from Spain attacked Patmos during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80), overall the monastery flourished in the twelfth century, aided by customs exemptions granted to its boats and revenues from properties in Asia Minor, Crete, and nearby islands. Towards the end of the century, a major new building program was initiated.²⁰ The refectory was vaulted and acquired a dome. The narthex of the *katholikon*, a chapel of Leontios, and perhaps also the exonarthex of the *katholikon* and the mortuary chapel of Christodoulos were built at this time in an attempt to improve and embellish the structures erected at the end of the previous century.

Some additional twelfth-century sources illustrate the monastery's fortunes. Among them are a *Life* of the superior Leontios who became patriarch of Jerusalem in 1176.²¹ A second eulogy of Christodoulos composed after 1191 by the Constantinopolitan monk Theodosios records the founder's posthumous miracles and thereby preserves important information about the foundation during the twelfth century.²² Among these was the frustration of the attempt by the Normans, fresh from their attack on Thessalonike in 1185, to carry off the founder's miraculous relics, and the visit by King Philip II Augustus (1180–1223) in 1192, who made a generous cash gift to the monks.

An inventory drawn up in 1200 lists over three hundred manuscripts.²³ The library had been built up by men who brought their books with them when they became monks. Among the books listed in this inventory are many copies of Basil of Caesarea's *Ascetic Treatises*, several copies of the *Catecheses* of Theodore the Studite, including a rare copy of his *Great Catecheses*, two copies of Paul Evergetinos' *Evergetinon*, and a copy of the liturgical *typikon* of the Sabas monastery near Jerusalem.

*F. The Patmos Monastery down to the Ottoman Conquest*²⁴

For a time after the Fourth Crusade that overthrew Byzantine rule in Constantinople in 1204, the Venetians controlled Patmos. The monastery had some twenty dependencies outside of Patmos, in Crete, Kalymnos, Kos, Naxos, Smyrna, Zakynthos and elsewhere. The most important of these was the dependency at Stylos on Crete, where Venetian control proved more enduring. Beginning in the thirteenth century (and on down to the nineteenth century) there is a very substantial archive of some 770 documents relating to this dependency, in both Greek and Italian.²⁵ The early documents in this collection concern Patmos' attempt to retain its title to this rich dependency.

Patmos was back under the control of the Nicaean emperors late in the life of that Byzantine government in exile. Both Theodore II Laskaris (1254–58), probably in 1258, and Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–82), in 1259 (original document preserved), confirmed all of the monastery's possessions.²⁶ An uncertain patriarch in the period 1258–72 also upheld the monastery's independence against encroachment by Constantine, bishop of Ikaria and Neilos, bishop of Leros.²⁷ This was a troubled period, however, as Patmos suffered from raids by "godless Italians and impious pirates," according to a contemporary source.²⁸ Patmos also suffered during the Byzantine-Venetian war of 1281–85.

Two later Palaiologan rulers, Andronikos II (1282–1328) and Andronikos III (1328–41), also confirmed the Patmos monastery in its possessions, in the years 1292 and 1329 respectively.²⁹

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, there are two more testaments of Patmian superiors preserved, one of Germanos (1272) and another of Sabbas (ca. 1300).³⁰ In 1307, the Venetian doge Pietro Gradenigo (1289–1311) gave permission for the monks of Stylos to export grain to Patmos and allowed refugees from Patmos to settle on Crete and own property.³¹ After the Knights Hospitallers of St. John conquered Rhodes in 1306–10, the Patmian monks recognized the Knights' authority over their own island in 1340.³² The monks also supplied useful intelligence on the Turks to the Venetian authorities on Crete and the Angevins on Naxos.

The monastery underwent hard times from the late thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, but was not abandoned. It was never taken by force. There is no evidence of building activity from the end of the twelfth to the middle of the sixteenth century.³³

G. The Patmos Monastery during Ottoman Rule

After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the monastery prudently recognized Ottoman suzerainty, and thereby retained control over its own affairs. The earliest of a group of about two hundred Turkish documents is a firman from Mehmet II (1454), in which the Ottoman sultan delegates to Patmos' superior Matthew, who was also metropolitan of Myra, the authority to collect the island's taxes.³⁴ There was apparently no Turkish settlement on Patmos. Additional firmans are preserved from Mehmet II (1465), Beyazid II (1496), (1503), (1507), and Suleiman the Magnificent (1521/22). They relate to such matters as self-taxation and protection of the monastery from plunderers. During Ottoman times, Patmos enjoyed renewed prosperity based on its ships and seaborne trade, down to about 1700.

This prosperity made possible new constructions at the foundation towards the end of the sixteenth century, the first major work in nearly four hundred years.³⁵ The Chapel of the Holy Cross was built at this time, probably in 1598. In 1603, Patmos' superior Nikephoros of Crete built another chapel dedicated to the Holy Apostles. He is said also to have provided for the construction of a sacristy attached to the *katholikon* for the housing of the books he donated to the monastery. In 1611, Parthenios Pangostas, founder of another monastery on Patmos, built a chapel dedicated to St. Onouphrios. His name is also connected with the chapel of St. John the Forerunner built before 1605. The walls were strengthened after an earthquake in 1646, paid for in part by a local patron, Nicholas Mathas. The chapel of St. Basil also belongs to this period.

Sylvester, the same patriarch of Alexandria who attempted a restoration of cenobitic life at the Lavra monastery on Mount Athos (for which see (11) *Ath. Rule*, Institutional History B.6), evidently tried in 1579 to do the same for Patmos, where the founder Christodoulos' cenobitic order had long since lapsed (at an uncertain date) in favor of an idiorhythmic lifestyle.³⁶

Starting in the late sixteenth century, documents in the library show the monastery seeking protection and economic support from Catholic powers and the princes of Russia and the Danubian principalities.³⁷ There are also 14,000 documents in a huge communal archive over four centuries (16th–19th). These make it possible to follow the post-Byzantine history of the island in great detail.³⁸

The late seventeenth century was a difficult period. Patmos was plundered, and the island absorbed refugees from Ottoman Crete. Yet a major rebuilding program was carried out in the last decade of the seventeenth century under Neophytos Grimanis, the archbishop of Karpathos, who

became known as the “new founder” for his benefactions.³⁹ This work gave the monastery its essentially final form till modern times.

The Patmian monks did not neglect to seek confirmations of the independence of their foundation throughout the era of Turkish rule. Such confirmations are preserved from the following patriarchs of Constantinople: Pachomios I (1504), (1512); Joseph III (1561); Cyril I Loukaris (1624); Dionysios III Muselimes (1673); Parthenios IV Mongilalos (1680); Kallinikos II (1688); Kosmas III (1715); Jeremias III (1722); Joannikios III (1762); Sophronios II (1780); Gregory V (1797); and Germanos IV (1843).⁴⁰ Thus Patmos must rank with Lavra as one of the most successful and long-lived independent and self-governing monasteries ever created in the Byzantine world.

A school was established at Patmos in 1713 which drew pupils from various parts of Greece and other countries.⁴¹ In 1806, Nektarios, bishop of Sardis, erected an unpretentious chapter house.⁴² The monastery was economically prosperous but inactive during the nineteenth century. There were no new buildings, and existing facilities began to deteriorate.

H. Patmos in Modern Times

The Patmos monastery remains in operation, though its monks follow an idiorhythmic life as they have done since at least the seventeenth century. An earthquake caused considerable damage in 1956. In a subsequent rebuilding program carried out by the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodekanese in conjunction with the Greek Ministry of Education, several parts of the monastery were demolished in 1957–61 to allow others to be restored or to make room for modern buildings including one housing a museum, library, and lodging facilities.⁴³

The monastery’s rich archives and collections of icons, relics, church treasures and manuscripts have survived remarkably well down to the present. The monastery’s library, 900 years old, is one of the few Byzantine libraries to have survived to the present.⁴⁴ It once housed some additional treasures, such as the Arethas manuscript of Plato, now at Oxford (Clarke 39). The archives contain 150 Byzantine documents, either originals or validated copies, and constitute one of the most important surviving collections of these works, ranging in date from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries. Among these Byzantine documents are fifty-three by emperors, including some original chrysobulls.

Analysis

This “document” is composed of three texts, the *Rule* [A] of 1091 and the *Testament* [B] and *Codicil* [C] of 1093, the last two composed at Euripos on Euboea a few days before the author’s death. In the *Rule*, Christodoulos provides a fairly brief regulation, prefaced by a detailed foundation history, for an independent and self-governing monastery like some others (e.g., (22) *Evergetis* and (23) *Pakourianos*) that came into being as a result of the monastic reform movement in the last half of the eleventh century. Almost two years later, the founder saw fit to merge his earlier vision with a provision, detailed in his *Testament* and *Codicil*, for institutional leadership under a powerful protector.

These three texts can be usefully compared to the works of Athanasios the Athonite, (11) *Ath. Rule*, (13) *Ath. Typikon*, and (14) *Ath. Testament*. Like his predecessor Athanasios, Christodoulos skillfully utilized imperial patronage to leverage his own modest resources to create a foundation

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that has survived into modern times. Also, like the earlier collection of documents, these texts reflect an important change of the founder's thinking on how to assure his foundation's protection and support, though here this change takes place over a shorter period of time, and in a more troubled era.

These texts are also valuable because, instead of the usual idealized portrait, they provide a glimpses of an actual foundation in which cenobitic ideals, never easy to realize, were especially hard to achieve given the precariousness of imperial authority in the Aegean islands and the danger posed by Turkish raiders.

A. *Lives of the Monks*

1. Number of Monks

Unlike other founders blessed with more settled conditions, it must have seemed pointless for Christodoulos to set any limits on the number of monks at his foundation. By the time Christodoulos composed his *Testament* in 1093, there were [B6] at least eight residents still at the Patmos monastery; he also had hopes that another three rebellious monks would see fit to return. A recent Turkish attack had scattered [B12] most of the monks, including Christodoulos himself, though he does not admit it. Like the three rebels, they were also welcome to return, provided they all accepted the authority of Christodoulos' successor.

2. Liturgical Duties

Like his contemporary, the author of (23) *Pakourianos* [6], Christodoulos considered [A17] the performance of liturgical services, especially the canonical hours, to be the most important responsibility of his monks: "we have been brought into being and adorned with reason in order to honor the Creator with uninterrupted hymn-singing." This was to be conducted in accordance with the liturgical *typikon* of the Monastery of Sabas near Jerusalem, a document that Christodoulos may have become acquainted with [A3] during his stay in Palestine or perhaps at his earlier posting at the *Stylos* monastery, where we know from (7) *Latros* [8] that a version of this *typikon* had been in use since the mid-tenth century. In his *Rule*, Christodoulos instructs [A17] his monks to draw up a *typikon* or *synaxarion* based on this model, a command he repeats in his *Codicil* [C10], but with an amelioration of the demanding Sunday vigils aside from those in Lent. This suggests that the Sabaite liturgical *typikon* set a kind of rigorist standard for monasteries whose founders wanted to emphasize hymnody.

3. Other Offices

At the time when he wrote his *Rule* in 1091, Christodoulos expected [A21] that there would be a superior and ten officials: a steward, an ecclesiarch, two treasurers, a cellarer, a wine steward, two assistant cellarers (*parakellaritai*), a cook and a refectorian. Obviously Christodoulos could not fill all these positions with the eight monks left at Patmos in 1093.

4. Manual Labor

With the permission of the superior, the cenobitic monks were allowed [A22] to practice calligraphy or some other craft, but there was to be no production for profit. The monastery was to supply the necessary materials and take in the work when it was completed. The solitaries associated with

the cenobitic community were expected [A23] to engage in some work in accordance with the same terms.

5. Length of the Novitiate

Christodoulos requires [A26] that lay candidates be screened for admission. There is a short but valuable list of certain candidates whose applications should be rejected: those who came to escape creditors or extreme poverty, those disinclined to work, and those with numerous children. Those accepted were to be garbed in the “robe of renunciation” while being read selections from Basil of Caesarea’s *Shorter Rules* ([SR 17], [SR 30]). Christodoulos refers to canonical legislation of the Council of Constantinople (861) for the term of the novitiate: six months for the pious or severely ill, three years for all others. These requirements, stricter than those of (22) *Evergetis* [37], match those set down later in (27) *Kecharitomene* [30]. Christodoulos’ willingness to use both patristic authority and canon law recalls the more slavishly deferential approach towards the use of precedents characteristic of (20) *Black Mountain*.

6. Cenobitic Lifestyle

Christodoulos provides [A28] a brief discussion of the requirements of cenobitic life, hurriedly summarized at the end of his *Rule* from an unspecified model. The provisions, including bans on idle talking, factions and cliques, secret eating and drinking, theft of monastic property, and conducting correspondence without the superior’s approval, are vaguely Evergetian, but may have been drawn directly from the latter’s Basilian sources.

7. Provision for Solitaries

Although Christodoulos cites [A15] Basil of Caesarea for the value of cenobitic life and warns [A16] that no one should consider abolishing it, the foundation as he describes it includes [A23] a role for solitaries in association with the cenobitic community. Earlier, Christodoulos had encountered [A4] this sort of mixed solitary and cenobitic foundation at Latros, and apparently thought it worth replicating on Patmos.

These solitaries, ordinarily to be chosen [A23] by the superior, were to report [A24] to the monastery for weekend services, common meals, and supplies of dry food and work materials. The superior could force those who failed to live virtuously to return to cenobitic life or else expel them from the island. Christodoulos orders that the number of those who follow “the solitary way of life” shall not exceed twelve, which suggests that the founder expected, in ordinary circumstances, that the cenobitic community would be much larger than that in size.

8. Personal Possessions

Christodoulos comes down on the side of the stricter reformers (e.g., (22) *Evergetis* [22]) on the issue of personal possessions. He orders [A22] that monks should have none, except for “necessary clothing and coverings,” adding, “I call those necessary without which one cannot live.”

9. Servants

In his original conception of the foundation, Christodoulos wanted to exclude [A10] married laymen, their wives and their children, young men “in their boyish prime,” and eunuchs entirely from Patmos. In the past, (3) *Theodore Studites* [18] banned adolescent boys while (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34], [48] and (23) *Pakourianos* [17] banned both boys and eunuchs. As far as personal servants

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were concerned, the reform document (22) *Evergetis* [24] joined with the older authorities (3) *Theodore Studites* [4] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31] in banning them, while (23) *Pakourianos* [4] permitted them to exalted personages. Most of Christodoulos' contemporaries, however, including the authors of (19) *Attaleiates* [39], (23) *Pakourianos* [1], and even (22) *Evergetis* [3] did not seek to get along without agricultural dependents. Reformers and traditionalists alike took for granted that someone else would have to tend to cultivation of the landed properties if their monks were to be free for psalm-singing and other liturgical responsibilities.

Christodoulos' patron Alexios Komnenos had to be cajoled, against his better judgment, to include all of the holy man's restrictions in the chrysobull issued for the foundation, for the emperor thought that agricultural dependents would in fact be necessary "to carry out agricultural and other heavier duties of the monastery." This is a good example of an experienced patron who knew better than his monastic counterpart what was required for a successful foundation. Disregarding both advice and precedent, Christodoulos sought to "eliminate utterly all occasions of trouble," thereby returning to the sterner principles of the Studite and Athonite traditions (see (3) *Theodore Studites* [4] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31]).

Even before he composed his *Rule*, Christodoulos had to acknowledge his mistake. Unable to find any unmarried laymen willing to live and work permanently on the island, he announces [A13] his willingness to admit a few married men and their wives whom he expected would be segregated at the northern end of the island. Christodoulos' intent was that the men would work around the monastery for five days, then return to their wives and children during the weekends. Thus there would be some hope of avoiding scandal if the monks and the laborers' dependents did not mix.

Even this arrangement did not prove permanent, given the exposed position of the laborers' settlement while raids by the Turks continued.⁴⁵ A few years later in his *Codicil*, Christodoulos indicates [C4] that youths were working with the other laborers, though they were not allowed to eat with the monks until they grew beards. In his *Testament*, Christodoulos provides [B6] for allowing children whom he has "reared from infancy" to be allowed to become monks "if they are steady and work well in said monastery." Earlier, Christodoulos himself claims [A2] in his *Rule* that he chose his own monastic vocation while still a child.

B. Constitutional Matters

1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

Christodoulos firmly associates his foundation with the contemporary monastic reform by designating [A16], cf. [B13] his monastery as an independent and self-governing (*eleuthera kai autexousios*) foundation, subject to neither ecclesiastical nor (despite Alexios Komnenos' patronage) imperial rights. Moreover, the foundation was "not to fall into the hands of any private or official person," i.e., be granted out under the *charistike*, nor have a protectorate (*ephoreia*) imposed on it.

2. Leadership

Despite his selection of an independent and self-governing constitution for his foundation, Christodoulos was even more unwilling than the authors of (22) *Evergetis* [14] and (23) *Pakourianos*

[5], [18] to award the full powers of institutional governance to the monastery's superior. Instead, like (19) *Attaleiates* [10], Christodoulos resorts to a kind of private protectorate to provide leadership for the foundation (even though in [A16] he had rejected any protectorate that might be imposed externally!).

Christodoulos evidently had some difficulty recruiting a suitable individual to provide this leadership. When he drew up his *Testament* [B3], his first choice as “master and wielder of authority” in the monastery was the monk Arsenios Skenourios, a nobleman who earlier had convinced Christodoulos to establish [A6] a monastery on Skenourios' patrimonial estates on the island of Kos at Mount Pelion. Perhaps as superior of this foundation Christodoulos was answerable to Arsenios as Christodoulos expected Patmos' superior would be to him just later on. In any event, Christodoulos thought it prudent to designate [B5] the patriarchal notary Theodosios as an alternative leader for the foundation with the title of *charistikarios*.

By the time Christodoulos issued his *Codicil* a few days later, he had given up on Arsenios and settled [C1] on Theodosios as his designated leader for the foundation. Christodoulos' choice of *charistikarios* as his preferred title for the leader of an independent monastery, associated as it was with an institution that had been central to a century of terrible abuses committed against the empire's monasteries, is peculiar—to say the least—if not actually oxymoronic. The restrictions Christodoulos chose to impose [B5] on Theodosios in the *Testament* make it clear, however, that a protectorate (*ephoreia*) similar to what various imperial patrons and courtiers would impose on independent foundations in the twelfth century (see below, Chapters Five and Six) was what he really had in mind. Christodoulos requires that Theodosios take up residence in the foundation and be tonsured. Moreover, he was not to introduce any of his relatives into the monastery, i.e., attempt to privatize it. “In all else,” Christodoulos proclaims, “he has full authority within strict monastic observance . . .” and to “have all the authority and [right of] dominion of a master who cannot be removed.” Christodoulos reaffirms [B6] Theodosios' authority, especially against any monks who might return later to the foundation. He clearly saw Theodosios as successor to his own authority in the foundation and asks him to increase “its value by building as much as he is able,” that is, fulfilling the patronal responsibilities of a protector. It is the *Codicil*, however, which demonstrates [B13] convincingly that Christodoulos had not changed his mind about the independent status of his foundation in the two-year interval (1091–93) between his *Rule* and the two later texts, since it reaffirms this status “to the end of the world” and obliges the *charistikarios* to protect it.

Since Christodoulos fails to mention the *charistikarios* in his *Rule*, it appears that the need for one occurred to him only between 1091 and 1093, most likely after he himself felt frightened enough to flee Patmos for safety on Euboea.⁴⁶ His reassessment of the leadership needs of his independent foundation recalls Athanasios' reworking of administrative arrangements for the Lavra monastery on Mount Athos in which he also ended up resorting to the protectorate (see (14) *Ath. Testament* [4] ff.). In any event, with the superimposition of the *charistikarios* upon the foundation, it was necessary to clarify [C2] this official's relationship to the other officials of the monastery. The superior, according to the author, “shall not have power to do or perform anything at all without the knowledge and consent of the *charistikarios*, but shall manage everything as the latter wishes.” Should he fail to do so, the *charistikarios* was allowed to expel him from office. Al-

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though Christodoulos envisioned a monk, not a layman, as his *charistikarios* and specifically disabled him from exploiting the foundation as a source of patronage, this passage is useful indirect evidence for the arbitrary (and often pernicious) authority of unreformed *charistikarioi* during most of the eleventh century.

Citing patristic precedents and the civil legislation of Justinian, Christodoulos orders [A18] in his *Rule* that the future superior be elected “in accordance with the general consensus and common vote of the preeminent brethren, indeed of all the brotherhood.” This statement is probably best interpreted as Christodoulos’ endorsement of the procedure common to many reform monasteries of using a limited electorate to select the superior (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13] and (23) *Pakourianos* [5]).

Christodoulos expects [A21] that the superior would choose the other officials of the monastery, though in the *Codicil* we find [C2] Christodoulos himself designating the monk Neophytos as the foundation’s treasurer. Judging from the statement in [B6] that the *charistikarios* “shall meet with no obstruction from any person whatsoever,” these officials were also answerable to him.

3. Authoritarian Rule

In theory, as Christodoulos’ description of the authority of the *charistikarios* in his *Testament* [B5], [B6] and *Codicil* [C2] makes clear, he envisioned an authoritarian style of rule for his foundation patterned on his own behavior. Also, the author’s straightforwardly traditional admonition [A19] to the superior is an instructive contrast to the parallel passage in (22) *Evergetis* [17], especially the latter’s warning against pomposity and assertion of privilege.

In practice, however, Christodoulos’ community was scattered [B12], even rebellious [B6] by the time he wrote his *Testament*. Earlier, he frankly admits [A11] in the *Rule* that a majority of his monks who followed him from Kos to Patmos deserted him. So perhaps in these troubled times there was a price to be paid in factionalism for a non-consultative, absolutist monastic government. Christodoulos preferred those monks who declared, “We die obeying your orders.”

4. Removal of Superior

Christodoulos lists [A20] several reasons that would justify the deposition of the superior: 1) negation of Christodoulos’ regulations, present or future, 2) altering the cenobitic life “perhaps out of his own fondness for pleasure,” 3) misappropriating the monastery’s revenues, and 4) being convicted of stealing. The prominence of the founder’s concern about financial misconduct finds parallels in similar provisions in other reform documents like (22) *Evergetis* [14] and (23) *Pakourianos* [19]. The very different list in (19) *Attaleiates* [26], written for a traditional foundation, provides for the superior’s deposition in the event of a deterioration of relations with the protector; in this respect it is like Christodoulos’ provision in his *Codicil* [C2] which allows the *charistikarios* to depose the superior for insubordination.

As also in institutions represented by reform documents, the senior monks, here called the “more preeminent brothers” and identified as the steward, the ecclesiarch and the priests, were to take [A20] the lead in warning a wayward superior, then, if necessary, in removing him and choosing his successor. Christodoulos’ decision to allow [C2] the *charistikarios* a role in this process must be seen as an afterthought.

5. Patronal Privileges

Christodoulos left the subject of patronal privileges for his *charistikarios* unaddressed except in so far as he specifically forbids [B5] him to introduce his relatives into the monastery (cf. (23) *Pakourianos* [25], where admission of relatives of the founder is permitted). Christodoulos himself was willing to disregard reformist principles and oblige [B15] the *charistikarios* to accept (as *kataemptoi*?) his “spiritual son,” the notary and priest George, and his two children “without any difficulties being made.” The founder also makes [C12] the request that he be buried wherever the community settled permanently (i.e., on Patmos or Kos).

Christodoulos is anxious to disavow [B8] any inheritance of patronal privilege by his nephews, including one who was an assistant steward (*paraikonomos*) of the Stoudios monastery: “None of them has any power ever, at any time, to go to law or plead against my *charistikarios* or the interests of the monastery.” He emphasizes [B11], “I leave them only my blessing.” As other reform founders, e.g., the author of (23) *Pakourianos* [18], [25], recognized, relatives could pose one of the greatest threats to a foundation’s independence.

C. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

The superior, steward, ecclesiarch, and one of the two treasurers all had roles to play [A21] in the financial administration of the monastery. The steward was to carry out his duties under the close supervision of the superior. One of the treasurers was to be responsible for recording the monastery’s revenues; the superior, steward and ecclesiarch would all co-sign for receipts of income. The ecclesiarch was to store the monastery’s cash assets and, on the orders of the superior, disburse them as needed to the treasurer for day-to-day needs. The above-mentioned officials were to audit the treasurer’s accounts before he received any new disbursements. It appears, therefore, that in Christodoulos’ foundation the superior played a fairly important role in the institution’s financial administration, as was the case in (23) *Pakourianos* [26].

2. Inalienability of the Foundation’s Properties

Unlike most reformist founders, Christodoulos was not particularly concerned with asserting the inalienability of his foundation’s movable and immovable properties, though as we have seen financial misconduct figures [A20] prominently in his list of justifications for deposing the superior. Perhaps this was because at the time of the composition of the last of these documents, the *Codicil*, Christodoulos was still not sure whether his monastic settlement on Patmos would be viable. If it were not, he hoped to convince the emperor to give him back [C11] those properties on Kos that he had previously turned over [A9] to the imperial treasury in exchange for Patmos. Since the ultimate location of his foundation was at issue, it is perhaps not surprising that he might have thought an assertion of the inalienability of its underlying landed properties (cf. [B4]) premature.

As far as movable properties were concerned, a brief list of icons is to be found in his *Testament* [B10], but the founder’s greatest concern [B7], [C5] was the recovery of at least part of his collection of books that had once been at the patriarchal monastery of Latros. After the Turks sacked that foundation, Christodoulos had managed to send [C7] a military expedition to rescue

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the books, which were sent to Hagia Sophia in Constantinople for safekeeping. The Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos was apparently unwilling [C6] to concede ownership of all of the books to Christodoulos; perhaps he hoped that the monastery at Latros could be reconstituted some day.

3. Imperial Exemptions

Like other founders of his era, such as the authors of (19) *Attaleiates*, (23) *Pakourianos*, and (10) *Eleousa*, Christodoulos was keen to obtain imperial chrysobulls to bolster his foundation's autonomy and to obtain immunities. Christodoulos had obtained [A7] a chrysobull from Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates to "confirm and establish [his] possession" of the properties donated by Arsenios Skenourios and smaller benefactors to support the foundation of Christodoulos' monastery on Kos.⁴⁷

Later, Christodoulos asked [A9] Alexios Komnenos for a grant of the island of Patmos "as an imperial gift, free of all obligations." A summary in the *Rule* of the emperor's chrysobull⁴⁸ issued in 1088 to grant this request states [A10] that Christodoulos received Patmos "exempt from all fiscal obligation and from any servitude whatsoever." This appears to be one of the most sweeping grants of immunity bestowed upon the authors of the monastic foundation documents.⁴⁹

4. Commemorative Observances

In support of his foundation on Kos, we are told [A7] that Christodoulos accepted offerings (*prosenexeis*) of both movable and immovable property from pious local inhabitants, presumably in exchange for the performance of commemorative observances. At Patmos, however, there is only Christodoulos' instruction to the *charistikarios* Theodosios to conduct [B5] memorial services for the emperor, Christodoulos himself, and "the whole world."

D. Relationship to the Monastic Reform

Like (23) *Pakourianos*, this document sets its own course for monastic reform that is independent of the prescriptions found in (22) *Evergetis*. One of the ways that Christodoulos does demonstrate his ideological links to other authors of the reform movement is his citation of ancient authorities [A18], [A26] as justification for some of the regulations in his rules. His citation of the legislation of Justinian is a first, indicating that that emperor's legal code was beginning to circulate independently of its incorporation and condensation in the *Basilika* of Emperor Leo VI (886–912). Like Nikon, the author of (20) *Black Mountain*, who yields to none of the reformers in his deference to patristic and other precedents, Christodoulos was familiar with some of the hagiographical literature of the early ascetic era, including the *Life* of Pachomios. Christodoulos' citation [A26] of canon law to justify his regulation of the length of the novitiate is another early example of the respect founders in the reform movement had for normative sources. These would prove one of that movement's most effective weapons against their traditionalist opponents (see above, Chapter Four, Historical Context).

E. External Relations

1. Institutional Philanthropy

Since his monastery "has not enjoyed sufficient resources," Christodoulos refrains [A25] from laying down a specific rule on quantities of charity for feeding the poor or extending hospitality.

2. Treatment of the Monastery's Dependents

Initially, Christodoulos thought it was more important to insulate his monks from sexual temptation than to be sensitive to the needs of the monastery's peasant cultivators. As we have seen, he quickly had to abandon [A13] his original resolution to populate [A10] Patmos with unmarried laymen. Yet eventually Christodoulos shows [A13] that he was prepared to recognize the requests of his lay workers for "the bath, rest and home life." Even after he relented, however, he holds [A14] workmen responsible for the trespasses of their wives and children, on pain of expulsion. Except for the steward, monks were not to go to any place where they were liable to meet a woman.

Notes on the Introduction

1. For an overview, see Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, pp. 4–20.
2. See Vranoussis, *Hagiologika keimena*.
3. Halkin, *BHG* 303, ed. I. Sakkéliou in Boines, *Akolouthia*, pp. 109–33.
4. Halkin, *BHG* 304, ed. I. Sakkéliou in Boines, *Akolouthia*, pp. 134–62.
5. Ed. MM 6.17–19, 30–32.
6. Ed. Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, nos. 4–7, 46–49, pp. 31–76, 327 ff., and MM 6.23–29, 32–59.
7. For an overview, see Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, pp. 21–32.
8. *Entalma*, MM 6.16–17 (1079).
9. See Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, pp. 33–58.
10. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1147, ed. Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, no. 6, pp. 55–67, and MM 6.44–49 (1088).
11. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1150, ed. Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, no. 7, pp. 68–76, and MM 6.51–53 (1088).
12. *Praktikon*, MM 6.55–57 (1088).
13. See Gautier, "Date," p. 238.
14. *Engraphon*, MM 6.90–94 (1094); see also Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, pp. 56–57.
15. For dating, see Gautier, "Date," p. 238.
16. See Ch. Bouras, "Architecture," pp. 26–27, in Komines, *Patmos*.
17. For an overview, see Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, pp. 59–84.
18. Grumel, *Regestes*, nos. 1005 and 1049, ed. MM 6.101–3 (1132) and 113–17 (1158); see also Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, pp. 64–66.
19. Ed. MM 6.106–10; see also Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, pp. 67, 75–76.
20. See Bouras, "Architecture," pp. 27–28, in Komines, *Patmos*.
21. *BHG* 985; see also Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, pp. 72–74.
22. *BHG* 305; see also Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, pp. 68–71.
23. First edited by Diehl, "Trésor"; new diplomatic edition by Astruc, "Inventaire," pp. 20–30, see esp. lines 83, 110, 113, 135–36, 142, 171–72, 210, and 221; see also Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, pp. 80–82.
24. For an overview, see Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, pp. 85–116.
25. Chr. Maltezou, "Archival Material in Foreign Languages," p. 338, in Komines, *Patmos*.
26. Dölger, *Regesten*, nos. 1849 and 1871, ed. Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, nos. 14 and 26, pp. 124–32, 243–46, and MM 6.196–97, 199–201.
27. Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1782, ed. MM 6.203–4; see also Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, p. 94.

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28. H. Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, "The Historical Background," p. 13, in Komines, *Patmos*.
29. Ed. MM 6.236–38 (1292), 250–52 (1329).
30. Ed. MM 6.229–33 (1272), 241–46 (ca. 1300); see also Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, pp. 98–99.
31. Ed. MM 6.221 (1307); with Maltezou, "Archival Material," p. 338, in Komines, *Patmos*.
32. H. Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, "Background," p. 13, in Komines, *Patmos*.
33. Bouras, "Architecture," p. 29, in Komines, *Patmos*.
34. Maltezou, "Archival Material," p. 338, in Komines, *Patmos*; see also Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, pp. 110–12.
35. Bouras, "Architecture," pp. 29–32, in Komines, *Patmos*.
36. See MM 6.266–69 (1579).
37. Maltezou, "Archival Material," p. 338, in Komines, *Patmos*.
38. V. Panayatopoulos, "The Archive from the Period of Turkish Rule," p. 339, in Komines, *Patmos*; see also Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, p. 114.
39. Bouras, "Architecture," p. 32, in Komines, *Patmos*.
40. Ed. MM 6.261–62 (1504), 262–64 (1512), 264–65 (1561), 293–96 (1624), 300–303 (1673), 304–5 (1680), 305–9 (1688), 317–19 (1715), 328–32 (1722), 340–44 (1762), 359–65 (1780), 374–79 (1797), 383–86 (1843).
41. Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, "Background," p. 14, in Komines, *Patmos*; Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, p. 115; see also the eighteenth-century patriarchal documents in MM 6.347–50 (1769), 350–54 (1769), 372–74 (1797).
42. Bouras, "Architecture," in Komines, *Patmos*, p. 33.
43. Bouras, "Architecture," in Komines, *Patmos*, pp. 34–35.
44. A. Komines, "The Manuscripts," pp. 328–29, in Komines, *Patmos*.
45. See note to [A13] below.
46. Note the different justifications and agents proposed for deposing a superior in [A20] and [C2].
47. Cf. Dölger, *Regesten*, nos. 1045 and 1046, ed. Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, nos. 2 and 3, pp. 15–30, and MM 6.19–21, 21–23 (1079), both original documents preserved at Patmos, granted earlier for properties that may have later come under Christodoulos' control; Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1123, ed. Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, no. 4, pp. 31–39, and MM 6.23–25 (1085), by Alexios I Komnenos, another original preserved document, appears to be the confirmation of the lost chrysobull of his predecessor Nikephoros III Botaneiates mentioned [A7] by Christodoulos.
48. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1147, ed. Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, no. 6, pp. 55–67, and MM 6.44–49 (1088).
49. Cf. (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 10] and [INV 11], which grant only exemption from extraordinary taxes and compulsory services.

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Translation

Rule [A]

Godly Rule or Ordinance of our holy father Christodoulos, which he laid down for his disciples in the monastery belonging to him on the island of Patmos.

[A1.] Inasmuch as I, being but a man, have been maintained in this present life, by God's dispensation, a sufficient time and, being far advanced in age, have nothing more to look for, to quote Gregory the great Theologian,¹ but my departure hence, I have deemed it incumbent on me to set down in writing for my pious companions the rules that will, I believe, help them to be perfectly and salvifically pleasing to God, an ordinance for my very dear brothers and children in the Lord, in order that, taking it as a rule and a pointer, and governing their conduct by its precepts, their life may run smoothly (may God hear my words!) in peace, with good conscience, guarded by the grace of the life-giving and all-holy Trinity, three persons of one nature.

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But, O holy community (for here I turn and my words are addressed to you!), elect flock, chosen people, godly concourse, my blessed children in the Lord, come, hear that which I shall expound to you: “Come, listen to me, I will teach you fear of the Lord” (cf. Ps. 65 [66]:16). For I shall use, when opportune, the words of the sacred psalmist David—“Incline your ears to the words of my mouth” (cf. Ps. 77 [78]:1–2)—let Solomon’s voice mingle with David’s, the son and the father together sing to me, a father addressing my sons: “Hearken to me, for I will speak noble truths and will produce right sayings from my lips” (cf. Prov. 8:6).

At this point it seems to me right and necessary to begin with some personal information, and speak of it at acceptable length, then dealing summarily with essentials of a more practical kind. Indeed, even in Holy Writ we often observe that no reproach attaches to words that have a measure of partiality, or accounts that tend to redound to the praise of the speaker. No one attacked them for talking about themselves, nor was this considered a sin, so long as it was in order to expound and clarify something formerly obscure, and not from some other, merely human motive. Considering this, neither do I, a humble old man, think it reprehensible to take up my history, beginning at the beginning and continuing [p. 60] to the end, and place before you the course taken by my life in this vain world (for this seems to me useful for salvation!), after that laying injunction upon you, that you may be saved in the Lord, observing obedience.

[A2.] I come from the East.² From an early age I was tossed to and fro by conflicting thoughts and, still a small child, I thought of leaving home, parents, and family, and fleeing to refuge with Christ, our true God and Savior. This is exactly what I did—going to a flock of monks³ to whom I surrendered myself, and finding a teacher and educator in the superior of this holy band. But it was God, and he alone, who, through his ineffable mercy, opened my eyes, at that early, unformed and malleable age, well before my reasoning powers were firm. This was indeed worthy of his great works, for, of old, “Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings he perfected praise” (cf. Ps. 8:2), and “The manifestation of his word enlightens and instructs the simple” (cf. Ps. 118 [119]:130) as David divinely and prophetically sings.

[A3.] But desire for a more complete isolation possessed me and drove me from place to place. To Palestine I went, desiring, to venerate the holy steps of our Lord, but most of all to “flee like a sparrow” (cf. Ps. 10 [11]:3; 54 [55]:7), choosing, like those of old, “to lodge in the wilderness.” (Ps. 54 [55]: 7) So, after worshiping at the holy places to my fill, conversing with none but the luminaries and fathers there—and bearing fruit, though I, perhaps, should not say so, through imitation of their life—I presently moved to the most desolate parts of the country (Palestine, that is) settling there for some time.

But then the Saracen swarm made this impossible. They appeared in all regions of Palestine, and spread like a monstrous hailstorm, with a baneful rattling and gibbering,⁴ destroying and annihilating the whole Christian society. As I did not wish to fall into [the sin of] self-will (but for this I would not have been seen clinging to life!) I removed from thence, expelled, as it were, and driven out by the barbarian phalanx, and came to a peaceful mountain in a pleasant site in Asia [Minor], called Latros locally,⁵ led there by its ancient reputation, for those blessed fathers who once lived on Raithou and Sinai (if not all of them, at any rate the majority) are said to have moved

there because of the continual raids of the savage Blemmyes, except those who suffered martyrdom on the spot. [p. 61]

[A4.] So, because of my love for these saints, my will too inclined to this mountain, settling me there, with my goal before me. I entered the lists, and perhaps the community I founded there [might be called] spiritual, at least by human standards. The hand of the Lord with us advanced our stay on that mountain to good fame. We practiced asceticism but not as solitaries. Here, two or three gathered in the name of the Lord;⁶ there, a slightly larger number settled in one place, choosing the cenobitic life.

Elsewhere, a considerable body could be seen, at once separate and together, maintaining, I may say, a *lavra*, in the ancient tradition of the fathers: together each Sunday, to perform the liturgy and exchange edifying conversation, thereafter returning to their cells, to devote the six days of the week to solitary contemplation with psalm-singing and handiwork. We were all things to each other, sharpening one another's resolve to the unadulterated labor of virtue.

The triumphs of cenobitic discipline among those subject to its rule showed abundant and overflowing, unadulterated, undebased. O! How should I remember it without tears! Never a coarse word was heard from those who were with us on Latros. Never was there any disreputable cohabitation. No sign of strife or hatred or envy. Not one of those who lived there in the monastery kept anything earthly to himself, private or secret, but all was dignity, freedom from worldly cares, poverty, virtue, saintliness and the crowning virtue of all, humility.⁷

[A5.] But O! My ill luck! Upon Asia Minor too and all Ionia falls now the saber of the Lord, slashing without rest or cease, refusing to return to the scabbard. Against these lands too is loosed the glittering sword, the bow drawn, with those deadly weapons, his arrows drunk with the blood of the wounded and of the captives. Here too is lit the fire kindled by the wrath of the Lord, that devoured the land of the Romans and set on fire the foundations of the mountains, in the prophetic words, the revelations made by the Lord through Jeremiah and David and Moses, against Israel when it transgressed.⁸

What do I mean by "saber," "bow," "drunken arrows," and "kindled fire"? The right arm of the Persians,⁹ the ferocity of the Turks, that wiped out the whole of the east and devastated it cruelly. That lawless nation, destroyer of towns and countryside alike, [p. 62] attacked that land too, bringing the same destruction upon its inhabitants. Because the multitude of our sins daily increased the successes of the Agarenes, they did not leave us untroubled in that mountain either, where we had taken refuge. For there was not a hole hidden from the godless [beasts].

So from this place too I was driven by fear, migrating for the second time, with little regard, I must admit, even for pastoral ordination—which I had not received willingly. How could we have been so bold as of ourselves to have assumed so great a burden? On the contrary, most reluctantly did I shoulder it [yet], making myself responsible, perhaps, in the legal sense, as a guardian, since that mountain of Latros was entrusted to me by his holiness the Patriarch,¹⁰ and I bore the title of *protos* on it. Well, perhaps I should have faced death there, if the law is to be interpreted rigorously.¹¹ But human frailty, ever turning to the Lord's mercy and emboldened thereby, made me confident I was doing no wrong in moving once more because of the great vexation caused by the aforesaid enemies.

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[A6.] So I came in due course to Strobilos, a city on the sea shore. I wished, in a way, to avoid the cruelty of the barbarians, and had with me, too, some of the brothers, who felt that expatriating themselves with me was the answer to their prayer, and what a man could most reasonably wish to do. Well, but God's grace was not yet pleased to let us be and grant us rest. After all we had been through, not even there did we find peace. The same fear continued to dog us.

There, however, we fell in with a pious man of distinguished birth (for he was of native stock, well born, and all looked up to him); he was godly in his ways, moderate in his opinions, imposing in his person, decorous in character, and a monk. His name was Arsenios, his surname Skenourios.¹² He devoted himself entirely to looking after us. No stranger to us before, he was now bound even closer in the spiritual bonds of affection. He began by offering me his own monastery at Strobilos, but, seeing he could not keep me there, I was sick of the East for good, what with continually being on the move out of fear of the enemy (at Strobilos too a Persian attack was expected any moment!); he begged me to cross over to the island of Kos, go round it, inspect his patrimonial lands there, and found a monastery on them wherever I chose. To it he would consecrate the whole property.

I obey and make haste to visit Kos. I go round Skenourios' properties, come upon an extensive ridge with no habitation, in a well-exposed site, well-watered besides, and temperate. This hill was called Pelion by the islanders. So, seeing it ringed [p. 63] in and cut off from the surrounding country, and isolated by a ring of ravines and natural gullies (one might think it a fortress!), I was straightway delighted with the site and eager to build a monastery there, for I thought to stay my wanderings in that hill and at last taste peace, until I should bequeath my clay to that same Pelion. But God, apparently, did not approve my plan.

[A7.] For there again, though I endured on Pelion labors too great to relate, in the end I failed of my aim. God had decided that on Patmos I should find my fate¹³ and my grave. However, acceding to the suggestions and appeals of the said brother Arsenios (I shall make room in the relation of my affairs for a short account of my stay on Pelion) I threw myself into the building program. He began by promising to help us and work beside us with all his might, but before long, at the very outset of work, he made up his mind to flee, slipped away by night, and sailed for Jerusalem without a backward glance.

As a result, a maximum was demanded of me. With pain and sweat, in those difficult times, amid a general shortage of necessaries, but with help from on high, I erected from the foundations and brought to completion a quite beautiful, a most elegant church, founding it in the name of the most holy Mother of God. I made a circuit-wall and cells and everything else that characterizes a self-supporting and completely equipped monastery. Delighted with its appearance and reckoning it, quite simply, as a "factory of virtue,"¹⁴ the pious and Christ-loving inhabitants of the aforesaid island, each according to his means and inclination, made offerings consisting not only of movables, but of immovables also. For all of them, viz. Skenourios' little properties and those that accrued to us from offerings, we procured a chrysobull¹⁵ from the then holder of the Romain scepter, the Lord Nikephoros [III] Botaneiates [(1078–81)], to confirm and establish our possession.

[A8.] So then for a little I thought we should have peace. But the land all round us was occupied. Next to those given us, and bordering on them, were properties belonging to the inhabitants of the island, and all this was a source of trouble for the brothers with me. They quarreled, differences arose with the neighbors, till the supervening distress for me was indistinguishable from the confusion of a city. Consequently I was in fear, and not, as the proverb has it “Where no fear was”;¹⁶ no indeed! With my brethren involved, from utter necessity, I may say crawling in the promiscuity and confusion, the ferment of worldly concerns, mingling with worldly men, engaged in barter and also, as is generally [p. 64] the case, in disputes, what if it should happen that one of them, besieged by the ambushes of the Evil One, should fall, alas!, a prey to his snares, and then his soul be required of my wretched self, a soul that the whole world, in Christ’s sacred words, is not worthy to purchase? (cf. Matt. 16:26)¹⁷

This was the fear, the terror that gripped my heart of hearts, that shattered my bones, that drained my marrow, that tore my sinews apart, that divided my flesh, while unceasingly I chanted within myself: “Flee,” poor wretch, “like a sparrow” (Ps. 10 [11]:2) to places wholly uninhabited and deserted, for it is out of the question, utterly out of the question for you to achieve peace and quiet until you find a place whence any inmixtion of worldly men is completely excluded, a tabernacle of peace for yourself and those with you, an habitation devoted to the utmost to the work of salvation.

[A9.] Being so minded, I discovered that the brothers’ choice in this matter was in harmony with mine. They had discussed it already and suggested an island to the east of the Icarian sea, far removed from the mainland and the prestigious islands (this little island is called Patmos), as being the uttermost wilderness, unknown to man, a place where life flows untroubled, whose harbor is inaccessible to regular shipping.¹⁸ In short, desire for this island completely took possession of me, a desire made more acute because here had dwelt the Apostle that Christ loved, [St. John] the virgin Evangelist. Here he had his famous vision, his all-blessed ecstasy and change, here his exalted and heavenly initiation into theology. Here the Gospel was dictated in the thunder of God’s voice. Taking all this into consideration, when I compare Patmos to Sinai, I set the former as far above the latter, and account it first, as I set grace above the shadow, truth above appearances, the spirit above the letter and the Gospel above the Law of the Tablets.

So, invoking the aid and influence of heaven, I addressed myself to our pious and God-governed monarch, pre-eminent among emperors, the lord Alexios [I Komnenos (1081–1118)]. I am introduced into his presence, he deigns to give me a kind reception. I have speech with his divine Majesty immediately. I acquaint him with what is in my mind, relate my aim, reveal my desire, plead fervently to be given the island of Patmos, beg to have it as an imperial gift, free of all obligations.

But the most powerful emperor, while on the one hand freely and royally extending to us his personal good will, yet begged our miserable self (all but inclining that crowned head to us!) not to persist in our aim, but to accept the government of a mountain called Kellia and Zagora¹⁹ (for it had been given to monks of old). Perhaps I would have yielded to the insistence of his imperial [p. 65] majesty, if I had not found the monks settled on this mountain far from what I hoped in their habits, little to my mind and nothing to my purpose, unsuited to the solitary life (I do not

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wish to sound tiresome!) for they were entirely lacking in exact instruction. When it became clear, even to the emperor, that these monks were completely unacceptable for my purpose, I again begged and beseeched his imperial majesty to accede to my wish concerning Patmos. This time, with the empress of blessed memory, the emperor's mother,²⁰ also interceding for me and urging this course, the most powerful emperor granted the request of our miserable self.

Finally, to make a long story short, I renounced in favor of the fisc all my possessions received from Skenourios and others, on Kos and at Strobilos, retaining only the two estates on the island of Leros given me in full possession by this oft-mentioned Skenourios and by Kaballourios. In exchange I received by imperial chrysobull²¹ the whole island of Patmos, forfeited by the fisc for good, as well as the neighboring islets of Narkioi and Leipso, as also the two estates of Leros which I owned before, as already mentioned, viz. Parthenion and Temenion.

[A10.] The chrysobull for the lot turned out all I could wish for, all I had asked, completely satisfactory, to the effect that both such other properties as I had received and also Patmos itself, the whole island, were completely unburdened, exempt from all fiscal obligation, and from any servitude whatsoever, as the chrysobull itself sets forth more clearly and more expressly. [It laid down] further that no laymen with women and children might reside on Patmos, nor young men in their boyish prime, before their beard appears, nor eunuchs. For I strove, from the word "go," as they say, to remove any occasion of devilish abuse, to eliminate utterly all occasions of trouble, to cut away the roots of error.

That was, of course, why I implored the most powerful emperor to insert this desire of mine also into the chrysobull of gift. For sure inserted it was, though at first the emperor absolutely refused to agree to it, saying that it would prove a handicap to the monastery not to possess a few lay subjects, living on the island with women, under the yoke of matrimony, to carry out the agricultural and other heavier duties of the monastery. Indeed he was, in Zeno's words, "dipping into his mind,"²² as the turn of events made clear later, and [p. 66] the heart of the king, being in the hand of God (cf. Prov. 21:1), out of its abundance of piety, as the text puts it, prophesied better than I what was in the monastery's interest. But let us return to the point whence we digressed.

[A11.] Partly by exchange but, all in all, we may say by imperial gift, the matter went ahead. The chrysobull was finally written out, I took leave of the emperor and was dismissed after enjoying auspicious and truly imperial good treatment. I sailed for Kos, attended by one of our God-guarded emperor's men,²³ to whom I surrendered for the fisc all my real estate at Strobilos and on the island of Kos, receiving for myself the whole island of Patmos and the other property mentioned above.

The loneliness of the island made me leap for joy. I delighted in its tranquility, rejoiced that it was untrodden. Its remoteness and dreariness were to me a treasure of cheerfulness. But the brothers who had come with me, though they had shown every sign of eagerness at first, now, suddenly, like a spun coin, came down on the other side. They were uncomfortable, distressed, aggrieved. They remembered the charms of Kos and hated the narrow confines and harshness of Patmos. They blamed the step taken, found nothing to praise in the dispensation I had adopted; what had been done seemed foolish to them, risky, harmful, ruinous. It was clear that they thought (and

behind our back they murmured) that we had given gold for copper. They shirked work on the building, evaded obeying my orders, factions appeared, doubts besieged them, they were in extreme distress and their minds full of trouble.

Finally they made their aim clear, dividing into two groups of opposite opinions, of which the first and largest proposed to leave us, and in fact did so, after first asking forgiveness for their slackness or rather pusillanimity, and receiving it from us immediately. The other group, smaller but sound, those to wit, who chose to endure with our unworthy self hardships and death, gave themselves up to the accomplishment of my purpose, one, I may say so before God, profitable to the soul. They set about restoring me, they stimulated me to the building waiting to be done, whetted my zeal, encouraged me. "We" they said "will serve you whatever happens. We will obey your God-pleasing instructions, we will die obeying your orders."

[A12.] Therefore I too, with renewed courage, possessed by love of Patmos for the sake of [St. John] the Theologian beloved of our Lord, along with the remaining brothers, who revered me, took it as the term of our long wandering, as our [p. 67] everlasting rest, at least as far as mortal life goes. We immediately began laying the foundations and building, faithful to our aim. We built round a wall, laboring with all our might at raising this wall to make it into a fort. Then it was I understood that my original purpose of having no married man live on the island, because of the women and children, was unrealizable, and I remembered the emperor, his truly imperial intelligence and prophetic forecast in this matter, and I recognized as inspired the infallibility of his conjectures, and I applied all too suitably to myself the proverbial saying of the ancients about afterthought: "After the event, even a simpleton knows the answer" and: "When he has been hurt the fisherman will learn sense."²⁴

[A13.] As a result, and not finding any unmarried laymen to work, at building to begin with and thereafter permanently at the heavy work of the monastery, I admitted perforce a few men with the wives they were tied to, to live, as you can see, on our island here of Patmos. Not, however, in uncontrolled confusion, not wherever they thought fit, but segregated in a separate part of the island, indeed just as they may now be seen to have settled. So that, if I am able to go, as I intend, before dying, and have audience of my most pious and sacred emperor, this matter will certainly be set right at my request, by an imperial concession. For I am confident the Emperor's most discerning mind will not despise this request either, but will resume his own earlier opinion, and that which was vetoed because of my mistaken insistence his most powerfulness will approve, and at last give it proper effect.

If, however, I pay the debt of nature before, I wish and direct that laymen with their women-folk and children be admitted to residence upon the island on no other terms than at present, under me. [Their settlement] shall be and remain right away from the monastery, in well-defined limits at one end of the island, viz. at the northern end,²⁵ from the promontory called Baios to the one called St. Nicholas at Eudelos, and as far as St. Marina. Outside this [limit], [there will be] no residence in wedlock; nor, assuredly, are their wives or children to go beyond the prescribed boundaries and into the island's interior. This I forbid absolutely, and bind [the monastic community] under pain of my curse, to keep this command of mine inviolate and unshaken so long as this world shall endure.²⁶

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As for the men of lay condition, they shall serve and remain available for the work of the monastery, in the monastery building or elsewhere, wherever the superior or the steward may order, for [p. 68] five whole days of each week. On Friday evening, taking a gift of food,²⁷ let them go to their homes. This was what they themselves, of their own choice, preferred and asked to do, so as to have two days to enjoy the bath, rest and home life, returning after Sunday to the monastery, at crack of dawn on Monday, to prosecute the tasks of the monastery according to the instructions then given them, with no sign of slacking or idling. As for my brothers, the monks that now are and will be in the future in my monastery, I command that none of them ever visit the houses of the laymen, except the steward, and he only on rare occasions when it shall be necessary in connection with pressing and unavoidable work to be done for the monastery; furthermore, he is to have two brothers to go with him.

[A14.] Such are my wishes and orders concerning the residence of laymen on the island. No light consideration has led me to accept in some measure and tolerate it; [no indeed,] but rather overwhelming necessity, as God knows to whom all secrets are known. Therefore I am taking precautions, instituting serviceable rules, and I conjure you vehemently to observe them, as they stand and unaltered.

But if any of the laymen should ever come to such a pitch of folly and recklessness as to dare to slight the boundaries set, and allow his own wife or daughter or, quite simply, any woman, whatever her relationship or connection with himself, to trespass deeper into the island, in breach of the above regulations, we order that he be expelled immediately from the island, and forcibly driven out with all that belong to him, however valuable he may be, even if you think it better to do without any other than without him for the monastery's work.

As for the monks, if at any time one of them should make light of the rule laid down, and go off without the steward, without an order of the superior, into the houses of the laity, that is to say where he is liable to meet a woman, he shall be subject to penance, dry bread and abstinence from wine for twenty days; if, that is to say, he has committed this fault once only and immediately shown bitter regret. But should one of the monks fall victim twice or even thrice (merely to say such a thing is unbearable!) to this terrible and pernicious sin of disobedience and contempt, the superior shall cut him off like gangrene or some pestilential disease from the monastery and its domain, that he may learn and know that it is neither pleasing to God nor sanctioned by divine law to "remove the ancient boundaries" (cf. Deut. 19:14) [i.e., the rules] "that our fathers fittingly laid down" (cf. Prov. 23:10), and also that the whole [p. 69] community of the brethren, through the loss of this "sinner who walked lawlessly" (II Thess. 3:6), may [learn to] heed all the rules assiduously and without transgression; for "Cast out" says he "a pestilent person from the council and strife shall go out with him" (Prov. 22:10).

After this introduction to our testament, viz. the chapter on laymen, with the injunctions to my very dear children and brothers, which they are to preserve and guard as the means to an untroubled mind and a life free from danger, I will now proceed to the rest of my dispositions for you in your condition as monks.

[A15.] Come now, listen to me intently, most dear and beloved children, hear and understand the things that are said. Among our good things, I will start with the one that most makes us what we

are, the most comprehensive. What could this be other than our life together as a community, our spiritual unity and companionship? “What other way of life is brighter or more exalted or more full of grace for man?” to quote Basil the Great; absolutely none, if indeed this incomparable achievement is properly to be called human and not angelic. For certainly those true ascetics who observed cenobitic discipline rigorously, truly emulated the angels, presenting, in their virtues, their sharing of everything, their way of living, a perfect copy of the angelic condition. “Communion of life may be called perfect where private property is banished, whence conflict of wills is expelled, where everything is held in common, souls, wills, bodies and those things that nurture the body and procure its well-being; common the struggles, common the merchandise of hope, common the crowns, so that in several bodies a single soul is seen, and several bodies are revealed as the instruments of one soul.”²⁸ The life that is worthy to be praised according to the Ascetic Rules of Basil the Great is the one you and those who come after you will pursue living here.

[A16.] This my monastery of [St. John] the Evangelist and Theologian, with its present belongings and those that shall accrue to it and be acquired in addition, is most surely to be free and self-governing, subject to neither imperial nor ecclesiastical rights. It shall not, by any bias whatsoever, fall into the hands of any private or official person, not even in the form of *ephoreia*,²⁹ but shall remain independent eternally. No man in the world shall have power either to abolish and overthrow the aforesaid godly cenobitic rule of life in our monastery, or to attempt, for any cause or reason whatsoever, to enslave this monastery or any of its dependencies and set a debased stamp on its liberty; whoever, without any exception, should be led to make such an attempt, his fate shall be condemnation with Dathan and Abirom,³⁰ whoever he may be. So much for that. We will now address ourselves immediately to the remaining dispositions. [p. 70]

[A17.] Before all else it is assuredly fitting to speak of our true employment, that which has priority over all others, I mean the doxology of praise to God. For it is in view of this one thing that, from very “not being” (of this I am convinced) “we have been brought into being”³¹ and adorned with reason, in order to honor the Creator with uninterrupted hymn-singing. Besides everything else, the fact that the character and pursuit of the monastic life is called angelic leads to this conclusion. Hence it is that God’s creature, man, is shown to be, in the words of [Gregory] the Theologian, “the angels’ descant,” repeating what they do as closely as his nature will allow.³²

Then let this hymn be uninterrupted and unlimited. Whence our blessed and inspired fathers, having broken off every kind of human relationship and earthly care, clinging spiritually with all their might to their supreme desire, spent the whole “time of their exile” (I Pet. 1:17) in prayers and spiritual hymns, seeking, not carelessly but steadfastly, “the kingdom of heaven within them” (Luke 17:21) according to the Lord’s saying in the Gospels. Because of their constant prayer and their unwavering hope, they found it, having traded prudently and most profitably, and, like the merchant who is deemed happy, bought for all the visible world the pearl that may well be called precious (Matt. 13:46). They had heard and understood the holy psalmist David shouting “Let my mouth be filled with praise that I may hymn thy glory, and thy majesty all the day” (Ps. 70 [71]:8), and again “I will bless the Lord at all times, his praise shall be continually in my mouth” (Ps. 33 [34]:1), and the Apostle exhorting: “Pray without ceasing” (I Thess. 5:17), but also our Lord and

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Savior himself, on one occasion weaving into a parable the obligation to pray and not lose heart (Luke 18:1), on another giving an explicit order and saying: “Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation” (Matt. 26:41). [The fathers] obeyed eagerly and observed the [command] strictly.

They, as I have been saying, dedicated their whole life to the spirit. We, while acknowledging our own weakness, should never cease from self-reproach, nor yet should we neglect our duty of praying with all our might. We trust in the mercies of our benevolent God and Savior, Jesus Christ, he who, freely indeed and so freely, saves those whose hope he is, that we shall not be utterly cast out nor be deceived of our good hope, when we have true mediators and intercessors: the most holy Virgin Mother of God, who, transcending nature, bore him in the flesh, and the beloved disciple, the Evangelist and Theologian, the great John, I mean, the virgin and embosomed. For the source of wisdom and goodness is able to accept Paul’s planting as [p. 71] Paul’s, as well as Apollos’ watering and the widow’s two mites, the humility of the tax collector and Manasses’ confession.³³

I command, therefore, and dispose that the singing in church and the whole order of psalm-singing and prayers, to put it summarily, in this holy and venerable monastery of ours be conducted according to the *typikon* of the lavra at Jerusalem of our holy father Sabas,³⁴ the great desert teacher. On all feasts of the Lord, as also on the Sundays of Lent, for vigils and the long evening service the order of celebration shall be unalterably that set out in the *typikon* alluded to. On other Sundays you may relax it somewhat, and take things more easily in the matter of vigils. The superior’s discernment shall decide.

I direct you, therefore, to draw up a *typikon* or *synaxarion* for the church giving in detail the exact order of psalm-singing and prayers celebrated throughout the year by the said *Hierosolymitai* or *Hagiosabitai*, and, completed in the way we have indicated, it is to be used and adhered to by you, my prudent brothers and children. It is time now to consider the choosing and election of those who, after my death, will be your successive superiors and assume the dignity of the superiorship.

[A18.] It is my wish that the future superior be elected in accordance with the general consensus and common vote of the preeminent brothers, indeed of all the brotherhood of our holy monastery. Both in the history of the *Life* of our great father Pachomios³⁵ and in the *Life* of our holy and inspired father Euthymios³⁶ I found this preferred as right. Furthermore, that most memorable of emperors, Justinian, legislated in clear terms to this effect when considering this type of election in his *Institutes*.³⁷

Consequently all the brothers, taking with them the superior-elect, shall enter the church. After the priest has praised God the *trisagion* shall be sung by all, followed by the dismissal hymn and the final prayer. Only then shall the priest take the pastoral staff lying inside the holy screen, before the altar, put it in the hand of the superior-elect, and kiss him. Then the brothers, one after another, shall kiss him and, after this salutation, they shall take their superior (as he now is), seat him in the superior’s seat, intoning the “Worthy,” and file past, each one making the accustomed obeisance with reverence.

Henceforth he, having been elected to the authority of pastor and master—it would be better to say that he has taken the place of father and head to all the [p. 72] occupants of the monastery

and all dependent on it—must, first of all undoubtedly, rule all the brothers here practicing the ascetic life, as one caring for and protecting his genuine sons³⁸ and his own limbs, taking thought and providing in the same way for the improvement of their reasonable souls and for the sustenance of their bodies, and, on the other hand, manage and plan all the monastery's affairs generally, both through the brothers appointed to each service, and of his own authority as he himself decides. For if, to quote the canons,³⁹ we entrust to him the precious souls of men, for not one of which is the whole world a worthy exchange (Matt. 16:26), what is the proper priority between human and material? As for those who are placed under his authority, from the first and most honored to the seeming last and meanest of disciples and servants, they shall preserve their willingness and ready obedience with all reverence and humility, never forgetting that body and head are organically one, adapted and joined in a mutual relationship.

[A19.] Then come to me, father and brother in the Lord, whoever you may be, as you assume this yoke of service and authority, for now to you, the superior, my words are addressed. “Gird up thy loins like a man” (Job 38:3) as it is written, and receive the words of my lips and the word of my command. If thou observest it thyself, Solomon the wise asserts, “thy ear shall hear wisdom, thou shalt apply thy heart to wisdom, and thou [in thy turn] shalt apply it to the admonition of thy son” (cf. Prov. 2:2). “For the commandment is a lamp and the teaching a light” (cf. Prov. 6: 23). Behold, I commit to you, in the presence of God and his chosen angels, all the brotherhood in Christ. Consider, then, how you are going to take them to you, adopt them, guide and keep them, cherishing and watching over them as your dearest limbs, with the full measure of love; rouse your soul eagerly, lead them in courage, in all good works, see that all is well ordered, defend them, lead them into the place of virtue, make them heirs to the land of impassibility, you yourself be a living pattern and model of good deeds for them, no “bad painter of virtue’s wonders” but rather (to borrow again [Gregory] the Theologian’s tongue) surpass those beneath you in virtue more than you surpass them in rank.⁴⁰

Never, my brother, prize anything more than the love of God, nor, I earnestly beg you, think anything whatsoever of more profit or more important than the salvation of the souls entrusted to you. Remember that he who is a good shepherd and not a hireling must face danger for the flock, and even, in the words of the Gospel, lay down his life for the safety of those under his care (cf. John 10:11–12). A potter, as the saying goes, does not learn his craft on a big jar.⁴¹ [p. 73] He who is not imbued with and fully conscious of this priority is in danger of finding addressed to himself the threat spoken in God’s name by the prophet to the bad shepherds: “Awake, my sword, against the shepherds, I will strike the shepherds, and I will make my hand felt by the shepherds, and I will require my sheep at their hands” (cf. Zach. 13:7). Why? “Because they do not strengthen that which is weak, they do not bind up that which is broken, they do not turn back those that stray, they do not look for the lost nor guard the sound” (cf. Ezech. 34:4, 10). This exhortation will suffice for the superior.

[A20.] However, since our nature is to some extent unreliable, and no animal is so quick to turn and changeable as man, I think it opportune to say just a little also about the superior who does not carry out his duties properly. If the superior should ever, in any way, set at nought any of these our dispositions in the present document, whether those above that we began with or those that we

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may add between here and the end, or if he should be seen corrupting the severity of the cenobitic way of life, perhaps out of his own fondness for pleasure, or if he should wish to misappropriate the monastery's revenues, and be convicted of stealing, I do not wish everyone immediately to stand up against him in a disorderly manner. The more preeminent brothers, those vested with authority, the steward, the ecclesiarch and the priests, may, with great mildness and suitable respect, draw his attention to his fault and point out the value of filial and brotherly love, in a generalized attempt to reform him; and this, not once but repeatedly, in a pleasant way with great gentleness. If he comes to himself and abstains from the forbidden activity, he shall be as before and remain superior, but if, even when they have exhorted him, both individually and in a body, he sticks obstinately to his evil ways and is completely incorrigible, I command that he be removed from his office without confusion or strife, and another elected and chosen in the manner prescribed.

As executor of my decisions concerning the election of successive future superiors, I institute the all-seeing eye of Justice, and I command that the election of a superior as well as the removal of one who may be shown unsatisfactory (which God forbid!) or incorrigible, proceed in complete independence of human passion. Should any such thing occur, be assured of this: he who has betrayed integrity in these matters will not escape the dire threat of the just Judge in that day when that which is hidden shall be revealed, when "The inward thought of man" in the words of the godly David "shall sing praises to God, and the residues of his inward thought shall be reckoned as religious festivals for him" (Ps. 75 [76]:10). So much for this. [p. 74]

[A21.] Instructions must also be given for the election and promotion of the holders of offices. The superior shall choose among the whole brotherhood the one whose virtue, reputation and activity are outstanding, shall inform the preeminent members of the brotherhood, and appoint him steward of all possessions and property belonging to the monastery and around it. A *trisagion* is to be celebrated in the church in the presence of the brotherhood, and following it the appointment shall be made by the superior according to custom. As from then the steward shall carry out all his duties according to the will of the superior, without whose consent, knowledge and decision he is to do absolutely nothing.

In the same way the superior shall appoint as ecclesiarch a man distinguished for his piety, versed in all aspects of ecclesiastical order and discipline, and as conversant with it as possible. This ecclesiarch shall take charge of the books and in particular the title deeds of the monastery, and anything else belonging to the church, sign for them and take good care of them.

Two treasurers are also to be promoted in the manner described. The one will account in the greatest detail for expenditure from monies accruing to the community through the mercy of God and the inexhaustible sea of his bountiful and munificent goodness, whatever their origin. All entries whatsoever shall be signed for and delivered in presence of the superior, the steward, the ecclesiarch and, naturally, the treasurer himself. Sealed by them, the money will be entrusted to the keeping of the ecclesiarch, as keeper of valuables and things useful to the monastery. It is to be drawn on and given to the treasurer for day-to-day expenditure. The superior shall decide without any argument, how much is to be given [at a time]: a few *nomismata*, enough for a period of a month, perhaps, or a little more or less. Whenever the treasurer has exhausted that which was

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given before in expenditures for the monastery, ordered by the superior and accounted for in detail, the persons specified above shall check and reckon them up, and a certain sum shall be drawn again and given to [the treasurer] in the same way. This is the way in which entries of money and outlays shall continue to be handled.

The other treasurer shall be in charge of textiles, both acquisitions and outlays, the brothers' clothes and coverings. In short he shall oversee all that pertains to the clothing of the monks in the monastery, and also that of the lay workers. In addition, all receipts of wax from whatever source, and particularly the oil. The ecclesiarch is to be supplied with both of these, [p. 75] on the order and directions of the superior, every four months enough oil and candles for the service of the church, after they have been processed under the supervision of the superior, as he shall judge proper, after which they shall be delivered to the ecclesiarch.

One more pious and capable man shall be promoted by the superior, to receive and look after all iron, that is, iron implements, as they come in or are bought. The food of the brotherhood and any other expense occurred for lay workers belong to his department.

A wine steward must likewise be designated; a man of temperance and reliability, to check in and out all wine entering the monastery. Also a cellarer, from among the most pious and experienced of the brotherhood, one particularly endowed with reasonableness, understanding and gentleness, a suitable person for this office. Two assistant cellarers and a cook are to be given him to be under his orders and assist him. Another of the brotherhood shall be promoted refectorian.

In short, all who, in absolute freedom, dead to their individual wills, in true and unadulterated faith, with genuine zeal and resolution, are unremittingly obedient, without hesitation or argument of any kind, to the orders of the superior, in the assurance that they are directly serving God and the angels whenever, in obedience to fatherly instructions, these work for the brothers. Nay, more, for something greater and more sublime. They are imitating, in so far as may be, Christ himself, our God, who said clearly in the Gospels: "I came not to be served but to serve" (Matt. 20:28), and did as he said, [so they] shall surely be heirs of his ineffable good things if they do their jobs honestly.

[A22.] No personal possession shall be allowed to any of the brothers except the necessary clothes and coverings. I call those necessary without which one cannot live. But our wealth, our "money," let it be, for every one of us, poverty, poverty that works all virtues, that gives consistency to our ascetic regimen, in order that without strife you may strive to outdo one another, fighting the good fight. But gold, silver and every material and earthly thing, the possession of them at any rate, loathe from the bottom of your heart.

Let none of you undertake any handiwork for gain, but if anyone practices calligraphy or any other pursuit, let each, with the knowledge of the superior and by his order, perform the work for which he is naturally suited; materials will be supplied by the monastery and the completed work returned to the monastery.

[A23.] It is not inappropriate to mention [p. 76] those too of our brothers who may come to aspire to the solitary life. For since much of the island is deserted, and it can show sites completely isolated and undisturbed, I think that this exalted way of life—hard to achieve for those still troubled by passions, not to say wholly unattainable—will yet challenge some.

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Therefore I command that if the superior see a [brother] who has already earned a solid good reputation in the cenobitic life and the exercise of submission, choosing, after this beginning, to wrestle with the solitary life and eager to strip for the fray, he should consent, and do not prevent his gaining a greater good. A father does not grudge his sons the spiritual ascent they feel a rational urge to pursue.

At the same time, he is not simply to consent without further ado, nor leave those who have chosen to be solitaries to live independently and follow their own judgment, as though they had now cast off the yoke of submission and freed their neck from the superior's leash. Never let this happen, not even once. Such a thing must not seem tolerable to any of those who after us shall rule our most holy fold, nor to their piously shepherded flock of Christ's reasonable sheep, my dear children in the Lord.

Let the aspiring solitary, whoever he may be, have as shepherd and supervisor the superior, preserving his subjection and his obedience wholly unshaken. He shall settle by himself, well away from the monastery, by a cliff, in a cave or cell, counseled by his superior, busied with hymns, prayers and inspired spiritual labors. Let the superior provide him with material for some handiwork [to ward off] *akedia*. The product, once finished as ordered, is to be turned in to the superior, in the same way as by the other brothers engaged in handiwork, as we have already prescribed.

[A24.] The solitary's diet, for five days of the week, is to be entirely uncooked and raw; he shall eat once a day, after the ninth hour, dry food and the necessary supplies will be given to him, at the superior's order, from the monastery. But for the Saturday liturgy he shall come to the monastery, eat with the brotherhood, take part with them in the office of lamplighting and the vigil, remaining for divine liturgy on Sunday, partaking of the holy mysteries of Christ if the superior permits (for without his permission neither the [solitary] nor any other of the brothers will be allowed to partake of the consecrated elements). Then, after again enjoying the common table of the brethren, on the evening of the same day, viz. Sunday, taking victuals for the coming week, or, rather, for the five [p. 77] week-days, and material for his handiwork, he shall return to his lair. He is to do this regularly, not speaking to anyone when he comes to the religious services except the superior alone, unless he in person directs the solitary to converse with another of the brothers.

If one of the Lord's feasts should fall on a weekday, with an all-night vigil to be held in the monastery, on these occasions too the solitary shall present himself and stay, exactly as on any Sunday.

When, however, he is in the solitude of his cell he shall neither open to nor converse with any who approach, unless he has first made sure they are sent by the superior. He shall never betake himself to that part [of the island] where we made clear at the beginning of these rules that the lay population are to live. He shall take no initiative, whether small or great, whether harmful or beneficial (to put it in a nutshell rather than itemize each point separately), without the will and approval of the superior.

Should any one of those who have embraced the solitary way of life be found doing otherwise, and should he fail to make suitable reparation but opinionatedly persist in his transgression, the superior may straightway bring him back, willy nilly, into the general body of the brotherhood, to remain thenceforth with all the others in the monastery, reduced to the rank of novice. If it

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appear that he does not submit to this, he shall be expelled irrevocably from both monastery and island, and cut off as a rotten limb from our undefiled flock.

This severity is appropriate for those who aspire so high. No less can be required of such as determine to pursue with submission the solitary vocation in the Lord on this island of ours, or rather of the beloved of Christ, [St. John] the Theologian. The number of them, viz. of those who successively, in holes in the rocks and natural shelters or in the solitary cells of anchorites, shall follow the solitary way of life in the manner we have prescribed, shall not exceed twelve, even if there are others who would choose this way of life and are considered suitable. So much for them.

[A25.] I had wished to lay down here express rules for charity loved-of-God, and feeding the poor or hospitality, through which, to quote Scripture, “They entertained angels unawares” (Heb. 13:2), besides care for men shipwrecked or otherwise in straits, finding themselves, whether intentionally or through some accident, on this island and begging for help. For I am exceedingly concerned about all such, the truth is, in anguish. I am burned up. So far, however, the monastery has not enjoyed sufficient resources, and I did not think that I should lay down a rule on the quantities to be given. Nevertheless I exhort and enjoin in a brotherly fashion in Christ all those my spiritual fathers and brothers who will successively govern our [p. 78] monastery to give all possible thought to what I am saying, to provide for the poor and always attach great importance to caring for them, never neglecting the needy, but giving to them in proportion to the means of the monastery.

[A26.] The reception of those who come to the monastery from the world in order to renounce it and enter upon the ascetic life in accordance with the rules set out above, must be spoken of. Whenever a layman arrives asking to be admitted on the grounds that he wishes to enter the lists for Christ [and prove his mettle] in submission, first he must be carefully interrogated by the superior, and closely examined concerning his circumstances, lest he be come to the monastery not simply out of the love of God and desire to save his soul, but constrained by earthly contingencies, creditors, perhaps, or extreme poverty and disinclination to work, or numerous children, so that he is come to the monastery as to a refuge that will furnish escape and dispense from effort. If his initiative is recognized as having this kind of basis, if these are the cracked and rotten foundations he is laying for the laborious edifice of virtue, he must be allowed as much assistance as is possible, but, with benevolence, alms and the appropriate admonition, he must be sent away.

If, however, it appear that the new arrival be in truth come for the right reason and with an aim pleasing to God, let him be received in accordance with canon. Let him strip for the fray and prepare for the testing. The superior shall exhort him continually, introduce him to our way of life and confirm [his vocation]; this for not more than forty days. Then, in the presence of the brotherhood, he shall read aloud to him the seventeenth of the thirty chapters of the so-called *Lesser Ascetics* of Basil the Great, beginning: “He must also without doubt believe that he who has once joined a spiritual brotherhood may not divide or separate himself from those to whom he has been joined etc.,” to the end of the chapter.⁴² So shall he receive the introductory robe⁴³ and the black covering for his head.

Henceforth he shall wear the robe of renunciation, as the fathers have called it, and he shall be exercised in the works of submission until the time comes to tonsure him, as a prudent decision

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may deem advantageous, and in accordance with the full content of the fifth canon of the First-and-Second council [of Constantinople] gathered in the church of the Holy Apostles, which says clearly: “The holy council defines that none shall be deemed worthy of the monastic habit until a three-year period of trial has proved them and shown them worthy of so exalted a way of life. [p. 79] This ruling, it prescribes, must always be observed, unless a severe illness should make it necessary to abridge the period of trial, or in the case of a pious man who led a monastic life in the world. For this kind of man a six-month period will suffice for a complete testing.”⁴⁴ So much for those who come from the world. However it is probable that some will come from other monasteries; in their case too the legislation of the divine canons shall apply, as well as the rulings of Basil the Great in the relevant *Ascetic Treatises*.⁴⁵

[A27.] But, O Savior Christ, enhypostatic Word of God; O thou who art without beginning equally with the Father, of one substance and one honor with the Spirit; O New Adam that hast put on all the Old Adam except sin, both remaining what thou art and become what he is in order to make him what thou art; preserving unmingled the identities of both natures even after the ineffable union; suffering impassibly for him who had suffered; dying in the flesh for mortal [Adam];⁴⁶ descending into Hell for the souls captive in Hell, and, by thy divine power, “breaking to pieces the brazen gates,” to quote the prophet, and “crushing the iron bars” (Ps. 106 [107]:16), destroying death and “trampling the Devil who has power over death” (Heb. 62:14), and through our clay raising us up anew in thy person, coexalting us and seating us with thyself on the throne of the Father, glorifying us with thyself to eternal life that is not subject to death, receive my pitiable poor prayer, through the intercession of the Virgin Mother of God, who supernaturally and ineffably bore thee, and that of thy beloved disciple, [St. John] the Theologian, do not leave without effect and void the instructions that I, in order to be pleasing to thee, have given to my brothers and children, do not let them fall by the wayside or on stony ground to be trampled underfoot, as the holy and all-sacred Gospel says. Let them not dry up and bear no fruit, but, O Lord and God!, let them be operative and effective, bearing manifold fruit to the sower.⁴⁷

[A28.] For my part, brothers and fathers, I have laid the foundation as the grace of God approved: here it is in this rule. As for you, let each of you look to himself and consider how he shall build. For “The work of each and its quality shall be revealed” (I Cor. 3:13), as has been said, and “Blessed is that servant whose master when he comes shall find him doing as he ordered” (Matt. 24:46). Hear, you, the superior, the words of the great theologian Gregory: “This is the rule of all spiritual government, always to disregard our own interest for the sake of the others.”⁴⁸ Then love your brotherhood, all those who are under your rule, strive for them as for your own children, [p. 80] cherish them as your very bowels, give to each the direction suited and appropriate to him, to the strong, the wretched, the sagacious, the ignorant, to the young, to the old. “Be urgent thyself” as the Apostle says “in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort” (II Tim. 4:2), reconcile, correct. Prescribe for each suitable treatment, neither for the sake of flattery and to gain a reputation for mildness, forbearing from correcting offenders, nor, out of odium or human pettiness, punishing indiscriminately.

You, on the other hand, my children and brothers, obey the commands of a father, be attentive

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to all the rest and also to decorum and orderly behavior; send idle talk and immoderate laughter to the Devil; detest inopportune meetings, factions, cliques, strife; do not, anyone, eat or drink in secret, or purloin in any manner anything belonging to the monastery; do not, any of you, receive a letter without the superior's knowledge, or send one clandestinely. Preserve union among yourselves, discretion, brotherly love and anything else these entail; speak peaceably. Towards your spiritual fathers in Christ, the superiors, preserve genuine and unfeigned love, trustworthiness and obedience. At least, if you wish to show yourselves above temptation and out of reach of the Enemy's arrows. May "The God of peace make you fit for all that is good" (Heb. 13:21), and may we be made worthy by his grace, flock and shepherds together, of eternal life, for his is all glory, honor and worship for ever. Amen +

+ This present rule has been guaranteed by my autograph signature, May 8th, 14th indiction, in the year 6599 [= 1091 A.D.] +

+ I, the worthless and sinful monk, Christodoulos of Latros, in confirmation of this my rule, signed with my own hand +

Testament [B]

Private Testament of Saint Christodoulos [p. 81]

+ I, the monk Christodoulos of Latros, with my own hand signed my name at the beginning +

[B1.] Alas, how are we wretched men deceived, how vainly do we labor; we despise the things of heaven while exerting ourselves for the earthly . . . for the mystery of the . . . and the violent separation of body and soul . . . in the words of the prophet: "O Lord, have mercy on me . . . lest he snatch my soul, like a lion, and there be none to save or deliver me," because "there is no man shall live and not see death" (cf. Ps. 7:2; Ps. 88 [89]:48).

[B2.] Considering this, I too, the humble monk Christodoulos of Latros, sick in body and bedridden, but with my mind emphatically unimpaired and sound (for, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, I enjoy robust health as far as that goes) yet in fear of the doubtful and inexorable hour of death, lest, as many . . . it come upon me and tear me away from everything here on a day and at an hour I do not foresee, by the present deed, written and signed, dispose of everything that has come to me by imperial gift as follows—in fact the two islands whole and entire, viz. Patmos and Leipso, with the two estates on the island of Leros, Parthenion and Temenion, which likewise are mine in full possession by virtue of a sacred and worshipful chrysobull⁴⁹ of donation [granted] by our most powerful and sacred emperor, the Lord Alexios Komnenos, with all tax exemptions of whatever description, [exemptions] maintained through the protection of his sacred Majesty, as the same sacred chrysobull sets forth more clearly.

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[B3.] On these islands, as I approached—at the time the worshipful chrysobull was delivered to me—wishing to build the church in the name of the all-praiseworthy beloved apostle, the virgin evangelist, John the Divine, [the church, I mean,] on Patmos, and to consecrate to him a monastery of pious men . . . and the monks and brothers under me. But first I began work on a fort, and raised it, too, as high as I was able, but sailed away leaving it unfinished, because of the raids of the godless Turks on these islands . . . abandoned . . . all there were on these islands . . . the small animals and other goods of which . . . the aforesaid monastery. It is my wish and my will, concerning all these that are left [p. 82] me, with the aforesaid islands, to leave the Jerusalem monk Arsenios Skenourios in my place as master and wielder of authority in the modest monastery of the venerable and beloved [St. John the] Theologian on the island of Patmos, with all its belongings, as listed in the sacred and worshipful chrysobull⁵⁰ of our most powerful and sacred emperor.

[B4.] Likewise I also leave to the same monastery the four boats. Item one *koutroubin* contracted out to John Pankas with . . . two hundred . . . *chiata nomismata*. Item one twin-masted *platidion*, contracted to Basil Euripotes [son] of Moroioannes,⁵¹ at present away . . . forty-two *hyperpera nomismata*. Item one small *platidion*, sent by my pious brethren to Crete from Patmos on the monastery's business . . . of Euripos with . . . of the four boats with [all] the animals . . . the horses and the rest as well as the . . . the ones we have now acquired with the protection of our most powerful and sacred emperor, viz. those on the island of Patmos and those on the two estates of Parthenion and Temenion, and those on Leros and Leipso.

[B5.] If the aforementioned monk, lord Arsenios Skenourios, comes to this same monastery, he is to have all authority and [right of] dominion over it and all its possessions, as specified above, in accordance with the tenor of the sacred and worshipful chrysobull delivered to me. But if he will not accept this office of superior, or if (as I have heard) he is gone to the Lord, I leave it to my spiritual son, the *chartoularios* and patriarchal notary lord Theodosios, nephew of the late lord Basil the *kastrisios*, to come to the said holy monastery, be tonsured there and assume the direction of all the brothers. He shall not have leave to introduce any of his relatives into the said monastery. If, as we said before, lord Arsenios comes and is ready and willing, let him direct it . . . so be it until his death. Second [to him] in the monastery is to be the aforementioned lord Theodosios, after he has been tonsured.

But if, as we said before, the monk Arsenios does not come, let our spiritual brother Theodosios have complete rule over the monastery, receiving from me full and unconditional authority, as I, the said monk Christodoulos, received it from our most powerful and sacred emperor, with this one proviso, that he is not to introduce any of his relatives into the monastery. In everything else [p. 83] he has full authority, within strict monastic observance, taking to himself a rigorous and discreet monk, whoever he chooses and God may send, to instruct him in the spiritual life.

He is not to meet with any opposition, either from the monks or from this instructor we spoke of, but have all the authority and [right of] dominion and inalienable ownership of a master who cannot be removed. He shall sing and pray for our most powerful and sacred emperor, commemorate the whole world and my own unworthiness.

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[B6.] These are the monks left in the monastery: Neophytos, monk; John, monk; Sabbas, monk; Iakobos, monk; Niketas, monk and . . . Ioannikios, monk; Kastellites John; the priest George of Leros, and any children I reared from infancy.⁵² If they are steady and work well in said monastery let them be brothers. But as for the monks Luke, Kyrillos and Zoilos, who rebelled and left me, if they want to come and submit to him I have, with the protection of our most powerful and sacred emperor, endowed with my power, let him receive them and give each his proper place, without its being allowed them, viz. Zoilos, Kyrillos and Luke, or any other monks of this same monastery, to withstand our said *charistikarios*,⁵³ Theodosios the nephew of the *kastrisios*, whatever he may do or purpose; he shall meet with no obstruction from any person whatsoever, himself observing, as we said before, this one proviso concerning his relations, that he shall not harm his soul for their sake. But for all the rest he shall dispose of everything in the monastery without hindrance, increasing its value by building as much as he is able, with the same full power and authority, throughout his life, as the authority I held in the said monastery, thanks to the protection of our most powerful and sacred emperor.

[B7.] Besides all the other things, the monastery is to have all my books too, as the inventory lists them, signed by me with my own hand, which inventory of sacred books I gave to my said spiritual son, lord Theodosios, in order that none of them should go missing.

[B8.] My three nephews, Theophanes, the monk and assistant steward of the Stoudios [monastery], Epiphanius and John, I exclude utterly from my fold. None of them has any power ever, at any time, to go to law or plead against my *charistikarios* or the interests of the monastery.

[B9.] To the monk Theodoretos, when death shall come, I leave nine *chiata nomismata* which he shall receive from my monastery for my soul's salvation, and he shall go where he will.

[B10.] The following holy and sacred icons which I have at [p. 84] Euripos:

Christ, the Mother of God and the Incorporeal [Archangel Michael], painting on wood, on a board

The Crucifixion with the [Saint John] the Theologian

A diptych with the feasts of our Lord

I leave [these] as well to the monastery.

Accounts are to be submitted to the *charistikarios* and the monks on the above-mentioned boats whenever voyages are made by those who have them on contract.

Another icon: the Mother of God painted on wood; I leave it too to the same monastery.

[B11.] As for my nephews mentioned above, I leave them only my blessing.

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[B12.] Most of the monks, after the attack of the infidels, became wanderers and scattered in different places for fear of them. Those who return to the said monastery in submission to the *charistikarios* Theodosios the nephew of the *kastrisios*, in genuine love and good faith, let him receive them.

[B13.] This too I order the said *charistikarios* to observe: he has no power to transfer this monastery to any [other] monastery; its independence is to be preserved and it is to be self-governing to the end of the world, in conformity with the contents of the divine and worshipful chrysobull.

[B14.] Whoever shall dare to invalidate the rules I have laid down, or oppose this my *Private Testament* or this monastery or my aforesaid *charistikarios*, whoever he may be, on him be the curse of the Lord God Creator of all things. Let him be estranged from the blameless faith of Christians, heir to the curse of the three hundred and eighteen holy and inspired fathers as well as that of my sinful self; let his portion be reckoned with those who shouted “Away with him, away with him, crucify the Son of God” (John 19:15).

To this end I set out this my *Private Testament*, written at my bidding by the hand of George, priest and notary of Euripos,⁵⁴ formerly of Strobilos, on Thursday 10th of March at the 9th hour, in the first indiction, in the year 6601 [= 1093 A.D.], having invited witnesses to sign and seal it.

[B15.] I prescribe this too, that . . . the notary and priest George, my spiritual son, the Strobilite, enter this same monastery with his two sons, to embrace the solitary life and to practice submission with the rest of the brotherhood, to be tonsured, he too, in order that the aforesaid *charistikarioi*—whichever of the two it happens to be—may have him. Provision shall be made for him in this monastery, with his two children, and without any difficulties being made, and they are to be warmly attached to him, as I have been.

+ I, Christodoulos of Latros, the least worthy of monks, having dictated this my *Private Testament* and read it, and [p. 85] being satisfied with it in all particulars, signed at the beginning and end, and requested the witnesses I had summoned to sign and affix their seal +

+ I, Leo, priest and *sakellarios* of the city of Euripos . . . witness to the present *Private Testament* of the most venerable monk Christodoulos, at his request, as appears from the text, signed and sealed as witness +

+ I, John, priest and notary of the see of Euripos, witness to the present *Private Testament* of the venerable monk lord Christodoulos, at his request, as the text shows, signed and sealed as witness +

+ I, Photios, unworthy deacon and *protekdikos* . . . witness to the present *Private Testament* of the most venerable monk, the lord Christodoulos, at his request as the text shows, signed and sealed +

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+ . . . priest . . . of the see of Euripos, witness to the *Private Testament* of the most venerable monk, lord Christodoulos, at his request as the text shows, signed and sealed as witness +

+ I, Michael . . . of the see of Euripos, witness to the present *Private Testament* of the most venerable monk lord Christodoulos, at his request as the text shows, signed and sealed as witness +

+ I, Basil, unworthy deacon . . . and notary of Euripos, the Strobilite, witness to the present *Private Testament* of the most reverend monk lord Christodoulos, at his request as the text shows, signed and set my seal +

+ . . . of the see of Euripos, witness to the present *Private Testament* of the most venerable monk lord Christodoulos, at his request signed and set my seal +

Codicil [C]

Codicil of the same holy father

+ I, the monk Christodoulos of Latros, with my own hand signed my name at the beginning +

[C1.] + I, Christodoulos of Latros, humblest of monks, by the present *Codicil* [p. 86] complete my *Private Testament* made earlier, being, through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, sound and firm in mind . . . prescribe further that my *charistikarios*, lord Theodosios [nephew] of [Basil] the *kastrios*, my spiritual son, is empowered to direct . . . the monks . . . and direct, in his [Skenourios'] place, all the monastery's concerns. The aforesaid is to be . . . and . . . and trustworthy. Above all have the fear of God . . . without fraud . . . from him.

[C2.] I am now leaving the monk Neophytos as treasurer of our monastery, to manage and control all the belongings of the monks under me; he is to show all submission to my *charistikarios*, lord Theodosios. The one I said should manage . . . But if he cannot do so while preserving his own tranquility and that of the brothers, if after he has been rebuked two or three times (as laid down in the rule), he stops causing offense and recognizes the authority of the *charistikarios*, confessing his fault, well and good; if not, he shall be expelled, and his place taken by someone who will manage everything . . . justly and piously . . . for the tranquility of the monks, since I have made this *charistikarios* lord of my monastery and of everything dependent on it, not answerable to anyone, just as I ruled in my lifetime, thanks to our most powerful and sacred emperor; accordingly the superior shall not have power to do or perform anything at all of the works relating to the said monastery without the knowledge and consent of the *charistikarios*, but shall manage everything as the latter wishes.

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[C3.] I command that the prayers of the monks be acquitted as strict monastic discipline requires, and in accordance with the prosperity and the possibilities of the said monastery.

[C4.] No layman may sit at the monks' table, save at Easter, Pentecost, the twelve days [of Christmas], Holy Apostles and the Sunday of Cheesefare. The servants working for the monastery⁵⁵ may not sit at table or drink wine till they get a beard; if it is scant, the decision is to rest with the *charistikarios* and the monks responsible for propriety. The monks owe complete submission to the superior entrusted with the administration, as he, in turn, owes submission to the *charistikarios*.

[C5.] You, Epiphanius, my child, the scribe, endeavor to perfect your own philosophy and do not hesitate to embark on eternal philosophy (*viz.* asceticism) but train your uncle in it also. But the deeds of the monastery, Epiphanius, in [the name] of God and as you wish for my blessing, let there be no concealing of a chrysobull or of any other deed, nor of the books you have with you. Give them all up, [p. 87] complete and sound, to the *charistikarios* I am leaving in my place as master of the monastery and of all in it, my spiritual son, lord Theodosios the nephew of the *kastrisios*, unless you want to answer for them in the coming Judgment and retribution. For he will be coming to Constantinople for them and to bid farewell to his brothers and relatives. For all the other possessions of the monastery have been made over to him, as is my wish.⁵⁶ For he gave me his promise to be tonsured as soon as he arrived there, and to appeal over the following matter to our sacred and most powerful emperor: about the monastery on Kos, where I worked myself to the bone, and its possessions. Make haste therefore, to remind lord Andronikos, the chaplain of our sacred empress, for he carries letters with him to our sacred emperor and to the empress. If you wish to have my blessing spare no pains to succeed, and do not neglect my orders and exhortations.

[C6.] Besides all the rest, I have left the monastery all the books which the most holy ecumenical patriarch, lord Nicholas (as God lives I am not lying!), gave me. If ever any attempt be made, whether by my own monastery of Stylos or by any other, to get any share of the books from Latros given me by the most holy patriarch, let him not be heard, and let him draw upon himself the curse of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers,⁵⁷ as well as that of my sinful self. For after meeting with opposition two or three times, I persuaded the bishop to give back three-quarters of the books to Latros, and they were handed over to Hagia Sophia, which was entrusted with looking after the interests of the monastery of Latros. The fourth quarter, composed of unornamented books, was given to me by order of the most holy patriarch, and a *semeioma* and a memorandum of the synod⁵⁸ in session in the great *sekretion* deal with these books.

[C7.] For after Melanoudion⁵⁹ was taken and the vestry of Latros profaned, like those of the other monasteries, by the godless Turks, I sent a boat with soldiers [to] fetch the steward in whose charge they were, and bring him to Kos with the books, and after that I transferred them into the city [of Constantinople]. If I had not done this they would have been totally lost. Most of the said books I acquired through my own labors and at my own expense. That is why (the truth is my witness!) I have disposed of these books too here, in my *Codicil*.⁶⁰

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[C8.] On lord Theophanes, that monk who is so dear to me, and on the priest John, I bestow my blessing, an inexhaustible spiritual treasure.

[C9.] I gave the monk Luke the [p. 88] Cappadocian a promissory note, to recover on one of my boats, whichever should come in first, the 50 *nomismata* he claimed; but [then] I myself gave him one *litra* of good *chiata nomismata* . . . I paid [him] but I did not get my promissory note back. If he should ever try to claim these same *nomismata* from my boats or from my *charistikarios*, his claim must not be received, and the promissory note I gave him is to be [considered] null and without effect.

[C10.] Let a *typikon* be drawn up for St. Sabas' psalmody, and the monks are to observe the order of his service.

[C11.] The following matter too I forgot to settle in my *Private Testament* of earlier date:

Inasmuch as the lamented emperor of eternal memory, Nikephoros [III] Botaneiates, gave me by his honored chrysobull⁶¹ the place on Kos called Pelion and Ta Kastrianou as well as the estate of Peripatou, where of old stands the church of the most holy Mother of God, and I built⁶² a fort there, and founded a monastery of pious men, and consecrated to that monastery the two estates of the *vestarches* Kaballourios that had come into my possession, Anabasidion and Kardiasmenoi, and other estates that had come into my possession through gifts of the Christ-loving to this monastery, and from gifts and purchases in its vicinity. Inasmuch as our most powerful and sacred emperor, Lord Alexios Komnenos, in exchange for the monastery on Kos, gave me the island of Patmos, receiving in exchange the aforesaid monastery of the most holy Mother of God on Kos with its estates. For I expected to succeed in founding a monastery on the said island of Patmos, but because this same island of Patmos is uninhabited, raided by Agarenes, pirates and Turks, all after prisoners, the monks I had there fled in fear, refusing to live on Patmos, and left me alone.

For this reason, I appeal to the compassionate and serene might of his God-promoted and sacred majesty, in the hopes that, as if guided by God, his sacred majesty will, in his turn, give me my aforesaid monastery, known as God's most holy Mother on Kos, Kastrianou and Pelion, as well as the aforesaid estates belonging to it, the *vestarches'* two and the other in the vicinity of the monastery that belong to me in virtue of the donations of Limnites and Chardamion and the remainder near to the monastery, with the field called Kommation and the land I hold by purchase from Bergotos, as well as that at Peripatou, exempted from taxation by his sacred majesty, as they were by the aforementioned emperor, Lord Nikephoros Botaneiates, [p. 89] in order that the monks may find respite and live without fear, enjoying the favor of his sacred majesty and of all his relatives and that of our sacred empress till the end of the world, just as I, the humble and sinful monk, had my prayer granted by his sacred majesty.

In that monastery I have expended much labor and no slight efforts, in building the fort and transporting the stones inside it, and paid out great sums for expenses, but because on Kos the monks own Lachanitzin they take seed over from Patmos, because it should be a cattle byre,⁶³ and the monks of Kos live off it, both those on Kos and the monks from among them settled in the hermitage of Petra, which is towards Patmos, and is, as we said before, under the joint rule of Kos

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and Patmos, singing and praying for his sacred majesty, so as to receive from God their reward a hundredfold and eternal life.

But if in any way God should concede, because of my sins, that they should create an obstacle, and arrest the mercy of his sacred majesty, so that he disregard my humble and pitiful self. . . obtained salvation for his soul, and not [consent] to return said monastery of my brotherhood of monks, the most holy Mother of God at Pelion on Kos, for which I struggled and worked myself to death, let him render account to the most holy Mother of God and [St. John] the beloved Theologian and to me the sinner in the fearful day of retribution.

[C12.] As for my humble remains, the monks my fellow-laborers may lay them in the monastery, wherever God may prosper it to be.⁶⁴

With this aim, I make good in the present *Codicil* the omissions of my earlier *Private Testament* as [already] stated. It was written at my request by the hand of George, of Strobilos, priest and notary of Euripos, on Tuesday 15th March at the 7th hour, in the 1st indiction, in the year 6601 [= 1093 A.D.], and I requested witnesses to sign and seal +

+ I, Christodoulos of Latros, unworthy monk, with my own hand signed at the beginning and end +

+ I, Nicholas Pappadopoulos, priest, present [at the dictation of] the present *Codicil* of the monk lord Christodoulos, at his invitation, signed and sealed as witness +

+ I, John . . . present [at the dictation of] the present *Codicil* [p. 90] of the monk lord Christodoulos, at his request signed and sealed as witness +

+ I, Theophanes, priest, [son] of Theodosios, present [at the dictation of] the present *Codicil* of the monk lord Christodoulos, at his request to witness it, signed and sealed +

+ I, Michael Phaphoulakes, priest, present [at the dictation] of the present *Codicil* of the monk lord Christodoulos, and invited by him to witness it, signed and sealed +

+ I, George, unworthy priest and notary of Euripos, the amanuensis, was also invited by the monk lord Christodoulos to sign and seal, as having written out the whole text +

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of our translator, Patricia Karlin-Hayter [PKH], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 2.47, *PG* 35, col. 456A.
2. Christodoulos was born in Bithynia; his baptismal name was John: see John of Rhodes, *Bios kai politeia*, chap. 3, ed. Sakkélion in Boines, *Akolouthia*, pp. 111–13; according to Kazhdan, "Christodoulos," p. 440, he was born in the first half of the eleventh century.

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3. In a monastery on Mount Olympus near Bursa; see John of Rhodes, *Bios kai politeia*, chap. 5, ed. Sakkélion, in Boines, *Akolouthia*, pp. 115–16.
4. I could not find one English verb that expressed simultaneously the rattling or drumming of hail and the “meaningless” speech of the Saracens or Turks. [PKH]
5. For this foundation, see (7) *Latros*, Institutional History.
6. That is, as groups of kelliotic monks.
7. Cf. Ps.-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 34, *PG* 31, cols. 1424D, 1425A.
8. Jer. 29:6; Ps. 7:13–14; Deut. 32:42; Deut. 32:22.
9. The archaism “Persians,” which had long been used for the Arabs, was at this date also used for the Turks. Whether Christodoulos made the distinction is unclear. [PKH]
10. Cosmas I (1075–81).
11. See Christodoulos’ appointment of his successors at Stylos in MM 6.16–17 (1079) and Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos’ acceptance of his resignation as superior of that monastery in MM 6.30–32 (1087); there is reference to the dignity of *protos*. [PKH]
12. For this individual, see the biographical details in Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1046, ed. Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, no. 3, pp. 23–30, and MM 6.21–23.
13. This is a pun: *Patmos* / *potmos* (fate). [PKH]
14. *aretēs ergasterion*.
15. Not extant, but cf. the confirmation by Alexios Komnenos, Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1123, ed. Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, no. 4, pp. 40–54, and MM 6.23–25.
16. Plato, *Symposium* 198a.
17. Christodoulos’ interpretation gives the words a twist not present in the original; cf. Ps.-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 21, *PG* 31, col. 1397B: “Let him who is appointed superior consider for how many souls’ loss he is become answerable, when he cannot adequately render account for his own.” [PKH]
18. *hemera ploia–hemeros*: “Tame . . . civilized . . . gentle . . .” (LSJ). Christodoulos’ meaning is clear: one advantage of Patmos is that regular shipping does not call there, but I have failed to find any example of the use of this word in any such sense, or indeed used with “ship” in any sense. A misreading seems possible. [PKH]
19. Kellia and Zagora: a monastic colony on Mount Pelion in eastern Thessaly; see Vranoussis, *Hagiologika keimena*, pp. 132–39.
20. Anna Dalassena, who earlier addressed MM 6.32–33 (1087) to Christodoulos.
21. The fisc as landowner lost Patmos, which was taken from it and transferred to Christodoulos. The chrysobull, Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1147, ed. Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, no. 6, pp. 55–67, and MM 6.44–49 (1088) states that Christodoulos has “surrendered to the fisc all that he had previously acquired on Kos, whatever the source . . . and received in exchange the said island (of Patmos) by an irrevocable donation . . . [Patmos] is detached from the property of the crown and . . . consecrated to God alone and the monks settled on it.” Note the use of *basilika dikaia* and *demosia* as equivalent. As well as the land itself, the fisc lost the taxes; see [11] below. [PKH]
22. Zeno of Citium, (in) Plutarch, *Vita Phoc.* c. 5, ed. I. von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1964), p. 68; cf. *Suda*, ed. Ada Adler, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1929–38), p. 358, “Aristoteles.” [PKH]
23. Perhaps Nicholas Tzanzes, author of a *praktikon*, ed. MM 6.55–57 (1088), transferring Patmos to Christodoulos.
24. *Iliad* 17, 32; *Suda*, ed. Adler, vol. 1, p. 112 and *Corpus paroemiographorum graecorum*, ed. E. Leutsch and F. G. Schneidewin, vol. 1 (Hildesheim, 1965), p. 35. [PKH]
25. Patmos is very narrow at its midpoint, dividing the island into two distinct northern and southern sections.
26. The peasants were in fact resettled in a less exposed spot, nearer the monastery, possibly during Christodoulos’ lifetime when he himself fled to Euboea, but at any rate before the death of Alexios Komnenos in 1118; the new situation is implicit in the terms of the *Parainesis*, ed. MM 6.144–49, at

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- 147, a set of instructions for a superior other than Christodoulos but who was contemporary with Alexios Komnenos. On the date and the identity of the superior, see Karlin-Hayter, “Archives de Patmos,” p. 200, n. 18; at a still later date they were able to take refuge in the monastery itself. [PKH]
27. *eulogia*: “blessing,” or more specifically, “gift of food,” Lampe, *PGL*, s.v. *eulogia*, F 2. [PKH]
28. This chapter is much indebted to Ps.-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 34, *PG* 31, cols. 1424–28; the passage in quotation marks comes almost verbatim from chap. 18, col. 1381C. [PKH]
29. In the thirteenth century, however, Patmos, like the Lavra monastery on Mount Athos in the eleventh century, came under the guardianship of the powerful *Epi tou kanikleiou*, with similar advantageous results; see Nystazopoulou, “Ephoreia,” 93–94.
30. Dathan and Abirom rose against Moses and were swallowed up by the earth together with their families; cf. Num. 16:1–32; Ps. 105 [106]:17–18.
31. Cf. *Liturgy* of John Chrysostom, ed. F. E. Brightman (Oxford, 1896), pp. 369, lines 27–29, 384, lines 27–28.
32. Cf. Ps.-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae*, *PG* 31, col. 1384B, and Gregory Nazianzen, *Carmina*, I, *PG* 37, col. 513A.
33. I Cor. 3:6; Mark 12:42; Luke 19:1 ff.; II Chr. 33:12–13.
34. The liturgical *typikon* of Sabas of Jerusalem, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 3, pp. 20–64.
35. *Sancti Pachonii Vita Prima* 74, ed. F. Halkin (Brussels, 1932).
36. Cyril of Skythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, chap. 39, ed. Ed. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* (Leipzig, 1939), p. 58.
37. *Codex Justinianus* 1.3.46 (530), ed. P. Krüger, *Corpus juris civilis*, vol. 2, 10th ed. (Berlin, 1929); cf. *NJ* 5.9 (535), 123.34 (546).
38. Cf. Ps.-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 28, *PG* 31, col. 1417C.
39. *C. Const. I et II*, c. 3 (R&P 2.658); Matt. 16:26, Mark 8:36.
40. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 2.14, *PG* 35, col. 424A.
41. Plato, *Gorgias* 514e.
42. Ps.-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 21, *PG* 31, col. 1393D.
43. *eisagogikon esthema*.
44. *C. Const. I et II*, c. 5 (R&P 2.662–67).
45. Contrary to a belief prevalent in monastic circles, Basil did not prescribe a specific length of time for the novitiate. See Theodore Balsamon, *Epistola de rasophoris*, *PG* 138, cols. 1359B–1382A.
46. Cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 39.11–13, *PG* 36, col. 348A, 349B; *Oratio* 30.5, *PG* 36, col. 108D.
47. Matt. 13:5, Mark 4:4, Luke 8:5–6: Christodoulos has distinctive elements from all three sources. [PKH]
48. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 2.54, *PG* 36, col. 464C.
49. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1139, ed. Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, no. 5, pp. 40–54, and MM 6.25–28.
50. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1147, ed. Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, no. 6, pp. 55–67, and MM 6.44–49.
51. Ed. reads: Monoioannes; corr. D. Sophianes, quoted by Vranoussis, *Hagiologika keimena*, p. 122, n. 3.
52. See [C4] below.
53. Christodoulos is not using the term technically, but as an equivalent for *ephoros*; see H. Ahrweiler, “Charisticariat et autres formes d’attribution de fondations pieuses aux X^e–XI^e siècles,” *ZRVI* 10 (1967), pp. 3 and 5, n. 31. [PKH]
54. The ancient Chalkis.
55. Presumably the “children I reared from infancy” mentioned in [B6] above, who are to join the brotherhood if they work well. [PKH]
56. Christodoulos’ assertion is premature; see MM 6.90–94 (1094), in which Theodosios, the nephew of the *kastrisios*, rejects his bequest. For the fact that *kastrisios* was not the surname of Theodosios but the title of his uncle Basil, see *ibid.*, pp. 91 and 93.

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57. The text has 418.
58. The permanent synod, including presumably the bishop of Carian Herakleia, in whose see Latros stood. [PKH]
59. For Melanoudion, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 217, 220, 223.
60. According to H. Omont, "Note sur un ms. grec du mont Latros," *REG* 1 (1888), p. 337, there is a marginal note in Paris graecus 98, a manuscript of the Greek works attributed to Ephraem Syrus, which reads: "This sacred and improving book was copied in the monastery of the most holy Mother of God of Stylos or St. Paul of Latros, by the hand of Michael in the year 6558 [= 1049 A.D.], November, second indiction. . . . Some time later St. Christodoulos moved to Patmos because of the onslaught of the godless Ismaelites, taking with him all the books he could, and other objects . . ." [PKH]
61. Not extant, but cf. the confirmation by Alexios Komnenos, Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1123, ed. Vranoussis, *Engrapha*, no. 4, pp. 40–54, and MM 6.23–25.
62. Grammatically, it is Nikephoros III Botaneiates who built the fort and founded the monastery; in fact it is Christodoulos who was responsible, as the balance of this chapter makes clear. These last few pages are rambling and incoherent, but the repetitions help in getting at the meaning. The point of the *Codicil* seems to be the recovery of the properties on Kos that had been given up in exchange for Patmos. [PKH]
63. *zeugolation*: cultivated land, ranging from a field to a small estate. [PKH] For a *zeugolation/ zeugelateion* with its vineyard, garden, and other holdings, see (39) *Lips* [44].
64. That is, either on Patmos or Kos.

Document Notes

1. Rule [A]

- [A1] Justification for the autobiographical excursus. Cf. the approach taken in (19) *Attaleiates* [1], [2].
- [A2] Christodoulos' monastic vocation. See also John of Rhodes, *Bios kai politeia*, chap. 5, ed. Sakkélion in Boines, *Akolouthia*, pp. 115–16.
- [A3] Pilgrimage to Palestine; flight to Latros. See also John of Rhodes, *Bios kai politeia*, chaps. 6–7, ed. Sakkélion, Boines, *Akolouthia*, pp. 116–18.
- [A4] Description of the monastic life at Latros. See also *Bios kai politeia*, chaps. 8–9, ed. Sakkélion, pp. 118–21.
- [A5] Justification for Christodoulos' abandonment of Latros. See also the documentary evidence in MM 6.17–19, 30–32 (1087).
- [A6] Arrival at Strobilos; inspection of properties on Kos. See also *Bios kai politeia*, chap. 10, ed. Sakkélion, Boines, *Akolouthia*, pp. 121–22.
- [A7] Construction of a monastery at Pelion on Kos.
- [A8] Explanation for Christodoulos' departure from Kos.
- [A9] Audience with Alexios Komnenos; his grant of Patmos. See also *Bios kai politeia*, chaps. 11–13, ed. Sakkélion, Boines, *Akolouthia*, pp. 122–26.
- [A10] Provisions of the chrysobull. Cf. the actual terms of Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1147, ed. Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, no. 6, pp. 55–57, and MM 6.44–49 (1088).
- [A11] Exchange of properties; departure of some monks. See also *Bios kai politeia*, chaps. 14–15, ed. Sakkélion, Boines, *Akolouthia*, pp. 126–28.
- [A12] Construction of the monastery; regrets over exclusion of married men. See also *Bios kai politeia*, chap. 16, ed. Sakkélion, Boines, *Akolouthia*, pp. 128–30.
- [A13] Rules for neighboring lay people. See also the treatment in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [86], [101], [103], [104].
- [A14] Travel restrictions for lay people and monks. See earlier treatments in (3) *Theodore Studites* [17]; (12) *Tzimiskes* [8], [25]; and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34].
- [A15] Praise of the cenobitic life. See also (6) *Rila* [11], (9) *Galesios* [187], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [38], (23)

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Pakourianos [4], (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], cf. [55].

- [A16] Self-governing constitution; ban on the protectorate. See [B13] below and also earlier provisions in (9) *Galesios* [247] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [18] as well as contemporary provisions in (10) *Eleousa* [18], (19) *Attaleiates* [8], [14], (22) *Evergetis* [12], and (23) *Pakourianos* [18].
- [A17] Liturgical *typikon* of Sabas to regulate services. See [C10] below and similar endorsements of this *typikon* in (7) *Latros* [8]; (20) *Black Mountain* [22], [23], [29]; and (26) *Luke of Messina* [10].
- [A18] Election and installation of the superior. See also other treatments in (10) *Eleousa* [15], [16]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [15], [16], [17], [19]; (14) *Ath. Testament* [13], [14]; (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* [13]; (18) *Nea Gephyra* [3]; (19) *Attaleiates* [26], [29]; (22) *Evergetis* [13] and related documents; and (23) *Pakourianos* [5].
- [A19] Admonition to the superior. See also other treatments in (3) *Theodore Studites*, Concerning the Superior; (10) *Eleousa* [12]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [55]; and (22) *Evergetis* [17] and related documents.
- [A20] Removal of the superior. See analogous provisions in (10) *Eleousa* [16]; (14) *Ath. Testament* [16]; (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* [9]; (18) *Nea Gephyra* [3]; (19) *Attaleiates* [26]; (21) *Roidion* [A1], [A3], [A4], [B20]; (22) *Evergetis* [14]; and (23) *Pakourianos* [19].
- [A21] Officers of the monastery. See provisions for analogous officials in (22) *Evergetis* [30], [31] and related documents. A treasurer is identified in [C2] below.
- [A22] Prohibition of personal possessions; regulation of trades. For the ban on possessions, see also (3) *Theodore Studites* [2]; (6) *Rila* [6]; (9) *Galesios* [138], [191], [192]; (10) *Eleousa* [5]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [34]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [30]; (22) *Evergetis* [22] and related documents; and (23) *Pakourianos* [4]. For the regulation of trades, see also (9) *Galesios* [191] and (20) *Black Mountain* [83].
- [A23] Procedure for becoming a solitary. See also earlier treatments in (9) *Galesios* [189]; (12) *Tzimiskes* [10]; and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [40].
- [A24] Regulation of the solitary's life. See also earlier treatments in (12) *Tzimiskes* [12], [18], [20], and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [37], cf. [43]; also similar provisions later in (34) *Machairas* [152] and (42) *Sabas* [7].
- [A25] Practice of charity and hospitality. See also provisions in (19) *Attaleiates* [18], [19], [20]; (21) *Roidion* [B2], [B3], [B4], [B7], [B8], [B13], [B14], [B15]; (22) *Evergetis* [38] and related documents; and (23) *Pakourianos* [10], [21], [29].
- [A26] Qualifications for tonsure; length of the novitiate. See also treatments of the novitiate in (4) *Stoudios* [24]; (10) *Tzimiskes* [3]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [18]; (22) *Evergetis* [37] and related documents; and (23) *Pakourianos* [25].
- [A27] Request for divine assistance for preservation of the *Rule*. See also (19) *Attaleiates* [7], cf. [15].
- [A28] Final exhortations to the superior and the monks. See also other treatments in (3) *Theodore Studites* [25]; (7) *Latros* [11]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [56]; (14) *Ath. Testament* [20]; and (22) *Evergetis* [16] and related documents.

2. *Testament* [B]

- [B1] Meditation on death. See also (5) *Euthymios* [3]; (6) *Rila* [2]; (7) *Latros*, Introduction; (10) *Eleousa* [1]; (25) *Fragala* [A6], [B6]; (30) *Phoberos* [1]; (34) *Machairas* [1]; (35) *Skoteine* [1]; (41) *Docheiariou* [1]; (44) *Karyes* [1]; (45) *Neophytos* [2]; (48) *Prodromos* [1]; (49) *Geromeri* [2] ff.; (50) *Gerasimos* [1]; and (51) *Kouloumoussi* [A1], [C1].
- [B2] List of immovable properties. For the earlier acquisitions, see Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1139, cf. 1142, ed. Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, no. 5, cf. 46, pp. 40–54, 327, and MM 6.25–28 (1087), cf. 29. The properties are mentioned again in [B4] below.
- [B3] Designation of Arsenios Skenourios as successor. This provision was superseded by [C1] below five days later.
- [B4] List of of movable properties. For the imperial exemption of the monastery's boats from customs duties, see Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1150, ed. Vranoussis and Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Engrapha*, no. 7, pp. 68–76, and MM 6.51–53 (1088); see also the regulation of boats owned by monasteries in (15)

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Constantine IX [2], [5].

- [B5] Designation of Theodosios as alternate successor. See also [C1] below. He was to decline this honor later; see MM 6.90–94 (1094).
- [B6] List of resident monks; amnesty for departed monks; Theodosios' powers. (52) *Choumnos* [4] ff. likewise provides a precise enumeration of the monks at the foundation for which that document was written. Theodosios is reminded of the amnesty in [B12] below.
- [B7] Monastery to inherit Christodoulos' books. See also [C6] and [C7] below.
- [B8] Christodoulos' nephews excluded from inheritance. See also [B11] below.
- [B9] Bequest to the monk Theodoret. This is evidently a personal bequest in exchange for the recipient's performance of memorial services; cf. (19) *Attaleiates* [30].
- [B10] List of icons at Euripos. These are probably the founder's personal icons, for which see (9) *Galesios* [138] and (10) *Eleousa* [5].
- [B11] Christodoulos' nephews to receive only his blessing. See also [B8] above; for a blessing in a more friendly spirit, see [C8] below.
- [B12] Theodosios to receive back returning monks. See also [B6] above.
- [B13] Independent and self-governing status. Confirms [A16] above.
- [B14] Curse on opponents of the rules. See similar curses in (8) *John Xenos* [2]; (9) *Galesios* [246]; (10) *Eleousa* [19]; (16) *Mount Tmolos* [5]; (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [5]; (18) *Nea Gephyra* [4]; (19) *Attaleiates* [8], [23]; and (22) *Evergetis* [12] and related documents.
- [B15] Provision for the priest George and his children. Cf. provisions for support of individuals in (14) *Ath. Testament* [17], [18]. This chapter is an afterthought, as Christodoulos originally intended to end the *Testament* with [B14] above.

3. *Codicil* [C]

- [C1] Designation of Theodosios as successor. See also [B5] above; supersedes [B3].
- [C2] Appointment of a treasurer; subordination of the superior to the *charistikarios*. For the treasurer's duties, see [A21] above. For subordination of the superior to the *charistikarios*, see also [4] below and (19) *Attaleiates* [26], cf. [12].
- [C3] Performance of liturgical duties. For the impact of a foundation's finances on the performance of services, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [71] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [11].
- [C4] Attendance of laymen and servants at meals; hierarchy of authority. See also (11) *Ath. Rule* [30], [31]; (32) *Mamas* [19], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19].
- [C5] Discussion of Theodosios' mission to Constantinople. The purpose of the mission is further elaborated in [C11] below.
- [C6] Discussion of rights to books once at Latros. See also [B7] above and [C7] below. (33) *Heliou Bomon* [37] discusses a similar use of Hagia Sophia as a temporary depository for books from an endangered monastic foundation.
- [C7] History of these books. See also [B7] and [C6] above.
- [C8] Blessings for Theophanes and John. See also [B11] above.
- [C9] Promissory note given to Luke the Cappadocian is invalid. See (29) *Kosmosoteira* [93], however, for an occasion on which promissory notes were to be honored after the founder's death.
- [C10] Order to draw up a liturgical *typikon*. See [A17] above with cross-references.
- [C11] Proposal for the emperor's return of the monastery on Kos. See also [C5] above.
- [C12] Burial instructions. See also treatments of founders' burials in (28) *Pantokrator* [8], [44]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [89], [90], [109] cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [70].

CHAPTER FIVE

Imperial and Royal Monasteries of the Twelfth Century

“ . . . let [the monks] pray for these people as long as the churches exist since they erected these churches so that prayers [may be offered for] them and the prosperity of their fortune.” (25) *Fragala* [C4]

“ . . . permission has been granted to me by the divine fathers, the ordinances of the church, and the requirements of the law to make regulations and act in the case of my own possessions just as I wish.” (28) *Pantokrator* [67]

“ . . . the absence of decrees generates confusion.” (29) *Kosmosoteira* [48]

This chapter includes five documents composed for foundations from the milieu of imperial or royal patronage. With one partial exception, all are from the twelfth century.¹ One, (28) *Pantokrator*, was actually composed by an emperor, John II Komnenos (1118–43), while another, (27) *Kecharitomene*, was authored by an empress, his mother Irene Doukaina Komnena. The irascible Komnenian prince Isaac Komnenos, younger brother of the former and son of the latter, was the author of (29) *Kosmosoteira*. Another document, (26) *Luke of Messina*, was authored by a monk who was helping the Norman King Roger II (1130–1154) carry out a reform of the Greek monasteries of Sicily, while the remaining text, (25) *Fragala*, was written a generation earlier for a foundation patronized by Roger II’s father Count Roger I (1061–1101) and mother Countess Adelaide.

A. Typology of the Documents

Three of the documents in this chapter, (27) *Kecharitomene*, (28) *Pantokrator*, and (29) *Kosmosoteira*, are long, complex founders’ *typika* in the series initiated by (22) *Evergetis* in the second half of the eleventh century. Since (27) *Kecharitomene* (indirectly) and (29) *Kosmosoteira* (more directly) are textually dependent on (22) *Evergetis*, it was natural that their authors should want to imitate the latter’s systematic regulation of monastic life. (27) *Kecharitomene* and (29) *Kosmosoteira* are also some of the longest documents in our collection, ranking second and third in length, respectively. The longest document, (30) *Phoberos*, is a contemporary work (see below, Chapter 6).

¹ The exception is the *First Testament* [A] of (25) *Fragala* which is dated to 1096/97; the balance of this text dates to 1105.

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The two documents from Norman Sicily, (25) *Fragala* and (26) *Luke of Messina*, are considerably shorter than the three *typika* discussed above. The first of these is in the traditional testamentary format, like the contemporary (24) *Christodoulos*. It consists of an original testament composed at the end of the eleventh century, a revision undertaken a few years later early in the twelfth century, and a supplementary text. With its tripartite structure, it is like (24) *Christodoulos* as well as the much later (51) *Koutlounousi*, illustrating the fluidity of a mercurial founder's "final arrangements." The second Sicilian document, (26) *Luke of Messina*, serves as a preface to the author's liturgical *typikon*,² which has also been preserved but is not translated here in our collection.

All three of the Komnenian authors intended to supplement their *typika* with testaments that they expected to draw up later.³ In (29) *Kosmosoteira*, the author Isaac Komnenos also mentions [116] a *Gift and Grant Ordinance* intended to make the final conveyance of his property to the foundation. Neither this document nor his *Secret Testament* are extant. Irene Doukaina, the author of (27) *Kecharitomene*, evidently decided to add a few chapters [79], [80] to her *typikon* rather than issuing a separate testament. John II Komnenos' *Secret Testament* has not survived, although the autograph copy of the *typikon* did until 1934 when it was destroyed by fire in the Peloponnesian monastery of Mega Spelaion.

Taking a precaution advocated by the monastic reform movement against private theft or official expropriation, two of the longer documents, (27) *Kecharitomene* [Appendix A], [Appendix B], and (28) *Pantokrator* [65] incorporate inventories (*brevia*) within their texts. Presumably Isaac Komnenos' *Gift and Grant Ordinance* would have contained an inventory of property conveyed to his monastery as a supplement to the considerable information on this subject already contained in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [69].

B. The Nature of Imperial and Royal Patronage

Imperial monasteries had a long history in the Byzantine Empire dating back to at least the sixth century.⁴ While no document in this collection comes unambiguously from a traditional imperial monastery before the twelfth century, it should be kept in mind that imperial patronage, unlike the private variety, was characterized by a light-handed, laissez-faire approach to institutional governance. Frequently, individual emperors relied upon their favorite monastic holy men to set up imperial monasteries, provided generous funding, and then allowed their favorites a fairly free hand with internal administration. The *Life* in which (5) *Euthymios* is encapsulated is a good illustration of how this sort of relationship between imperial patron and monastic founder functioned in the early ninth century (see above, Chapter One). (13) *Ath. Typikon* provides another example of the ambiguities and relative fluidity of this sort of patron-director relationship. In both

² Ed. Miguel Arranz, *Le typikon du monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine* (= OCA 185) (Rome, 1969).

³ (27) *Kecharitomene* [3]; (28) *Pantokrator* [68]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [1], [116].

⁴ There has been no thorough study of imperial monasteries to date; much scattered information can be found in my *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987), pp. 44–46, 136–39, and passim, s.v. Index, "basilika monasteria" and "Imperial monasteries."

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cases, clever, ambitious monastic directors succeeded in avoiding close imperial control and were able to stake out their own claims to the institutions involved.

Over the long course of time, other institutions, regardless of their origins (often private), became more closely directed imperial monasteries. By the ninth century, if not before, this seems to have been the fate of the famous Constantinopolitan monastery of St. John *Stoudios*, in spite of the fact of its private foundation in the fifth century.⁵ Despite the distance involved, the emperors were also willing, upon invitation, to exercise their rights to arbitrate disputes among the monasteries of Mount Athos, as (12) *Tzimiskes* and (15) *Constantine IX* show (see above, Chapter Two).

Analyzed carefully, the two Sicilian documents in this chapter can be expected to reflect some of the conditions of imperial patronage in Byzantium itself before the twelfth century, since the Byzantine monastic reform seems to have had only a vague impact, if any, on Greek monasteries under Norman rule, while the perquisites the Norman rulers claimed for themselves were similar to the traditional rights claimed by earlier Byzantine emperors and private patrons. One of these documents, (26) *Luke of Messina*, illustrates the strong patronal role of Roger II, said to have chosen [3] the author for reconstituting certain idiorhythmic monasteries as cenobitic institutions, to have authorized him to draw up [10] a regulatory *typikon*, and to have provided [3] funding for the support of clergy and for operational expenses. There were also residential quarters (called *archontarikia*) [3], [8] for the use of the royal patron at the principal monastery of San Salvatore for which this document was written. The earlier document, (25) *Fragala*, shows a much less strong role for official patronage. Judging from it, the monastic director Gregory seems to have combined [A3], [B3] his own and other private donations with princely benefactions over two generations of Norman rule at the cost of compromising [C3] only a few of his own patronal rights, like the designation of his successor. Yet, like Athanasios in (13) *Ath. Typikon*, Gregory seems to have had a relatively free hand in administering his foundation despite his very considerable dependence on official support.

By the time imperial personages appear as the authors of founders' *typika* in the twelfth century, the triumph of the principles of the monastic reform movement had altered the nature of the patron-client relationship considerably from its earlier terms, though not entirely beyond recognition. The remarkable thing, of course, is that such august founders from the imperial family itself should have accepted the very considerable constraints on the arbitrary exercise of patronal authority that were fundamental tenets of this movement. Not only did they willingly choose in all three cases to base their foundations (either directly or indirectly) on the quintessentially reformist (22) *Evergetis* when other less extreme models (e.g., the *typikon* of the *Panagios* monastery, represented in our collection by (23) *Pakourianos*) were available, but in two cases, (27) *Kecharitomene* and (29) *Kosmosoteira*, they even imported much of the bitterly anti-elitist language of (22) *Evergetis* into their own *typika*.

A determination of the motivations of the imperial dynasty for embracing the Evergetian model for their own monastic foundations awaits further study. It appears, however, that there were individuals within the ruling elite like George Palaiologos, husband of Irene Doukaina's younger sister Anna, who were supporters even of the radical Chalcedonian wing of the reform

⁵ See discussion above in (3) *Theodore Studites*, Institutional History.

movement.⁶ As noted above in the discussion of (22) *Evergetis*, Irene Doukaina's second brother John Doukas became an Evergetian monk at the end of his life.⁷ The Doukas family's connection to *Evergetis* might conceivably go back to the 1060s if, as seems likely, Constantine X Doukas (1059–67) was one of the unnamed emperors who confirmed the monastery's independent constitution.⁸ Later, we find Theodore Prodromos, author of a bitter critique against unreformed monastic superiors, in the circle of intellectuals and artists patronized by Isaac Komnenos many years before that patron's composition of (29) *Kosmosoteira*.⁹

C. Curtailments of Reform Principles

It is against the background of this surprising allegiance to what might well be thought to be an extremely uncongenial brand of Evergetian monastic reform that the more clearly conservative features of the three Byzantine *typika* in this chapter must be considered.

1. Imposition of Lay Protectorates

Since the monastic reform movement had been shaped in large measure by the successful struggle to free Byzantium's monasteries from the depredations of the *charistike*, most of our documents authored by the first generation of late eleventh-century reformers are understandably hostile to any revival of lay authority over their foundations. In this vein, (22) *Evergetis* [12] states that the foundation is "not subject to any rights, be they imperial or ecclesiastic or of a private person." (10) *Eleousa* [18] and (23) *Pakourianos* [3], cf. [18] are like-minded. Early in the twelfth century, (30) *Phoberos* [33] adopts the Evergetian view and adds a scathing denunciation of the *charistikarioi*. Only the author of (24) *Christodoulos* [B5] was willing to impose a protector on his foundation, but the protector had to become a monk in residence and his authority was carefully circumscribed.

The decision of Irene Doukaina Komnene to create a lay protectorate for her foundation in (27) *Kecharitomene* [3] was significant even though she, like her sons John and Isaac, adamantly asserts [1] the independence of her foundation and specifically prohibits establishment of an (external) protectorate or participation in the *charistike* or *epidosis*. It is noteworthy, however, that for this office Irene avoids what was by her day a most ideologically incorrect title of *charistikarios* (still found in (24) *Christodoulos* [B6]). Instead, she chooses "protectress" (*antilambanomene*), which would find favor with two like-minded benefactors of the twelfth century, the authors of (32) *Mamas* [3] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [3].

Indeed, in the previous century the cautious, tradition-minded author of (19) *Attaleiates* [12] had anticipated the empress in her revival of the protectorate, reconstituted as a private rather than

⁶ See Anna Komnena, *Alexiad* 5.2, ed. Bernard Leib (Paris 1967), with B. Skoulatos, *Les Personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade* (Louvain, 1980), pp. 99–105; he is commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8], while his wife Anna is in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].

⁷ (22) *Evergetis* [Appendix]; he is commemorated in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71] and in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].

⁸ (22) *Evergetis* [12].

⁹ See Alexander Kazhdan, "Prodromos, Theodore," *ODB*, pp. 1726–27; E. Jeanselme and L. Oeconomos, "La Satire contre les Higoumènes," *Byzantion* 1 (1924), 317–39; Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson, "The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century," *BF* 8 (1982), 123–83, at 130–32.

as a public institution as it had been when originally developed in the late tenth century (see above, Chapter Three). While it is true that this revival of the protectorate would hardly have been anticipated, much less welcomed, by the first generation of monastic reformers, the empress was not simply restoring the position of the traditional private patron within her foundation. For in (27) *Kecharitomene* [3] she specifically denies the protector control over the convent's property. Moreover, the protector could not change the *typikon*, remove the superior, enroll or expel nuns, require financial accounts, or appropriate any assets. These restrictions and others [74], [80], along with the protector's meager allotment of rights, invite comparison with the parallel treatments in the far more traditional (19) *Attaleiates*.¹⁰ Such a comparison leaves no doubt that the empress' revival of the protectorate notwithstanding, the reform movement had drastically altered contemporary perceptions of acceptable patronal privilege.

Like his mother, John II Komnenos imposed a protectorate on his foundation in (28) *Pantokrator* [70], but with a similar understanding that the protector should assist rather than profit from the foundation. Isaac Komnenos, however, returned to pristine Evergetian principles in refusing to name any protector for his foundation in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [31] except for the Mother of God herself.

2. Preferential Admissions

The other significant deviation from reform principles was the willingness of two of the three Byzantine authors to require their foundations to grant preferential admissions to their personal favorites. The empress Irene not only allows [4] any of her granddaughters preferential admissions; she also was willing to grant significant concessions on their adherence to the requirements of the cenobitic life. The empress was unwilling, however, to permit these concessions to lead to a repetition of what had once been a common feature of institutions under the *charistike*,¹¹ namely the development of an independent base of authority within the convent in opposition to the superior. A nun of the imperial family who abused her privileged position in this way was to be expelled.

Although John II Komnenos declined to exploit his position to secure preferential admissions, his younger brother Isaac Komnenos thought differently. He obliges [107] his foundation to house one of his retainers "as though he were an internal monk" (i.e., an *esomonites*), thereby reviving an institution that was anathema to the early reformers.¹² This founder also burdens his monastery with the claims of other retainers and pensioners, placing himself at odds with the prohibition of imposed guests (*katapemptoi*) found in his mother's *typikon*, (27) *Kecharitomene* [53], and that of his contemporary the author of (32) *Mamas* [26].

3. Servants Allowed

The presence of domestic servants who ranked as a lesser order of monks or nuns in all three of

¹⁰ Cf. (19) *Attaleiates* [24], [25], [26], [29], [33].

¹¹ See John of Antioch, *De monasteriis*, chap. 14, ed. P. Gautier, "Réquisitoire du patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat," *REB* 33 (1975), p. 119, lines 425–28.

¹² See John of Antioch, *De monasteriis*, chap. 14, ed. Gautier, p. 123, lines 471–78; cf. Alexios Komnenos, *De jure patriarchae circa monasteria* (*JGR* 3.409.29–33).

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the institutions governed by the Byzantine imperial documents clearly distinguishes these foundations from (22) *Evergetis* [24], (30) *Phoberos* [43], and the earlier Studite tradition, which strictly forbid them.¹³ As in the matter of the protectorate, these imperial documents are closer to (19) *Attaleiates* [42] in which servants were also permitted.

4. Ameliorations in Lifestyle

Monastic poverty, taken seriously by Irene Doukaina in (27) *Kecharitomene* [50], as it was in (22) *Evergetis* [22], was evidently not imposed by her son John II Komnenos on his monks in (28) *Pantokrator* [31] ff. Her other son Isaac Komnenos, here as in some other matters, is content in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [53] to follow the Evergetian precedent. Even when they endorse monastic poverty, these founders seem to have envisioned a more indulgent lifestyle within the confines of cenobiticism for their monks. Bathing, permitted by (22) *Evergetis* [28], is allowed on a more frequent basis by the empress in (27) *Kecharitomene* [58] and by her sons in (28) *Pantokrator* [15] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [97]. The Evergetian diet, slightly ameliorated by the empress in (27) *Kecharitomene* [46], [47], [48], is made more ample by her son the emperor in (28) *Pantokrator* [9], [11], who, moreover, was willing to allow [12] the superior discretion to make fasts less rigorous. In (29) *Kosmosoteira* [6], Isaac Komnenos goes further, stating that the monks should have a “bounteous supply” of food.

5. Desire for Future Growth

As we have seen, (22) *Evergetis* [23] was virtually alone among reform monasteries in refusing to set a precise number of positions for monks at that institution, preferring that the foundation shrink in size if enough pious monks could not be recruited to take advantage of the financial support available. All three of our Byzantine imperial founders, however, indicate the number of monks that they thought could be supported.¹⁴ There was also some agreement among these authors with the more explicit sentiment for future expansion seen in the Sicilian documents. In (27) *Kecharitomene* [5] Irene Doukaina is willing to allow an expansion in numbers from 30 to 40 nuns if an increase in resources permitted, but no more, lest an increase be “a cause of anarchy.” Her son Isaac Komnenos in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [48] declares his desire for a future increase “within the scope of its [i.e., the foundation’s] potential,” though like (22) *Evergetis*, he did not want to place quantity over quality.

6. Concessions for Wealthy Applicants

While our imperial founders generally held the line or better against possibly entangling fundraising schemes with external benefactors, they were increasingly willing to trade off disciplinary concessions to wealthy applicants in exchange for large, though voluntary, entrance gifts (*prosenexeis*). Not only the Empress Irene in (27) *Kecharitomene* [4] but also her sons John II Komnenos, in (28) *Pantokrator* [17] and Isaac, in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55] endorse this approach to increasing the endowments of their foundations. Of the three founders, Isaac Komnenos was the most entrepreneurial of all, being willing to set aside his rules banning eunuchs [3] as postu-

¹³ (27) *Kecharitomene* [5], (28) *Pantokrator* [19], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3]; cf. (3) *Theodore Studites* [4].

¹⁴ (27) *Kecharitomene* [5]; (28) *Pantokrator* [19], [28], [32]; and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [1], [48], [88].

lants or burials of laymen [86] within the monastery if a large enough donations were offered in exchange for these concessions.

D. Endorsements of the Evergetian Canon

Clearly then the governing class of Byzantium did not adopt the principles of the monastic reform movement without introducing considerable changes to make its content more palatable to their aristocratic tastes. Yet much of the Evergetian canon remains in their *typika*, with the striking originality of the model scarcely reduced. The two Sicilian foundations, both professedly based on Studite and other early precedents, are much less affected by the winds of change brought about by the monastic reform in contemporary Byzantium.

1. Institutional Independence

Consider in the first instance the endorsement of institutional independence by all three of the Byzantine authors,¹⁵ coupled with indignant condemnations of all the various exploitation schemes like the *charistike*, *epidosis*, and protectorate that had been practiced for a century or more by the imperial government and the ecclesiastical hierarchy before the reform. In the best reform tradition, the superior was the real governing officer of his monastery in all three of the Byzantine *typika*, the appointment of internal protectors in some of them notwithstanding.¹⁶ The authors of these documents reserve for themselves the right to appoint the superior during their own lifetimes, but allow subsequent choices to be made independently by vote of the monastic communities.¹⁷ This was obviously a crucial concession, which, combined with the careful curtailment of the power of designated protectors, gave real substance to the notion of institutional independence for the Byzantine foundations.

2. Control over Admissions through the Novitiate

The authors of the three Byzantine *typika* also provide for a probationary novitiate.¹⁸ This was an indispensable requirement for enabling reform monasteries to exercise some control over the quality of their individual monks, not to mention making it possible for them to resist applicants imposed by the public authorities of the imperial government or the church.

3. Condemnation of Alienations of Monastic Property

The three Byzantine authors also speak with one voice in condemning alienations of the landed and movable property of their foundations except under extraordinary circumstances.¹⁹

4. Support for the Principles of Cenobitic Monasticism

The authors of (25) *Fragala* and (26) *Luke of Messina*, backed by their patrons the Norman rulers of Sicily, are notably eager to uphold cenobitic life.²⁰ With varying degrees of enthusiasm, the authors of the Byzantine documents join their Sicilian counterparts in endorsing cenobitic monas-

¹⁵ (27) *Kecharitomene* [1], (28) *Pantokrator* [69], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [12].

¹⁶ (27) *Kecharitomene* [1], (28) *Pantokrator* [26], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [12].

¹⁷ (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], (28) *Pantokrator* [24], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [32].

¹⁸ (27) *Kecharitomene* [30], (28) *Pantokrator* [16], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55].

¹⁹ (27) *Kecharitomene* [9], (28) *Pantokrator* [65], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [45].

²⁰ (25) *Fragala* [B9] and (26) *Luke of Messina* [3].

ticism over idiorhythmic alternatives.²¹ The crucial provision of (22) *Evergetis* [26] providing for equality in food, drink and dress for all monks, regardless of rank, receives endorsement from (27) *Kecharitomene* [56], with an exception [4] only for privileged nuns from the imperial family, and from (29) *Kosmosoteira* [53], though not from (28) *Pantokrator*. Only in (28) *Pantokrator* do monks have private incomes.

5. Independent Financial Management

The authors of the Byzantine *typika* also share the scruples of (22) *Evergetis* in financial matters. Financial management independent of the patron was a cornerstone of the constitution of reform monasteries. After their own deaths, both the Empress Irene and her son Isaac Komnenos were willing to allow the superiors of their foundations to choose their own stewards to serve as chief financial officers; John II Komnenos provides for internal financial management by the four stewards of his foundation.²² Provisions for direct management of endowed properties varied, but except possibly for (28) *Pantokrator*, the property managers were to be appointed by the superior.²³

6. No Mandatory Entrance Gifts

Following (22) *Evergetis* [37], all three Byzantine authors reject the old requirement that postulants be required to pay mandatory entrance gifts.²⁴

E. Intensifications of Reform Concerns

The adherence of the three Byzantine authors to the core of the Evergetian canon would be sufficient to establish their place in the moderate reform tradition. Yet in a few matters these authors actually show an intensification of the reforming spirit initiated by (22) *Evergetis*.

1. Honest Financial Administration

Drawing on a strand of the reform movement separate from but ideologically consistent with (22) *Evergetis*, Empress Irene's *typikon* pays special attention to the financial officers of her convent, their responsibilities, and procedures to assure that they conduct their administrations honestly.²⁵ (27) *Kecharitomene* [9] explicitly disallows property speculation through sale or exchange of the institution's landed endowment. Isaac Komnenos follows his mother's lead here in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [58].

2. Rejection of Traditional Fund-Raising Schemes

Since the late eleventh century, most reform founders had been suspicious of various traditional schemes for raising money from lay benefactors—another unhappy legacy of the *charistike*. The author of (23) *Pakourianos* [20], for example, even worried about accepting gifts offered by the laity in exchange for memorial services. In (27) *Kecharitomene* [53], the empress is even more

²¹ (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], [3], [51], [55]; (28) *Pantokrator* [9], [20], [28]; and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [6].

²² (27) *Kecharitomene* [14] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [34]; cf. (28) *Pantokrator* [64].

²³ (27) *Kecharitomene* [31]; (28) *Pantokrator* [19], [64]; and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [40]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [34].

²⁴ (27) *Kecharitomene* [7], (28) *Pantokrator* [17], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55].

²⁵ (27) *Kecharitomene* [14], [19], [24], [31].

cautious, rejecting the sale of living allowances (*siteresia*) to external nuns (*exomonitides*) that the author of (19) *Attaleiates* [30] had been willing to permit a generation earlier.

3. Rejection of Externally-Imposed Appointments

While (27) *Kecharitomene* [30] welcomes nuns tonsured elsewhere (*xenokouritides*) as applicants, it rejects [54] nuns imposed by imperial, governmental, or patriarchal authority (i.e., *katapemptai*). As a ruler entitled to make such appointments himself, John II Komnenos realized that the ability to resist unsuitable appointments was dependent upon an end to the requirement of mandatory entrance gifts. Otherwise, as he declares in (28) *Pantokrator* [17], “freedom will be given to anyone to be admitted into the monastery.” He prefers instead that “virtue count above gold or any gift,” though he was willing to permit concessions to attractive nobly-born candidates who could offer useful skills or major donations to the monastery.

F. Other Concerns of the Authors

1. Institutional Philanthropy

Many of the authors of the documents included in this chapter shared a commitment to institutionalized philanthropy, a hallmark of monasteries in the reform tradition since the establishment of an infirmary in (22) *Evergetis* [41]. The Sicilian foundation described in (26) *Luke of Messina* [8] included a hospital and a hospice. The hospital associated with (28) *Pantokrator* [36] ff. is justly famous; this foundation also supported an old age home [58] ff. and a lepers’ sanatorium [63]. For his part, Isaac Komnenos provides for an old age infirmary in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [70].

2. Welfare of the Dependent Peasantry

A concern for the welfare of the peasantry, though not Evergetian, was also emerging by now as a characteristic of reform monasteries. (26) *Luke of Messina* mentions the housing provided for its field laborers [9] as well as its lay domestic servants [8]. In (27) *Kecharitomene* [31] the Empress Irene insists that her property managers be sensitive to the needs of the dependent peasantry. Her son Isaac Komnenos arguably shows the greatest solicitude of any of our authors towards the peasantry.²⁶

3. Building Maintenance

Perhaps with some awareness that the deteriorated state of many of the empire’s private religious foundations had been one of the pretexts for the institution of the *charistike*,²⁷ some of our founders oblige the officials of their foundations to make the physical maintenance of facilities an important responsibility. In (27) *Kecharitomene* [73] Irene Doukaina is particularly urgent in placing this responsibility upon the superior, “even if the damage should be as little as one glass lamp.” Her son Isaac Komnenos urges his superior and the monks to take diligent care of all the facilities of his foundation.²⁸

²⁶ (29) *Kosmosoteira* [71], [76], [98], [104].

²⁷ See Nikephoros Phokas, *Novella de monasteriis* (JGR 3.294); recalled with bitter irony by John of Antioch, *De monasteriis*, chaps. 9 and 13, ed. Gautier, pp. 109, 114.

²⁸ (29) *Kosmosoteira* [67], [70], [73], [79], [82], [104], [108].

4. Increasing Respect for Canon Law

Early on, the reform movement found canon law a useful tool in challenging the legitimacy of the various property exploitation schemes that had been employed by the imperial government and the unreformed ecclesiastical hierarchy during the eleventh century (see below, Historical Context). Originally, when relations between reform-minded founders and the hierarchy were bad, as they were when (22) *Evergetis* [13] provided for the choice of the superior through the promotion of the steward, the canonical prerogatives of the local bishop (or patriarch) with respect to the superior's installation and blessing (*sphragis*) were simply ignored. Later, when there had been some improvement, some founders like the author of (30) *Phoberos* [35] were willing to recognize the hierarchy's prerogatives. In (28) *Pantokrator* [25] the emperor chooses a middle course, distancing the patriarch by one remove from the installation ceremonies. In general, John II Komnenos was remarkably open-minded about considering the claims of canon law in this and other instances in which they impinged on the exercise of traditional patronal rights, even if he was not always willing to set his own judgments aside when they conflicted. Some years later in (29) *Kosmosoteira*, his younger brother Isaac Komnenos cites [49] canonical precedent when it was convenient to do so, and he recognizes [4], [32] the right of the local representative of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to install the superior of his monastery.

5. Development of Monastic Dependencies

Aside from the institution of the protectorate in (27) *Kecharitomene* [3] and in (28) *Pantokrator* [70] that has already been discussed above, there are some other institutional changes of note in the foundations represented by the documents in this chapter. One characteristic of the age was the development of large, powerful foundations with many dependencies. While an occasional private or independent monastery might well have a single dependency, especially one situated in the capital for the convenience of its monks on embassies,²⁹ the creation of foundations with many dependencies was accomplished most readily with imperial (or in Sicily, princely) resources. Thus Gregory, the author of (25) *Fragala* [B11], received as many as ten dependencies as the result of two generations of patronage from the ruling Norman dynasty in Sicily, and the author of (26) *Luke of Messina* [3] presided over twenty-two dependencies subordinated directly to the principal monastery of San Salvatore and another sixteen over which he had archimandritical authority by decree of his patron Roger II. In John II Komnenos' provision for his foundation in (28) *Pantokrator* [27], he annexes to it six dependent monasteries, presumably already richly endowed beyond their own needs.

In all three of the cases here cited, the patrons were pursuing basically political objectives in support of centralized cenobitic monasticism (see below, G. Historical Context). Newfound scruples in canon law and reform sentiment against simply seizing the assets of older foundations to support new ones may account for the phenomenon of preserving the former as dependencies while freeing up their assets for use by the latter. In (28) *Pantokrator* [27], the emperor is even careful to

²⁹ For examples of such dependencies, see: (5) *Euthymios* [1], (10) *Eleousa* [17], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34], (15) *Constantine IX* [5], (19) *Attaleiates* [6], and (23) *Pakourianos* [31]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [70]. (8) *John Xenos* [1], however, provides an example of an individual who was able to assemble a foundation with many dependencies with only subsidiary imperial support.

preserve the by-then unfashionable kelliotic constitutions that were in place in most of the dependencies.

6. Definition of Monastic Offices

Several of the authors of the imperial *typika* also demonstrate a greater interest in defining the various offices to be held by the monks in their foundations and in articulating their responsibilities. This is hardly surprising, given the intimate familiarity of these authors with the complex governmental bureaucracy of the Komnenian dynasty. Yet in the previous century, the author of (22) *Evergetis*, after describing the duties of a few critical officials, had authorized [39] the superior to appoint individuals to other offices “as the occasion demands and if there is urgent need.” In (27) *Kecharitomene* [14], [19] ff., however, Irene Doukaina provides detailed descriptions of all the officials in her convent. In (28) *Pantokrator* [19], [32], her son John II Komnenos describes a foundation in which nearly all of the not fewer than eighty monks stationed at the main monastery and the additional fifty members of the clergy assigned to the adjacent church of the Mother of God *Eleousa* was either an office-holder or was assigned to a specific service. The separate listing [38] ff. of personnel assigned to the hospital is similarly comprehensive, and even suggests [48] a kind of career track.

7. Procedures for Election of the Superior

Given the central importance of the position of the superior in independent foundations, it is also not surprising that our authors were very interested in determining how the choice for this office should be made, particularly after their own deaths.

Gregory, author of (25) *Fragala* [A7], [B7], is the most old-fashioned, keeping the choice of his successor to himself as a personal prerogative, evidently subject [C3] to the confirmation of the royal patron. Curiously, however, this author comes the closest of all to obliging [A9] the superior to govern in such a way as to retain the confidence of his flock. The author of (26) *Luke of Messina* is more open to suggestions from below, providing [11] that the monks of each dependency were to nominate candidates for superior of their houses, from among which the archimandrite of the main monastery would make [12] his choice.

In (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], Irene Doukaina provides that the superior along with the entire community were to propose three candidates for the succession, with the final choice being made by drawing lots after the incumbent’s death. In (28) *Pantokrator* [24], John II Komnenos directs the current superior to make three nominations which would be discussed by the community at large after the superior’s death; if a consensus could not be reached, a choice would be made by lot. In (29) *Kosmosoteira*, Isaac Komnenos, who revives the Evergetian idea of a group of preeminent monks governing consultatively with the superior, likewise allows them to select a new superior if a unanimous choice by the community was not forthcoming.³⁰

G. Historical Context

The half-century during which these documents were composed was another crucial one for the history of the Byzantine church, which saw the triumph and consolidation of the monastic reform movement.

³⁰ (29) *Kosmosoteira* [34], [41], [45], [78]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14], [19].

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Reconciliation of the Reformers and the Public Authorities

The reconciliation of the imperial government and the ecclesiastical hierarchy with the reform party took place at the Synod of Blachernai in 1094, which ended Leo of Chalcedon's eight years of exile and led to his reinstatement as metropolitan of Chalcedon.³¹ With the resolution of essentially personal differences between the moderates in the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the Chalcedonians, it was possible for Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos to concentrate on the reform of the *charistike*.

2. Alexios Komnenos' Activities in Support of the Reformers

Increasingly Emperor Alexios Komnenos could be depended upon to side with the reformers too. In May 1094, a few months before the Synod of Blachernai, he ruled that *charistikarioi* who held imperial diplomas awarding their grants could not use these as a basis for evading the registration requirement that the patriarch had announced in 1087.³² The patriarch's bold project of visiting all of the patriarchal monasteries then under lay management followed, either in 1095 or early 1096. Fiercely resisted by the *charistikarioi* who resented what they saw as an infringement of their rights or feared for the discovery of how badly they had abused their responsibilities, the patriarchal visitation brought to a head the long controversy over the *charistike*. In an important novel issued in 1096, the emperor basically upheld the patriarch's view that he should have unrestricted rights of oversight (*epiteresis*) and reformation (*diorthosis*) over all the monasteries within the patriarchate of Constantinople (i.e., the entire empire).³³

3. Impact of Alexios' Legislation on Contemporary Founders

Alexios' novel touched on several points of relevance to the interpretation of the documents in this chapter. His declaration that no patriarchal or imperial privilege could obstruct a patriarch from conducting a visitation of a monastery for the purpose of conducting a spiritual reformation, while aimed at curbing unscrupulous *charistikarioi*, failed to gain acceptance even by later reform-minded founders.³⁴ For instance, in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [4] Isaac Komnenos boldly forbids the patriarch to make such a visitation at his foundation, even in support of settling internal disputes which he himself refers to the patriarchal see for resolution.

The emperor forbade the exaction of mandatory entrance gifts (*apotagai*) from postulants on the grounds that they were uncanonical; free-will offerings (*prosenexeis*) were permitted as long as they were recorded in the institution's inventory and a notice was sent to the patriarch.³⁵ This was a tacit but precise endorsement of (22) *Evergetis* [37], which was in turn adopted by the emperor's wife Irene and his sons John and Isaac in their *typika* in later decades.

The emperor also drew a distinction between an *exomonites*, basically a non-resident lay

³¹ *Acta synodi Constantinopolitanae*, PG 127, cols. 972–84, with Paul Gautier, "Le synode des Blachernes (fin 1094). Étude prosopographique," *REB* 29 (1971), 213–84.

³² J. Darrouzès, "Dossier sur le charisticariat," *Polychronion: Festschrift F. Dölger* (Heidelberg, 1966), pp. 153–54, 157.

³³ Alexios Komnenos, *De jure patriarchae* (JRG 3.407–10); for a detailed discussion, see my *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 207–9.

³⁴ *De jure patriarchae* (JGR 3.408.7–33).

³⁵ *De jure patriarchae* (JGR 3.409.16–27).

appointee entitled to support from a monastery's revenues, and a *esomonites*, by which he understood a lay postulant imposed by an external authority (i.e., a *katapemptos*). The patriarch was to refrain from appointing the former, but could (in patriarchal institutions, at any rate) continue to designate the latter unless a particular monastery was already overburdened with non-residents it was obliged to support.³⁶ (28) *Pantokrator* [28] provides an example of various kelliotic monasteries that supported both of these kinds of appointees.

Founders of independent monasteries were extremely hostile to attempts by anyone to impose postulants on their foundations. Empress Irene, in (27) *Kecharitomene* [53], flatly forbids the appointment of "external nuns" (*exomonitides*) as well as "imposed guests" (*katapemptai*). Her son Isaac Komnenos could hardly in good conscience repeat this condemnation, however, for in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [107] he imposes a lay *esomonites* upon his foundation.

4. Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos' Support of Monastic Patrons

Nicholas III Grammatikos remained a friend to the reformers until his death in 1111. In (27) *Kecharitomene* [70], Empress Irene records how he granted her a patriarchal convent to serve as a funerary chapel for her foundation. He also issued a memorandum (*hypomnema*) recognizing the independence of the foundation for which (30) *Phoberos* [33] was written, limiting his own and his successors' rights in this foundation to liturgical commemoration (*anaphora*) and blessing (*sphragis*) of the foundation's superior. According to (24) *Christodoulos* [A5], the patriarch also appointed Christodoulos *protos* of the patriarchal monastery at Latros and supplied [C6] him with a fine library. Relations between them subsequently became strained, however, when Christodoulos subsequently abandoned his post, fearing for his life at the hands of the Turks. Later, though, it was the patriarchal notary Theodosios to whom Christodoulos turned when he set up a protectorate over his foundation on Patmos (see (24) *Christodoulos* [B5]).

5. John IX Agapetos and a New Generation of Reformers

Fortunately for the cause of the reformers, Nicholas' successor John IX Agapetos (1111–34) also proved to be a friend to their movement. He followed his predecessor's example (in the Athens case of 1089) in using canon law to justify annulling the grants of certain monasteries to laymen under the *charistike* in a case brought to the patriarchal synod by Constantine, metropolitan of Kyzikos, in 1116.³⁷ By cleverly locating and skillfully interpreting an old canonical precedent that had long since fallen into disuse, this patriarch determined that it was illegal for a bishop to alienate any part of the essential endowment of landed property (the *autourgion*) necessary to support his see.

Broadly interpreted, this may have served as the crucial decision that made possible the overthrow (as opposed just to the careful regulation) of the *charistike*. The reform movement had clearly paved the way for this outcome by insisting on the inalienability of a monastery's landed endowment, a principle endorsed by Empress Irene, her son John II Komnenos, and his brother Isaac Komnenos in their *typika*.

³⁶ *De jure patriarchae* (JGR 3.409.29–33).

³⁷ Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 1000; text edited by Th. Uspensky, "Mneniya i postanovleniya konstantinopolskikh pomestnikh sobarov XI i XII vv. o razdache tserkovnikh imuschestv (Charistikarii)," IRAIK 5 (1900), 1–48, at 15–29.

CHAPTER FIVE

6. Activities of Later Patriarchs in Support of Monastic Reform

Less is known about the activities of the next patriarch, Leo Styppes (1134–43). It was likely he who granted John II Komnenos the patriarchal monastery of Satyros, populated by eighteen kelliotic monks, which serves as a dependency for the emperor's foundation in (28) *Pantokrator* [27]. Yet in return, the emperor was willing to make [25] only a partial concession to him of the right to install the superior of his foundation. An unnamed patriarch similarly awarded Isaac Komnenos the ruined church of St. Stephen of the Aurelian as he records in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [108]. Later, after its restoration, this was to serve as *Kosmosoteira*'s Constantinopolitan dependency. Isaac Komnenos was also willing to trust the patriarchate for the resolution of disputes between the superior and the monks of his monastery,³⁸ which is an indication of how much relations between founders and the patriarchate had improved by the mid-twelfth century.

³⁸ (29) *Kosmosoteira* [4], [111].

25. *Fragala*: Testaments of Gregory for the Monastery of St. Philip of Fragala in Sicily

Date: 1096/97 (*First Testament*)

May 1105 (*Second and Third Testaments*)

Translator: Patricia Karlin-Hayter

Translator: Timothy Miller

Editions employed: Vera von Falkenhausen, “Die Testamente des Abtes Gregor von San Filippo di Fragalà,” in *HUS* 7 (1983), 174–195, with text at 191–94 (*First Testament*); Giuseppe Spata, *Le Pergamene greche esistenti nel Grande Archivio di Palermo* (Palermo, 1861), pp. 197–214, with texts at 197–204 (*Second Testament*) and 211–13 (*Third Testament*).

Manuscripts: Original documents, in Catania, Archivio di Stato, Fondo pergamenaceo, Archivio privato Raddusa (photoreproduction by von Falkenhausen, “Testamente,” p. 195) (*First Testament*); Palermo, Archivio di Stato, Ospedale Grande di Palermo, Abbazie di San Filippo di Fragala e Santa Maria di Maniace, no. 8, and Catania, Archivio Provinciale, Fondo Raddusa, no. 22 (*Second Testament*); Palermo, Archivio di Stato, Pergamene varie, no. 73 (*Third Testament*).¹

Other translations: Italian, in Spata, *Le pergamene*, pp. 197–204 (*Second Testament*), 211–13 (*Third Testament*); Latin, by G. Cozza-Luzi, “Del testamento dell’abate fondatore di Demenna,” *ASS* 15 (1890), 35–39, at 37–39 (*Third Testament*).

Institutional History

This monastery, structural remains of which still exist, is located in the region of northeastern Sicily called Val Demone, some twelve miles due south of Capo d’Orlando, on the mountain road beyond the villages of Mirto and Frazzano.

A. Early History of the Monastery

1. Origins

Nothing is known about the foundation and early history of the monastery. It existed already during the era of Arab rule over this area of Sicily, since Gregory, the author of our document and the monastery’s first known superior, says in his *Testament* that he began his career as a monk there at that time.² This would suggest that Fragala dated back to before the Arab conquest of the Val Demone, one of the last areas of Sicily to come under their control after the fall of Taormina (902) and Rametta (965). It is also possible, however, that the monastery dated from the Byzantine general George Maniakes’ ephemeral recovery of eastern Sicily for the empire in 1038–42, as was likely the case for at least one of the dependent churches later subordinated to the monastery.³

2. *Fragala* under Arab Rule

Gregory asserts that the monastery was virtually abandoned [A1], [B1] when he arrived there as a child and that he suffered [A2] personally from the Arab rulers of the island. Although *Fragala* as well as other Greek monasteries in the Val Demone remained inhabited during the era of Arab rule, they retained at least some of their properties perhaps because the Arabs came relatively late to this part of Sicily and seem to have settled there only lightly.⁴ Gregory himself [A3], [B3], [B4] and previously his parents [B12] were able to donate property to the monastery.

3. Refoundation under Norman Patronage

The Normans under the brothers Robert Guiscard and Roger began their invasion of the island in 1060. They conquered the predominantly Greek Val Demone in less than three years, while the Norman conquest of the rest of Sicily was not concluded until 1091. As Roger I, Count of Sicily (1072–1101), the Norman leader pursued a policy of supporting existing Greek monasteries and assisting in the rebuilding of others. Gregory claims [A2] that his monastery began to benefit from Roger's patronage soon after the reconquest, i.e., in the mid-1060s. With Roger's financial assistance, Gregory built [A2], [A3] the main church, a defensive tower, monastic cells, and another church dedicated to St. Michael.

4. Roger I's Foundation Charter of 1090

Roger I granted a charter of privileges to the monastery in June 1090.⁵ In this important but textually problematic document Roger I declares that *Fragala* will be exempt from the control of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and also of his own heirs. Like the greater part of the privileges of the early Norman period which were written on paper and needed to be recopied after a few years, Roger I's original diploma has not been preserved. It is known from two Latin translations executed from the Greek original in the mid-fifteenth century. The possibility of later interpolations or even of forgery cannot be excluded in considering documentary evidence of this provenance.⁶

Roger I made a similar series of concessions to other Greek monasteries in Sicily during the period 1090–93.⁷ His awards of institutional autonomy, well known as an imperial prerogative in Byzantium, are exceptional for a ruler in the medieval West, and are thought to have been retroactively recognized in a concession of hereditary legatine authority awarded to him by a bull of Pope Urban II (1088–99) in 1098.⁸

5. Growth of the Monastery's Dependencies

In his *First Testament* of 1096/97, Gregory mentions [A2] specifically only the aforementioned dependency of St. Michael while alluding to "such others as the principal monastery holds secure in her possession." In his *Second* and *Third Testaments* of 1105, however, we are supplied [B2], [C3] with lists of as many as ten dependencies, many of which were likely founded in the eight-year interval towards the end of Roger I's rule and at the beginning of the regency of his widow Adelaide (1101–12). Several of these are independently attested in other documentary sources, which add information on other dependencies as well.⁹

6. Patronage of the Monastery During the Regency of Adelaide

The golden age for the monastery was in the years after Roger I's death, during the regency of Adelaide for her sons Symeon (1101–5) and Roger II (1105–1112). Adelaide moved her late husband's court from Mileto in Calabria to San Marco in the Val Demone, close to *Fragala*, and

granted the monastery many benefits. These benefactions, which Gregory acknowledges generally in [B11] and [C1] below, can be studied in some detail, along with those of her successors and (through confirmations) her predecessors, because the monastery's tabulary has been fairly well preserved.¹⁰ There are thirty-seven documents from the era of Norman rule, from 1090 down to 1192. Twenty-seven of these are comital or royal donations and/or confirmations.¹¹ In an act of donation of October 1101, one of her first, Adelaide indicates the reason for her devotion to St. Philip of *Fragala*, a cure for an ear illness suffered by her son Roger at the saint's intercession.¹² Gregory also acknowledges [B11], [C3], [C4] benefactions from Greek officials of the Norman court that took place at this time. These are also independently attested by documentary evidence in the tabulary.¹³

7. Gregory's Arrangements for the Succession to the Superiorship

A notice in the author Gregory's hand on the verso of the manuscript of his *Second Testament* published for the first time by von Falkenhausen ("Testamente," pp. 184–85) considerably illuminates the problem of the selection of *Fragala's* next superior that was the most important motivation for the composition of the first two versions of the document. This indicates that Gregory's first choice as successor, the priest Blasios said [A7], cf. [B7] to have "belonged to this monastery from childhood," was in fact Gregory's nephew. In the *Second Testament* of 1105, we learn [B10] of Blasios' planned pilgrimage to Jerusalem, from which Gregory suspected he might not return. In the verso notice, dated to 1107, Gregory, then near death, announces his disappointment at Blasios' failure to return and appoints another nephew, Gregory, as his successor instead. Von Falkenhausen ("Patrimonio," p. 781) suggests, presumably based on the harsh language of the notice, that both of these nephews were imposed on the community against the will of the monks.

B. Subsequent History of the Monastery

1. *Fragala* under the Later Norman Rulers of Sicily

Even after Gregory's death, the monastery continued to benefit from Norman patronage on a reduced level. Roger II, who was born in 1095, came of age in 1112, serving as Count of Sicily until 1130, and thereafter as King (1130–54). In May 1117, he issued a golden bull that confirmed *Fragala's* privileges as originally granted by his father Roger I in 1090.¹⁴ At this time, donations from members of the Norman feudal aristocracy like Eleazar Mallabret (1116) and the brothers Matthew and Hugo de Craon (1122) replace the benefactions of the earlier Greek officials of the Norman court.¹⁵ The founder's nephew and namesake Gregory (II) was serving as superior of the monastery.

In 1133, however, Roger II decided to carry out a reorganization of the Sicilian kingdom's Greek monasteries under which some thirteen of these foundations, including *Fragala*, were subordinated to the archimandrite of the newly founded monastery of Christ Savior (San Salvatore) at Messina (for which see below, (26) *Luke of Messina*).¹⁶ The subordinated institutions, described as *kephalika* (capital) and *autodespota* (independent), continued to be ruled by their own superiors with a certain degree of independence and thus were not simple dependencies of the archimandral monastery at Messina in the strict sense of the term.

Occasional royal donations and confirmations later in the twelfth century demonstrate *Fragala's* enduring ties to the Norman court (von Falkenhausen, "Testamente," p. 176). In 1145,

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Roger II issued a bull for *Fragala*'s (Latin?) superior Boniface confirming thirteen documents originally issued by himself, his father Roger I, and his mother Adelaide.¹⁷ Later, there are three documents issued by Queen Margaret, acting as regent for her son King William II (1166–89), dated to 1168, 1171, and 1175 or 1176.¹⁸ The bilingual diploma of 1171 was issued in response to a visit to the court at Palermo by *Fragala*'s superior Pankratios and some of his monks to complain of unjust treatment by royal officials ignoring the immunities conceded them in Roger II's golden bull of 1117. The last of Margaret's documents is addressed to the superior Luke. The last two documents issued for *Fragala* by the Norman court are one granted by William II in 1187 for another superior named Pankratios (II?), and another by Tancred of Lecce (1189–94) issued in 1192 for this same Pankratios that confirms all prior liberties and concessions granted by the Norman rulers of Sicily.¹⁹

2. *Fragala* under Angevin and Aragonese Rule²⁰

Although as late as 1192 Greek was still being used in chancery documents of the Norman court awarded to *Fragala*, most Greek monasteries began to decline in the middle of the thirteenth century, as the Sicilian administration was latinized under new rulers (von Falkenhausen, "Testamente," p. 176) like Charles of Anjou (1266–82) and Peter of Aragon (1276–85). According to the visitation report drawn up for the archimandrite of San Salvatore, there were only seven monks left in 1329 and *Fragala* controlled just two of its dependencies, yet von Falkenhausen reckons that it was still better off economically at this time than most other Greek Sicilian monasteries. Restorations ordered by the archimandrite were completed three years later in 1332, including a repair of the church roof. A commendatory abbot was appointed in 1417, who had the right to vote in the Sicilian parliament. In 1490, Pope Innocent VIII (1484–92) subordinated the monastery to the Ospedale Grande in Palermo.²¹ Seven years later, Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503) allowed Benedictine monks to replace the Greek (Basilian) monks on the grounds that it was impossible to find the latter who were "good, honest, and exemplary in their lives."²² By 1511, the monastery had four dependencies, two of which, San Talleleo and Sant' Ippolito, dated back to the eleventh century.

3. *Fragala* in Modern Times until its Secularization

According to von Falkenhausen ("Testamente," p. 175), the buildings were completely renovated in the eighteenth century, leaving hardly a trace of the medieval structures, but Salinas ("Escursioni," p. 387) reported in 1887 that the church had preserved its original plan despite modern restorations and plasterings. The royal visitor Monsignor J. A. De Ciocchis visited *Fragala* in 1742 while it was still an operating monastery. He described the whitewashed exterior of the church and noted the presence of the foundation's archives, with diplomas, in the library.²³

The Benedictine monks left the monastery in August 1866 when it was secularized after the fall of the Bourbon Kingdom of Sicily in 1861 and the establishment of the modern Kingdom of Italy. At that time there were twenty-four monasteries in Sicily that could be traced back to Greek origins.²⁴

The greater part of the archives of the monastery are found today under the title of "Tabulario dell'Ospedale Grande" in the Archivio di Stato in Palermo, where they were placed after the secularization of 1866.²⁵ A modern edition of the tabulary would greatly assist our understanding of the history of this foundation, which operated as a monastery for over eight hundred years.

Analysis

The three *Testaments* attributed to Gregory, superior of the monastery of Saint Philip of *Fragala*, illustrate the life of a monastic foundation in early twelfth-century Sicily that had prospered through royal patronage. In default of comparable documents from pre-reform imperial monasteries in Byzantium proper, these may be used with care to provide some idea of how monastic leaders and their imperial patrons might have worked together before the monastic reform in Byzantium irrevocably altered the terms of that relationship.

A. Typology of the Document

The *First Testament* [A], edited only relatively recently, is dated to 1096/97. Along with the *Second Testament* [B] of 1105, it is concerned primarily with arranging the succession to the superiorship, but the latter document also revises some of the terms of the former. The *Third Testament* [C], also dated to 1105, is concerned principally with the foundation's dependencies. The author also composed [A4] a rule (*kanon*) for his monks, now lost, that was not an original work but drew on [B4] the writings of Basil of Caesarea, Theodore the Studite (possibly (4) *Stoudios*), and "all the fathers." Thus this was a foundation that stood outside of the Evergetian tradition that was then so influential in Byzantium itself.

B. Lives of the Monks

Unlike contemporary Byzantine institutions such as those governed by (10) *Eleousa*, (23) *Pakourianos*, and (27) *Kecharitomene* in which the performance of the canonical hours dominated the lives of the monks, here psalms and hymns were performed [A5], [B5] only on designated feast days. The monks are exempted [A5], [B5] from the practice of manual labor on feast days, but there is no further discussion. The novitiate of three years [A8], [B8] was a relatively long one by contemporary standards, stricter than in (22) *Evergetis* [37], but equal to that provided for in (27) *Kecharitomene*.

C. Constitutional Matters

The author exercises [A7], [B7] his patronal right to designate his successor, the ordained monk Blasios. He took the precaution of securing [C3] from Countess Adelaide her confirmation of his choice. Yet after the latter sought permission to go off on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the author decided [B10] to reassert his prerogative to choose someone else to lead the community if Blasios fails to return within three years. If the author himself has died by then, the monks are to choose a successor from among themselves. As we learn from a note on the verso of the *Second Testament*, Gregory actually did this himself in 1107. There is no mention of any episcopal role in his successor's consecration, though Luke, bishop of Asyla, served as the scribe for all three testaments.

The author binds [A9] the monks to obedience to his successor, provided that "he is doing a good job of directing the flock" (cf. [A10]). Although this implies the possibility that the superior might be deposed by his fellow monks, the author explicitly declares [B12] that he is to be immune from removal by any external authority. For his part, the successor must preserve [A11] the testament, observe [B10] the author's canons (i.e., the lost *typikon*), and "not make use of secular persons and officials so that he dishonors this dignity."

D. Financial Matters

The foundation was supported both by private donations and royal patronage. The author, who had been dedicated [A1] to the monastery as a child, brought with him from his parents certain landed properties. He made [B4] another donation of landed and movable property at his tonsure. Still later, he donated [A3], [B3] additional vineyards and small farms to support the community as it increased in size. He carefully excludes [B12] any attempt by his lay relatives to reclaim these properties. Count Roger I provided [A2] financial assistance for the construction of the foundation's church and a protective tower. He also was at least partly responsible [B11] for the assignment of dependencies to the foundation, which the author then rebuilt [B2], [C2]. These included a nunnery and also a church likely founded by the Byzantine general George Maniakes († 1042).

After Roger's death, his wife Adelaide, acting in the name of her sons Symeon and Roger II, continued to provide [C3] financial assistance for the reconstruction of the foundation's dependencies. Other officials of the Norman court also provided dedications for the foundation. The royal patrons and other benefactors were to be rewarded [C3] with "unceasing prayers" in the dependencies. The author astutely seeks to associate [C4] the benefactors' interest in the continuance of these prayers with their vigilance to see to it that the foundation is not subsequently deprived of its dependencies.

This external support and the apparent acceptability of entrance gifts help explain both the large increase [B1] in the number of monks at the foundation and the author's expectation [B8] of future growth.

E. Relationship to the Monastic Reform

This was a very different kind of foundation from many reform monasteries, which were limited in size by the financial implications of their ideological scruples and comprehensive liturgical programs. Yet, in his own way, the author has tightened the disciplinary standards expected of his monks. He has reintroduced [B4] the practice of abstinence from meat, which had been disregarded during the period of Arab rule. By 1105, he has also introduced [B9] a prohibition of private property (*pekoulia*) which was absent from the *First Testament*.

Notes on the Introduction

1. See von Falkenhausen, "Testamente," pp. 177–78, with n. 20, and p. 183, n. 43.
2. (25) *Fragala* [A1], cf. [A2]; [B1], cf. [B2], [B4].
3. The church of the Mother of God of Maniakes; see (25) *Fragala* [B2] and [C2].
4. M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Catania, 1935), p. 435.
5. Silvestri, *Tabulario* pt. 1, no. 34, pp. 126–31, cf. confirmation by Roger II (1117) in Cusa, *Diplomi*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 383–84, and Spata, *Pergamene greche*, no. 14, pp. 245–54; with discussions in von Falkenhausen, "Testamente," p. 175, Scaduto, *Monachesimo Basiliano*, p. 104, and Siciliano, "Greek Community," pp. 79, 139, n. 55.
6. Von Falkenhausen, "Testamente," p. 175, n. 8.
7. See references in White, *Latin Monasticism*, p. 39, n. 6.
8. See discussion in White, *Latin Monasticism*, pp. 39–40, 44.
9. Scaduto, *Monachesimo Basiliano*, pp. 106–11.
10. See the editions of Cusa, *Diplomi*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 383–467; Silvestri, *Tabulario*, pt. 1, and Spata,

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- Pergamene greche*; Siciliano, "Greek Community," pp. 81–84, provides a brief discussion of each of the documents attributed to Adelaide.
11. Siciliano, "Greek Community," pp. 78–79.
 12. Cusa, *Diplomi*, vol. 1, pt. 1, no. 7, pp. 394–95; Spata, *Pergamene greche*, no. 5, pp. 191–93; with Siciliano, "Greek Community," pp. 81–82.
 13. Cusa, *Diplomi*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 399ff; with von Falkenhausen, "Ceti dirigenti," pp. 352–54, and "Testamente," pp. 175–76.
 14. Cusa, *Diplomi*, vol. 1, pt. 1, no. 1, pp. 383–85, and Spata, *Pergamene greche*, no. 14, pp. 245–49; with Siciliano, "Greek Community," p. 85.
 15. Cusa, *Diplomi*, vol. 1, pt. 1, nos. 15–17, pp. 411–15, and Spata, *Pergamene greche*, nos. 13, 15–16, pp. 241–43, 255–59; with Siciliano, "Greek Community," pp. 89–90.
 16. See discussions in von Falkenhausen, "Patrimonio," pp. 785–86, and "Testamente," p. 176. As von Falkenhausen notes in the former work, p. 786, n. 33, the Greek text of the document ordering the subordination, Codex Vaticanus Latinus 8202, ff. 56–59, 130–32, remains unedited; a fifteenth-century Latin translation has been published by R. Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, 3rd ed., vol. 2 (Palermo, 1733), pp. 974–76.
 17. Spata, *Pergamene greche*, no. 41, pp. 379–82, and Silvestri, *Tabulario*, pt. 1, no. 39, pp. 151–55; with Siciliano, "Greek Community," pp. 85–86.
 18. Cusa, *Diplomi*, vol. 1, pt. 1, no. 21, pp. 421–23; Spata, *Pergamene greche*, nos. 19, 21–22, 40, pp. 269–70, 273–76, 373–74; Silvestri, *Tabulario*, pt. 1, no. 30C, G, pp. 106–7, 110–11; with Siciliano, "Greek Community," pp. 86–88.
 19. Cusa, *Diplomi*, vol. 1, pt. 1, no. 27, pp. 438–39; Spata, *Pergamene greche*, nos. 27 and 29, pp. 301–3, 371–72, 305–7; and Silvestri, *Tabulario*, pt. 1, nos. 1 and 30A, pp. 1–3, 102–3; with Siciliano, "Greek Community," pp. 88–89.
 20. For the monastery's later history, see especially Filangeri, *Monasteri basiliani*, p. 36.
 21. Silvestri, *Tabulario*, pt. 1, no. 36, pp. 137–40.
 22. Silvestri, *Tabulario*, pt. 1, no. 38, p. 149.
 23. Salinas, "Escursioni," pp. 386, 392–93.
 24. White, *Latin Monasticism*, p. 46.
 25. Von Falkenhausen, "Testamente," p. 177.

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Translation

Note on the translation of the *Second Testament* [B]: italics indicate borrowings from the *First Testament* [A].

First Testament [A]

+ Gregory, the lowly monk and, however unworthy, superior of the monastery of our holy father Philip at Demenna.

[A1.] I, Gregory, the above signed humble sinner, renounced the world and all things worldly from my earliest childhood and dedicated myself to the monastery of St. Philip, which was completely deserted and unknown, not then packed with crowds of monks as it is today. With the help of God, who provides for our salvation and foreknows what is to come, and through the intercession of the most holy Philip, I persevered in this place and fought hard to bring this obscure place to prominence.

[A2.] Indeed, scarcely had the island of Sicily been freed from all the bloodshed and the taking of prisoners—for I too daily endured many terrors in this monastery from our masters the Ismaelites—when, with the approval of the most noble Count [Roger I (1061–1101)], and through the efforts of my humble self and the obedient [service] of the first brothers in submission to me, this church was erected from its foundations and the tower built, as those whose [p. 192] eyes gaze on it [today] can see. For we were not only engaged in the building of the [main] church, but also with the one [dedicated to] Michael, the commander of the heavenly armies, and such others as the principal monastery holds secure in her possession, safely reckoned with her property.

[A3.] I built the cells, too, for the monks to live in. I gave vines and fields to feed them and all those who stream towards this holy monastery. In a word, I exerted myself to the utmost [to improve] all her resources, in the fear of God and for the good of the brothers.

[A4.] As for the holy monks in it, whom I had tonsured, I governed them and gave them a rule, not of my own devising, but culled from the fathers. I handed on to them the rule of complete abstinence from meat, ordaining strict abstinence. I ruled that they should fast not only in renowned Lent, but also during the [period of] the purification that precedes Christmas and the feast of the Holy Apostles. [Fasting on] Wednesday and Friday is, as aforesaid, the tradition of our holy fathers.

[A5.] I handed on to them [the rule of] observing not Sunday only, but the fourteen holy days [of

the Lord] and the days of the Apostles and major saints. These days I told them to observe, taking care to do no work of any kind on these days, so that they may be spent, free from distraction, in psalms and hymns. I enjoined that, equally with these, be observed the feasts of God's holy Mother, she who is a fortress for all Christianity. For if we have been ordered to observe the feasts of the Apostles, how much more those of our most pure Lady, Mary ever-virgin.

[A6.] Now that I have reached impotent old age, the reasoning power of my mind has recognized that the inexorable cup of death is near, and that it has no respect for grey hair nor pity for youth, and that it comes in turn to all. In the words of the sweet-singing Prophet, "What man is there," says he, "who shall live and not see death? Or who shall deliver his soul from the hand of Hades?" (Ps. 88 [89]: 49).

[A7.] So, because of this unpredictable suddenness of death, taking as advisers the goodly and choice assembly of my brothers and children, in the tradition of our father of blessed memory, Theodore of the Studites,¹ and the holy fathers who have practiced asceticism before us, I selected to take my place the most devout Blasios, my disciple, a priest, who has belonged to this monastery from childhood. Scrupulously observing all a monk should, [he is] to take into his capable hands the helm of this monastery and govern the holy monks abiding there, to drive and administer them, piously and lawfully, according to the Gospel, as a most excellent shepherd promoted by God, and [be] ready to lay down his life for the sheep, as Christ the great shepherd commanded. For "No one," says he, "has greater love than this, that he should lay down his life for his friends" (John 15:13), and, "The good [p. 193] shepherd lays down his life for the sheep" (John 10:11).

[A8.] He must be the support, not only of the sheep entrusted to him by me, but of those who at any time shall join this flock after stringent examination. That is, [he shall] tonsure them after three years probation and . . . to the other . . . through them service is paid to the Divinity, and the church should come to further increase. For if whenever two or three are, God has promised to be in their midst (cf. Matt. 18:20), how much more so where there are [greater] numbers. His efforts should be devoted not only to increasing the flock but also to strengthening the whole tradition of the rules prescribed for this flock of God's elect, so that when he appears before the Savior at his great Second Coming, he may, with the brothers subject to him, receive the prize of the upward call (Phil. 3: 14)² and present himself joyfully³ before that fearful tribunal, shouting, "Here am I and the children God has given me" (Heb. 2:13).

[A9.] If he is doing a good job of directing the flock and steering the souls of the brothers, let there be no murmuring against him. Rather, [show him] the obedience becoming to monks, since a blameless life and untroubled faith shown to the fathers by their children can correct the heart of both. Thus to both the grace of the Holy Spirit often reveals, instead of features the senses apprehend, the inward disposition, establishing them, as the hymn goes, "Gods in their heart."⁴ So while they obey him without a qualm, he spends sleepless nights for their souls. In the words of the Apostle, "Obey," says he, "those that have rule over you, and submit to them, for they watch at night for your souls, as being answerable for them; so they may do it with joy and not with grief" (Heb. 13:17).

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[A10.] So he, the shepherd honored by his own sheep, shall not have leave to be irritable with them, but kind and gentle like [God's] servant Moses. For forming letters does less to incline men to obedience than the character of a kind and mild shepherd. So long as the shepherd appointed⁵ by me herds the flock properly, and those under him are well guarded, no one has leave to rebel against him or make trouble with factions and disorderly dissensions, under pain of the same curse with the Jews who bartered God.

[A11.] No one shall have leave to set aside this my lawful and genuine testament, which I have drawn up, being sane in mind and with my faculties undiminished. If anyone should attempt not to observe it whole and entire, on him be the curse of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, and the curse of the Holy Fathers, and a bond from me that cannot be loosed.

[A12.] This [testament is] to stand firm and unshakeable,⁶ through the intercession of our Lady, Mother of God above-all-praise, and of the godlike angels, and of all the saints. Amen. +++ [p. 194]

+ Written by the hand of Luke, humble and sinful bishop of Syla,⁷ in the presence of all the monks
+

In the year 6605, indiction 5 [1096/97 A.D.] + Be Saint Nicholas of Kastellon⁸ inseparable from the Monastery of St. Philip +

+ In the presence of the [following] trustworthy witnesses: Basil *protopapas*. Constantine priest, witness. Polykarpos priest, witness. Gerasimos priest and monk, witness. Nicholas, deacon. Sergios, priest. Witnessed further by [other] priests and monks.

Second Testament [B]

This testament has been issued and confirmed by me, Gregory, the humble superior of Saint Philip's in Demenna. [p. 197]

[B1.] *I Gregory, the humble sinner who signed above in this document, renounced the world and the vain and dream-filled things of the world and dedicated myself from my earliest childhood to the aforementioned monastery of Saint Philip which was at that time deserted and unknown, not packed with crowds of monks as it appears today. With the help of God, who provides for our salvation and foreknows what is to come and through the intercessions of the most holy Philip, I persevered [p. 198] in this place and fought hard to bring this obscure place to prominence.*

[B2.] *Indeed, scarcely had the island of Sicily been freed from all the bloodshed and the taking of prisoners perpetrated by the godless Saracens—for I, too, the humble one endured many terrors in this most holy monastery—when with the understanding of the late most noble Count Roger [I] and through the efforts of my humble self and the obedience and submission of those brothers and*

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fathers *who first came to this monastery, this church was erected from its foundations and the tower built, as those whose eyes gaze on it [today] can see. I, the unworthy, was not only engaged in the building of this great monastery but also in the nearby church of the archangel Michael and [the churches] of Saint John the Forerunner, the Mother of God, the Apostle Peter, the Holy Philadelphoi, Saint Thallelaios, our holy father and bishop Nicholas, and the other church of the Apostle Peter and [the church] of the Mother of God [founded] by the late most noble Maniakes⁹ and the church of Saint Mark most recently constructed in this city, which has been entrusted to holy women for the glory of God who is greatly praised in song.¹⁰ [I have also labored on many other properties such as this greatest of monasteries holds secure in her possession, safely reckoned with her property.*

[B3.] Along with the tower, *I built cells [p. 199] ,too, and upper stories where the monks sleep and take their necessary nourishment. I gave to this monastery out of my own diligence the revenues of vines and fields to feed the monks persevering there and those who stream towards this holy and divine monastery. In a word, [I exerted myself] to the utmost [to improve] all her resources, in the fear of God and for the good of the monks thereafter.*

[B4.] In addition, when I first was tonsured and was numbered in the chorus of the monks, I dedicated to the monastery both the movable and immovable property which belonged to me from my family. *As for the holy monks whom I had tonsured, I gave them a rule from the holy fathers, I mean that of Basil the Great, of the holy Theodore the Studite and of all the fathers, [the rule] of complete abstinence from meat,¹¹ [a rule] which was not observed on the island of Sicily because it had been plundered by the descendants of Agar and fallen into disorder. In the same way I ruled that they should fast not only in renowned Lent but also during [the period of] purification that precedes Christmas (beginning on the feast of the Apostle Philip) and also before the feast of the Apostles. [Fasting] throughout the year on the weekdays, Wednesday and Friday—except for the feasts of major saints and those who are sick in body—is as aforesaid, the tradition of the holy fathers.*

[B5.] *I handed on to them [the rule] [p. 200] of doing no work on the holy days of the twelve Apostles and major saints together with the holy days of the Resurrection; to sing to God his canticles without distraction and never cease to carry his praises in their throats. I also enjoined them to give greater effort to their care for the holy Scriptures so that Christ will be kind with regard to our sins and will look upon his people and revoke their evil deeds.*

[B6.] *Now that I have reached impotent old age through many evils, the reasoning power of my mind recognized that the inexorable obligation of death is near and that it has no respect for grey hair nor pity for youth and that it comes in turn to all, according to the divine and sweet-singing prophet [who says] that “there is no man who shall live and not see death and that” no one shall deliver his soul from the hand of Hades” (Ps. 88 [89]: 49).*

[B7.] *Because of this unpredictable suddenness of death, making use of the good counsel of my*

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sons *and brothers*, I explained to them my benevolent intention to dispose of my affairs as I wish, *in the tradition of our holy father Theodore of the Studites and the other holy fathers who practiced asceticism before [us]*.¹² Having [their instructions] above all in my heart, *I selected by my own choice and that of the brothers my disciple, the most devout Blasios, to take my place*. He has been raised in this most pious *monastery from childhood and is learned* [p. 201] *and observes scrupulously all a monk should*. I established him as the superior *to take into his capable hands the helm of this monastery and steer the holy monks abiding there into serene harbors and lead them to the heavenly sheepfold; to drive and administer them piously and lawfully, according to the word of the Lord “laying down his life for the sheep” (John 10:11). For “greater love has no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends” (John 15: 13).*

[B8.] *He must be the support not only of the sheep entrusted to him by me but of those who at any time shall join this flock after stringent examination, that is, after they have completed three years probation and have been numbered with those who have already been laboring so that service is paid to the Divinity and the Church should come to further increase. For if “where two or three [are gathered] ,” God promised, “to be in their midst” (Matt. 18: 20), how much more so when there are [greater] numbers? His efforts should be devoted not only to increasing the flock but also to preserving intact the whole tradition of the rules prescribed for this flock so that when he appears before the Savior at his great Second Coming, he may with the brothers subject to him “receive the prize of the upward call” (Phil. 3: 14). With confidence he will proudly say “Here am I and the children God has given me” (Heb. 2: 13).*

[B9.] *If he is doing a good job of directing the flock and steering the souls of the brothers, let there be no murmuring* [p. 202] *against him, but fitting obedience*. I command that the superior and his whole congregation are to avoid any private property.¹³ Everything should be held in common and with similar rights, according to the passage in the Acts of the Apostles, “they had all things in common” (Acts, 2: 44). [I ordain obedience] *because a pure and sincere life shown by the sons to their own fathers can correct the heart of both. Thus to both the grace of the Holy Spirit often reveals, instead of features the senses apprehend, the inward disposition, establishing them “Gods in their heart,”*¹⁴ *in accordance with the saying “I said you are Gods” (John 10: 34) and “sons of the most High” (Luke 6: 35).*

[B10.] If this superior whom I have promoted should journey to Jerusalem as he desires and concerning which he has many times made requests of my lowliness, the monks have permission to wait three years in accordance with the declarations of the superior before me and the brothers. If he should return in the manner he has said, he should retain his pastoral rank. If he should not return, and if I, a poor sinner, am still alive, I will promote another to the service of the flock.¹⁵ If, on the other hand, I have departed from this transient life before he should arrive back after the stipulated time, let one from among the brothers be selected by the decision and discretion of the brothers, one whom the grace of the Holy Spirit shall reveal, a suitable person who has knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. He shall shepherd the flock in holiness and justice according to the canons which I have handed down. He should not [p. 203] make use of secular persons and officials so

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that he dishonors this dignity, but [he should rule] by the discretion of the brothers as has been said, and as the divine plan orders because God knows those who are with him.

[B11.] The aforementioned churches, together with this great monastery, were built by me with the help of the count of blessed memory [Roger I] who was led by the Holy Spirit, and similarly with the help of the honored officials, that is to say, with the help of Nicholas, the most glorious *kaprilingas*, and of Leo the *logothetes*.¹⁶ These men and the most gentle Eugenios of gentle birth,¹⁷ together with the sovereign and the sovereign's wife, Adelaide, made great efforts to construct these churches. Moreover, they dedicated other things for the priests and [gave] other treasures for the forgiveness of their sins and for their eternal life. For them the prayers of this monastery will be unceasing unto the ages of ages.

[B12.] If anyone, seized by demonic deception, should attempt to block the valid testament I have made, to detach the aforementioned dependencies from the great monastery of Saint Philip, to seek from members of my household and from my heirs the properties dedicated by my parents to this same monastery, to expel the superior whom I promoted over this monastery or to dissolve the canon set forth by the Holy Fathers, he will have the curse of the God-inspired fathers as well as the anathema, even the [p. 204] added anathema and the total anathema, and my own malediction. Would that my testament were acceptable and would be confirmed and remain pure and sound, the testament which has been written by the hand of Luke, the sinner, bishop and scribe, in the month of May, thirteenth indiction, in the year 6613 [= 1105 A.D.].

The mark of Gregory, the superior of Saint Philip of Argiro¹⁸ in Demenna.

Third Testament [C]

The testament issued and confirmed by Gregory, superior of Saint Philip's in Demenna. [p. 211]

[C1.] I, the aforementioned Gregory, have placed first in the text the holy cross. Fearing the end of death lest it somehow catch me without a testament and send me empty and without provisions to those on the other side as has often happened and befallen many, I have thus made provision before all else for the monastery of Saint Philip and its dependencies. I, a sinner, have been the builder of these [institutions] with the assistance and cooperation of that great Count Roger and his wife, our sovereign [p. 212] and Lady Adelaide, who remains behind the count of blessed memory together with her son, the new count and our sovereign, Symeon [(1101–1105)], and his brother, the little Roger [II, Count (1105–1130), King (1130–1154)]. These people have watched over and guarded the flock together with its dependencies, just as the blessed and great count has.

[C2.] These are the dependencies of Saint Philip's monastery. First is the nearby church of the Holy Archangel, then of Saint Nicholas', Saint Peter's, the martyr Thallelaios', the Apostle Mark's, the church of the Mother of God [built by] Maniakes, the other Saint Peter's, and the Holy Philadelphoi.

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[C3.] As I stated, these buildings were constructed out of the personal expense of the blessed count and of the Lady Adelaide and their children; and also of the lord Nicholas, the notary of the blessed count and his son, the new sovereign Symeon, who together with his mother helped with these churches in his father's place. For these people unceasing prayers will be said in these churches as well as for all those officials who have made dedications to these monasteries. Thus, I settle matters just as I did in the other large testament¹⁹ so that the aforementioned dependencies will remain unshaken in the possession of the great monastery of Saint Philip and so that the superior [will also remain] whom I have established in my place as the sovereign countess and her son, the young count, have ordained.

[C4.] If anyone should be discovered doing anything against these dependencies so that they should not belong to the great monastery, [p. 213] or if anyone should put a stop to the prayers on behalf of the blessed count and the Lady Adelaide and her sons as well as on behalf of the lord Nicholas and all those who love these churches, let him receive the curse of the Holy Fathers and a malediction from me a sinner. To the contrary, let [the monks] pray for these people as long as the churches exist since they erected these churches so that prayers [may be offered for] them and the prosperity of their fortune. God have mercy on them and give them guidance.

[C5.] [I hope] also that the sovereign count, still a little one, and the lady, his mother [Adelaide], will love the superior who has taken my place as they have loved me. I refer to the superior I have left for the church. May [these rulers] not permit these churches to be abandoned.

This testament has been written by Luke, the bishop of Asyla, in the month of May, in the thirteenth indiction, in the year 6613 [= 1105 A.D.]

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of one of our translators, Patricia Karlin-Hayter [PKH], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. An allusion to (3) *Theodore Studites*; see also [B7] below.
2. Athanasius, *Epistola ad Dracontium* 8, PG 25, col. 532C. [PKH]
3. For *parousias* read *parresias*. [PKH]
4. E. Follieri, *I calendari in metro innografico de Cristoforo Mitilineo*, vol. 2 (= *Subsidia Hagiographica* 63) (Brussels, 1980), p. 431. [PKH]
5. For *prostatheis* read *protatheis*. [PKH]
6. For *aparasalyton* read *aparasaleuton*. [PKH]
7. Luke signs as bishop of Syla here after [A12] and as bishop of Asyla after [C5]. Von Falkenhausen, "Testamente," p. 181 suggests that Syla may be a scribal error for Asyla which is attested in contemporary sources as the name of Luke's diocese. Luke is also known to have been a scribe (*grammatikos*); see below [B12].
8. Evidently a dependency of the monastery; see Scaduto, *Monachesimo Basiliano*, p. 109, and [B2], [C3] below.
9. This church was perhaps founded by George Maniakes during his temporary reconquest (1038–1042) of eastern Sicily; see also [C2] below.

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10. For identifications and discussions of these dependencies, see Scaduto, *Monachesimo Basiliano*, pp. 106–10.
11. Cf. Pseudo-Basil, *Canones* 28, 85 (R&P 4.164, 257), which permit the use of meat.
12. An apparent reference to (3) *Theodore Studites*; see also [A7] above.
13. *Peculia*; cf. (26) *Luke of Messina* [3].
14. Reading *theous tas kardias* as in [A9], ed. von Falkenhausen, “Testamente,” p. 193, line 35. See also n. 4 above.
15. Gregory actually exercised this option according to the note on the verso of the *Second Testament* (ed. von Falkenhausen, p. 184), appointing his namesake and other nephew Gregory to replace the absent Blasios.
16. For benefactions from these officials, see Cusa, *Diplomi*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 399 ff.; for Nicholas, see also [C3] and [C4] below.
17. “Gentle Eugenios of gentle birth,” a possible pun: *eugeneias*, *Eugenios*; for this Greek official at the Norman court, see von Falkenhausen, “Ceti dirigenti,” p. 354.
18. For this local saint to whom, according to some sources, the monastery was dedicated, see von Falkenhausen, “Testamente,” p. 174.
19. An allusion to [B12].

Document Notes

1. *First Testament* [A]

- [A1] Founder’s personal association with the monastery. See similar treatment in [B1] below; [B12] informs us that his parents donated properties at the time of his entrance into the monastery.
- [A2] Refoundation under patronage of Roger I. See similar but longer treatment in [B2] below, which lists all the dependencies acquired by 1105.
- [A3] Founder’s personal contribution. See similar treatment in [B3] below, with more details.
- [A4] Source of the rule; regulation of fasting. See similar treatment in [B4] below, with its specific identification of sources. For similar regulations of fasting in contemporary documents, see (20) *Black Mountain* [38], [38R], [54], [56]; (22) *Evergetis* [10]; (23) *Pakourianos* [10]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], [48]; and (30) *Phoberos* [27], [28], [29], [30].
- [A5] Feasts to be observed. [B5] below has a different focus. For similar regulations in contemporary documents on celebration of feasts of the Lord, see (20) *Black Mountain* [48], [52], [53]; (22) *Evergetis* [11]; and (30) *Phoberos* [32].
- [A6] Meditation on death. See similar treatment in [B6] below and in (5) *Euthymios* [3]; (6) *Rila* [2]; (7) *Latros* Introduction; (10) *Eleousa* [1]; (24) *Christodoulos* [B1]; (30) *Phoberos* [1]; (41) *Docheiariou* [1]; (44) *Karyes* [1]; (45) *Neophytos* [2]; (48) *Prodromos* [1]; (49) *Geromeri* [2] ff.; and (50) *Gerasimos* [1]; (51) *Koutloumoussi* [A1], [C1].
- [A7] Designation of Blasios as his successor. See similar treatment in [B7] below.
- [A8] Length of novitiate; mandate to increase number of resident monks. See similar treatment in [B8] below, and contemporary discussions of the novitiate in (22) *Evergetis* [37]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A26]; (23) *Pakourianos* [25]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [30]; and (30) *Phoberos* [51].
- [A9] Obligation of obedience to the new superior. See similar treatment in [B9] below, and contemporary treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [16]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]; (30) *Phoberos* [36]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A28].
- [A10] Superior to show kindness to monks. There is no equivalent in [B] below, but see contemporary treatments in (10) *Eleousa* [12]; (22) *Evergetis* [17]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A19]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]; and (30) *Phoberos* [36].
- [A11] Preservation of the *Testament*. See similar treatment in [B12] below, and contemporary provisions in (10) *Eleousa* [22]; (23) *Pakourianos* [33]; (22) *Evergetis* [40]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [A27].

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[A12] Appeal for heavenly assistance. See also treatments in (19) *Attaleiates* [7], cf. [15], and (24) *Christodoulos* [A28].

2. *Second Testament* [B]

[B1] Founder's personal association with the monastery. See similar treatment in [A1] above.

[B2] Description of the foundation; list of dependencies. See similar but much briefer treatment in [A2] above; for another briefer list of dependencies, see [C2] below.

[B3] Founder's personal contribution. See similar treatment in [A3] above. The upper stories "in which the monks sleep and take their necessary nourishment" are also found in the present structure on the site.

[B4] Earlier contributions of the founder; sources of the rule; real and movable property; regulation of fasting. See similar treatment in [A4] above, with cross-references to other documents. The sources of the monastery's rule are specifically identified here. For the requirement to abstain from meat, see also (26) *Luke of Messina* [3].

[B5] Exemption from work on feast days; study of holy scripture. [A5] above is different.

[B6] Meditation on death. See similar treatment in [A6] above, with cross-references to other documents.

[B7] Designation of Blasios as his successor. See similar treatment in [A7] above. This provision is effectively cancelled by the note on the verso of this *Testament* (for which see von Falkenhausen, "Testamente," p. 184), which appoints the founder's namesake and other nephew Gregory instead.

[B8] Length of novitiate; mandate to increase number of resident monks. See similar treatment in [A8] above, with cross-references to other documents.

[B9] Obligation of obedience to the new superior; ban on private property. See similar treatment on obedience in [A9] above (but without the ban on property), with cross-references to other documents. In the same spirit, the note on the verso of this *Testament* (von Falkenhausen, "Testamente," p. 184) commands the expulsion of monks who refuse to accept the leadership of the founder's designated successor. For similar bans on private property in contemporary documents, see (10) *Eleousa* [5]; (22) *Evergetis* [22]; (23) *Pakourianos* [4]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A22]; (26) *Luke of Messina* [3]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [50]; and (30) *Phoberos* [41].

[B10] Alternative arrangements for the succession. This is a new chapter, with no equivalent in [A], prompted by Blasios' planned pilgrimage to Jerusalem. As the note on the verso of this *Testament* (von Falkenhausen, "Testamente," p. 184) indicates, Gregory exercised the option reserved here of designating an alternate successor, his namesake nephew Gregory (II). The enigmatic command "not to make use of secular persons and officials so that he dishonors this dignity" may be an allusion to the *charistike* or some other external management program.

[B11] Acknowledgement of patrons. See also [C1] and [C3] below.

[B12] Preservation of the *Testament*. See similar treatment in [A11] above, with cross-references to other documents.

3. *Third Testament* [C]

[C1] Acknowledgement of patrons. See also [B11] above and [C3] below.

[C2] List of dependencies. Eight dependencies are listed here; see also the longer list in [B2] above.

[C3] Acknowledgement of patronage of the dependencies; prayers for benefactors. See also [B11] and [C1] above.

[C4] Curse against anyone harming the dependencies or halting prayers for benefactors.

[C5] Commendation of the superior to the count.

26. *Luke of Messina: Typikon of Luke for the Monastery of Christ Savior (San Salvatore) in Messina*

Date: May 1131–July 1132¹

Translator: Timothy Miller

Edition employed: J. Cozza-Luzi, *Novum patrum bibliotheca*, vol. 10, pt. 2 (Rome, 1905), pp. 117–37, with text at 121–30.

Manuscript: Codex Messinensis graecus 115 (autograph Ms. ?)²

Other translations: Latin, by Cozza-Luzi, *NPB* 10.2, pp. 121–30.

Institutional History

A. Foundation by Roger II, King of Sicily (1130–54)

The monastery of the Holy Savior or San Salvatore dell’Acroterio was from its origins a royal foundation. The Norman King of Sicily, Roger II, chose the site for it on a tongue of land in the harbor of Messina where his father Roger I had taken the city from the Muslims in 1061.³ A note in the liturgical *typikon* drawn up subsequently for the foundation records the commencement of construction in 1122, which continued for ten years until July 1132.⁴ Thus the work had long been underway before Roger II sought to persuade Bartholomew of Simeri, superior of the monastery of the Mother of God the “New Hodegetria” at Rossano in Calabria, to assume the direction of the monastery sometime before the holy man’s death in 1130.⁵ Bartholomew persuaded the king to accept his disciple Luke instead, the author of our document.

B. Role of Luke of Messina

A little before 1130, Luke arrived in Messina with a dozen other monks and a package of basic artifacts from Rossano for setting up a monastery, including sacred vessels and service books. In the document below, Luke notes [2] that on his arrival the monastery was not yet ready for use and there were no monks present at the facility. Arranz (“Typicon,” p. xxi) reckons that Roger II’s diploma, which dates to May 1131 and which gives legal recognition to the foundation,⁶ must predate the composition of our document. The latter is preserved as an introduction to the foundation’s liturgical *typikon*, Codex Messinensis graecus 115, now in the library of the University of Messina, which Arranz believed was Luke’s autograph copy. Leroy (“Date,” p. 44, etc.) cast doubt on this proposition, however, citing among other arguments errors of orthography that the reportedly highly learned Luke was unlikely to have made himself. In any event, the manuscript remained in use at San Salvatore until late in the sixteenth century, and was copied by several other surviving manuscripts.⁷

C. Establishment of the Archimandritical Authority

In the document below, Luke mentions [3] a disappointing tour of Greek Sicilian monasteries he undertook after his arrival at San Salvatore. It is likely that Roger II had already determined to subordinate a large number of these deficient foundations to San Salvatore, an idea that was actually carried out in February 1133, when he established an archimandritical authority at the royal monastery, with Luke as the first incumbent.⁸ The king cleared the way by getting Hugh, the Latin bishop of Messina, to cede his jurisdiction over some thirty Greek monasteries in his diocese in favor of the new archimandrite in 1131.⁹ Eighteen small Sicilian monasteries and four Calabrian ones were directly subordinated to San Salvatore as formal dependencies, while thirteen larger Sicilian monasteries, including St. Philip of *Fragala*, and three Calabrian ones were joined to it as *kephalika* (capital) and *autodespota* (independent) institutions.¹⁰ These latter, however, were hardly what contemporary Byzantine monastic reformers would have considered “independent” monasteries, since they were subordinated to the disciplinary and economic control of the archimandritical monastery. Also, though this second group of monasteries continued to have their own superiors, as our document indicates [11] ff. below, the archimandrite had a determinative role in the choice. The dependent monasteries in the first group were administered through stewards stationed in the individual facilities.

Roger II bolstered San Salvatore’s position with important economic concessions and grants of valuable properties.¹¹ The prestige of San Salvatore and the political connections of the archimandrite likely served to protect the subordinate monasteries from rapacious barons and overzealous royal officials. Von Falkenhausen (“Patrimonio,” p. 785) reckons the success of the archimandritical authority by noting that of the thirteen so-called independent monasteries listed in Roger II’s diploma of 1133, eleven still existed more than two hundred years later in 1336, long after Norman rule over Sicily had itself disappeared.

D. Witness to the Lost Disciplinary (Founder’s) Typikon

The numerous disciplinary lapses Luke discovered in the Greek monasteries he toured at the beginning of his superiorship apparently led in 1133 to the issuance of a disciplinary *typikon* meant to reform these institutions. The original Greek text of this *typikon* is now lost though there is a translation (not included in our collection of monastic foundation documents) in an Italo-Calabrian dialect transliterated in Greek characters composed by Francesco Vucisano in 1571.¹² This curious manuscript, evidently employed for the Calabrian monastery of St. Bartholomew of Trigona (located near Sinopoli), also contains a translation of San Salvatore’s liturgical *typikon*. This rule is composed of two sets of canons, the first of thirty-three and the second of ten, which treat of such matters as the duties of the superior, requirements for entrance into religious life and promotion to holy orders, monastic officials, aspects of the cenobitic regime, monastic virtues, and the liturgy.¹³ This *typikon* is to be distinguished from the so-called *typikon* of Patir or of Bartholomew of Semeri, a genuine but unpublished Greek founder’s *typikon* of 1130–50 (also not included in our collection) last reported to be in the library of the University of Jena in Germany.¹⁴

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E. Subsequent History of the Foundation in Medieval Times

Luke of Messina died in 1149, and was succeeded as superior and archimandrite by a successor of the same name, who also enjoyed close relations with Roger II.¹⁵ Even after the end of the Norman dynasty, San Salvatore remained prosperous for a time, being a principal lender to Gualtiero of Paleraria, chancellor of Frederick II (1198–1250) in the early years of the thirteenth century.¹⁶ Frederick II's mother Constance, daughter of Roger II, recalled San Salvatore's role in the reorganization and rejuvenation of many "nearly deserted" Greek monasteries.¹⁷ During Frederick II's minority, Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) took San Salvatore under papal protection in 1216.¹⁸ The monks, who had frequently sought papal assistance in years past during quarrels with the local archbishops of Messina, found themselves under papal censure from 1222 to 1235 during the pontificates of Honorius III (1216–27) and Gregory IX (1227–41).

The wars between the Angevins and the Aragonese towards the end of the thirteenth century devastated eastern Sicily and southern Calabria where most of the monastery's endowed properties were located.¹⁹ This seems to have initiated the monastery's slow decline that continued down to early modern times, though in the first decade of the fourteenth century there were still a greater number of Greek than Latin rite monasteries in the diocese of Messina.

F. Confiscation of the Monastery and Attempted Suppression

The Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1516–56), acting in his capacity as ruler of Sicily, confiscated the monastery of San Salvatore, either in 1540 (Rossi, "Prefazione," p. 74) or in 1546 (Arranz, *Typicon*, p. xxvii), in order to erect a fortress on its strategic site in the harbor of Messina. A subsequent explosion of a powder magazine at the fortress destroyed all trace of the twelfth-century monastery. After a long delay, the monks were relocated in 1573 to a permanent home in a new monastery built in the baroque style in the Charibdis neighborhood of the city.

Philip II (1556–90), ruler of Sicily like his father, proposed the complete suppression of the Greek monasteries in his dominions, but was successfully opposed by Pope Gregory XIII (1572–85). Instead, in 1579 the pope reorganized what was known as the "Basilian Congregation" of Italy into three provinces, one of which was headquartered in Messina.²⁰ A few years later under his successor Pope Sixtus V (1585–90), San Salvatore was ordered to adopt the liturgical *typikon* of the mainland Basilian monastery of Grottaferrata. A copy of this *typikon* was duly prepared and completed in 1583; from a note in an older liturgical *typikon* at San Salvatore, it appears that the Grottaferrata *typikon* was instituted in 1587.²¹ The original liturgical *typikon*, though no longer in use, was still preserved at the monastery when it was examined by the superior Romano Vassali in 1656.²²

G. Fate of the Foundation in Modern Times

The monastic community at San Salvatore was legally suppressed in 1866, along with all the other Basilian monasteries of Italy.²³ The baroque monastery was one of the many old buildings destroyed when an earthquake devastated Messina in 1908. The Basilian community was never reconstituted, but another church in the city now bears the name of San Salvatore, while the

archbishop preserves the title of archimandrite long borne by the monastery's superior.²⁴ The Museo Regionale is located on the site of the baroque monastery.²⁵

Analysis

A. Typology of the Document

As noted above, (26) *Luke of Messina* serves as a preface (here called a discourse—*diegesis*) [4] to the foundation's liturgical *typikon*. This present document, like (25) *Fragala's Third Testament* [C], addresses itself principally to the regulation of the foundation's dependencies. It presumes the existence of the archimandritical authority which, even if it was not formally established by Roger II until February 1133, is nevertheless the subject of some of Luke's regulations here. There is also an allusion to the lost founder's *typikon*, which was to be read [4] annually at an assembly at San Salvatore on the patronal feast of the Transfiguration.

B. Model Typika

(26) *Luke of Messina* is particularly valuable for the information it provides [10] on the sources for the composition of both the liturgical and the lost founder's *typika* and on the processes employed in their development. Cognizant of the need to leave his monks rules for their "physical and spiritual way of life," the author asserts [10] that he has made use of existing *typika*, including those of *Stoudios*, the Holy Mountain (i.e., Mount Athos), and Jerusalem. Most likely these are (4) *Stoudios*, (11) *Ath. Rule*, and the liturgical *typikon* of (42) *Sabas*. He also claims to have framed some rules of his own to regulate liturgical services and aspects of the cenobitic life. These precepts the author transmitted verbally to his monks until the time came for the composition of the founder's *typikon* "so that the rules which have been established might not be swept away and handed over to oblivion in times to come."

C. Lives of the Monks

For the regulatory content of this document, the author does indeed look back [3] to Studite and earlier precedents to prohibit spiritual brotherhoods, any unnecessary relations with women, and journeys outside the monastery (cf. (3) *Theodore Studites* [8], [10], [15]). Some more contemporary concerns appear, too, such as a ban on idiorhythmic practices (cf. (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26]). The prohibition on eating meat and the ban on the retention of private property (*pekoulia*) after admission are shared with (25) *Fragala* [B4], [B9]. The prohibition on secret eating was also a concern of *typika* written for monasteries in the monastic reform tradition, like (27) *Kecharitomene* [49]. The importance placed on confession, good order, and humility suggests other possible links to the monastic reform movement in Byzantium proper. Indeed, the author of this document shows [5] an unusually forthright awareness of his role as a reformer, even using the term "reformation" (*diorthosis*).

The author cites [5] qualifications for his monks that clearly have their liturgical responsibilities foremost in mind. He also expects [6] the foundation to be staffed with other monks who would take care of physical needs, practice crafts, serve as scribes and calligraphers, and be versed in sacred and profane literature. As in (25) *Fragala* [B8], the desirability of the growth of the

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community is taken [7], [9] for granted. The library donated to the foundation presumed a large group of literate monks; by contrast, Gregory, the author of (25) *Fragala*, seems himself to have been illiterate. There were also lay domestic servants [8] and field laborers [9] associated with this foundation.

D. Constitutional Matters

1. Source of Authority

Much more so than Gregory, the author of (25) *Fragala*, who sought to preserve some institutional autonomy in spite of his foundation's dependence on royal philanthropy, Luke of Messina was acting [1] forthrightly as an instrument of royal patronage. It was at the orders of the Norman King Roger II that he carried out [3] the reconstitution of several monasteries previously in "considerable disorder" (probably practicing idiorhythmic monasticism), and issued [10] the founder's *typikon*.

2. Procedures for the Election of Superiors in Dependent Monasteries

The author provides for control of the dependencies by the head monastery through a unique set of regulations for the election of their superiors. After the funeral service for a departed superior, two of the leading monks (perhaps the steward and another financial official) were sent out [11] from the head monastery to examine the dependency's books, probably to check on any irregularities. The monks in the dependency were then allowed to nominate three candidates for superior; at least one of these had to be a monk then resident at the head monastery. The final choice [12] was up to the archimandrite of the head institution "with the common consent and deliberation of all." The archimandrite was also responsible [13] for the ordination of the new superior.

3. Patronal Privileges

As in (27) *Kecharitomene* [17]), there were [3], [8] rooms set aside for official visitors known as *archontarikia* where presumably the Norman king or his representatives were entitled to stay.

E. Financial Matters

According to the author, Roger II provided [3] endowments for the clergy in each of the dependent monasteries for the performance of hymnody and funds for the illumination of the churches.²⁶ The royal funding mechanism gave this foundation a much more liturgically oriented mission than that seen in (25) *Fragala*. The agricultural properties that formed the endowments included [9] olive groves, vineyards, vegetable gardens, granaries and housing for the field laborers.

F. External Relations

This foundation sponsored [3], [8] both hospitals (*nosokomeia*) and hospices (*xenodocheia*). The importance placed on institutional philanthropic activities is another link to the contemporary Byzantine monastic reform movement. The main monastery of San Salvatore was enclosed by a wall, as in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [101], within which were to be found [8] the philanthropic institutions, the royal guest quarters, a bakery, a mill, and housing for the domestics.

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Notes on the Introduction

1. As proposed by Arranz, *Typicon*, p. xxi; the publication of Roger II's unedited diplomas in Vaticanus latinus 8201 might help make the dating less problematic.
2. Leroy, "Date," p. 54, disagreed, and argued for a date in the second half of the thirteenth century.
3. Arranz, *Typicon*, p. xix.
4. Arranz, *Typicon*, p. xx.
5. For Bartholomew of Simeri, see Vera von Falkenhausen, "Patir," *ODB*, p. 1596; his *Vita* is edited in *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 3, September, p. 810 ff. (= Halkin, *BHG* 235).
6. The Greek text found in Vaticanus latinus 8201, fol. 128, is unedited; see Arranz, *Typicon*, p. xxi.
7. See Arranz, *Typicon*, p. xi and Pertusi, "Rapporti," pp. 484–85.
8. The Greek text, Vaticanus latinus 8201, fols. 56–59, 130–32 is unedited; R. Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, 3rd ed., vol. 2 (Palermo, 1733), published a fifteenth-century Latin translation, pp. 974–76; see discussion in von Falkenhausen, "Patrimonio," pp. 785–86.
9. Arranz, *Typicon*, p. xxii.
10. Von Falkenhausen, "Patrimonio," p. 782.
11. Concessions are to be found in Codex Vaticanus latinus 8201, fols. 59, 64–66, 67–69, 73–75, 77–78, 79–81, 96, 107–9, 128 ff., 132, 135 ff., 137 ff., 145, 148–53, 156, 189–91, with some found in Latin translation in Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, vol. 2, p. 972 ff.; von Falkenhausen, "Patrimonio," p. 783, has a summary.
12. Ed. Mercati, "Trigona," see discussion in Beck, *KTL*, p. 648, Leroy, "Date," p. 12, with n. 15, Minisci, "Riflessi studitani," pp. 227–28, Turyn, *Greek Manuscripts*, p. xv, and Volk, *Gesundheitswesen*, pp. 133–34. The manuscript is now in the Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici in Palermo.
13. Summary in Scaduto, *Monachesimo Basiliano*, pp. 198–209.
14. Jenensis Bibliotheca universitatis graecus G.B. q. 6a; there is also a copy in the Grottaferrata library, Cryptensis 401. See discussion by Arranz, *Typicon*, p. xi, Minisci, "Riflessi," p. 228, and Pertusi, "Rapporti," p. 483.
15. Scaduto, *Monachesimo Basiliano*, p. 192; von Falkenhausen, "Patrimonio," p. 784.
16. Von Falkenhausen, "Patrimonio," p. 785.
17. L. T. White, *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), p. 45.
18. Arranz, *Typicon*, p. xxvi.
19. Von Falkenhausen, "Patrimonio," p. 789.
20. Minisci, "Monaci basiliani," p. 82.
21. Arranz, *Typicon*, p. xxvii.
22. Arranz, *Typicon*, p. xxvi.
23. Minisci, "Monaci basiliani," p. 88.
24. Arranz, *Typicon*, p. xxvii.
25. Alexander Kazhdan and Dale Kinney, "Messina," *ODB* p. 1351.
26. *Photaugeia*; cf. the *photapsiai*, imperial dedications for the illumination of churches found in middle Byzantine sources like Basil II, *Peri ton dynaton* (*JGR* 3.314) as well as in the contemporary (28) *Pantokrator* [7], [29], [34].

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Translation

Concerning the *Typikon* of the monastery in Messina: The introduction of our holy father Luke, the first archimandrite.

1. . . .¹ on the one hand, we have sought after the patristic commands and the suggestions of that blessed man—if one can call this person a man and not remember him with some more noble term as someone who lived beyond [the strength of] a man. On the other hand, taking measure of ourselves, we reckoned that such a task was beyond our strength and at first hesitated before the order and delayed on account of a praiseworthy timidity. The ruler [Roger II], however, became all the more vehement and forceful in stirring us on. Both with the promise of honors and also with threats, he forced us to bend to the yoke of this work dear to God. We observed such resolution on the part of the ruler, and in fact feared lest we offend both God and the king himself. For we reckoned that we were not totally without God’s [blessing] when we entered upon such work which is pleasing to him. If indeed it is as [the scripture] has said, “The heart of the king is anchored in the omnipotent hand” (cf. Prov. 21:1), we know how great is the risk of offending both God and the king. Often weighing these many things in our thoughts, [p. 122] we finally took all our [concerns] and handed them over to the Spirit who guides and governs all things, and the will of God was victorious.

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2. Therefore, we assumed this spiritual authority willingly, but as someone said “with an unwilling heart”² we came to the aforementioned sacred church of the Savior. It was not yet ready for use, but was also totally destitute of monks. We did not give way to delay in doing this work which pleases God so that days ran past, nor did we postpone it from day to day, but we immediately exerted ourselves in this project with our whole being. Then, pursuing the matters proper to beginning, we first toured all of Sicily and Calabria and visited the sacred monasteries. But what sort of people we met at that time and how the majority of monks ordered their life—not to say all of them—knowledgeable men know. Moreover, why is it necessary for us to explain each matter by itself and confuse our account?

3. Through the assistance of Christ, my God and Savior, through the intercession of the Mother of God, and through the good fortune of the most fortunate prince, the monasteries won a proper constitution in place of considerable disorder. Sufficient clergy were established in each monastic house [p. 123] who must always persevere in the sacred hymns, and those who have chosen this life of renunciation have been required to obey the men set over them. The illumination necessary for the sacred churches has become a matter of law. The consumption of meat has been totally banned from the sacred dwellings. Promiscuity among the monks has been utterly rejected; so too a disorderly way of life and social contact with anyone who happens by. Forbidden, too, are adoptions of lay brothers, holding conversations with women, and forming spiritual relationships with them.³ Also forbidden are frequent meetings with nuns and journeys [away from the monastery]. Idiorhythmic practices and eating alone in secret, and in addition to these anything which is called private property or resembles such a thing were completely banned since they destroy the law of the cenobitic constitution. For these are the tares of the enemy who sows secretly in the most pure and pearl-like grain of [our] vocation the filthy and unfruitful harvest of his own malice (cf. Matt. 13:24–30). In their place, confession and good order as well as obedience and humility have been introduced, together with hospitals, hospices, and what are called rooms for official visitors.⁴

4. So that we do not recount everything word by word and stretch out this discourse to greater length, [we note that] anyone who wishes can find all of this written down in chapters⁵ dealing with regulations and given over to the superiors of the most pious houses to keep on record and to serve as a reminder. It has been ordained that every year these rules [p. 124] be read out for all the monks to hear at the assembly held in our illustrious monastery of the Savior on the universal feast of the Transfiguration of the Word [August 6], God made man.

5. With God’s help, I declare that the affairs of these sacred monastic houses and ascetic communities have experienced significant reform and are doing well. Moreover, I pray that the holy flock of God be preserved by him for ever in a higher state worthy of God and that it be led by the Great Shepherd. As for the illustrious, sacred, and august monastery of the Savior, it was established as follows: First, we were eager to assemble God-loving men who held the fear of God before their eyes, primarily men who have some experience of sacred things, are initiated in the inspired scripture, and have been trained in the discipline of Church melodies so that, striking the spiritual

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lyre of the Hebrews, they make those who sing the sacred praises more steadfast and they themselves pursue their music more eagerly. For mixing the pleasure of music with the sacred hymns makes the ascetic more zealous in singing and praying to God. So, too, whenever the experienced among the physicians offer some unpleasant medicines to the sick, at that moment they coat the cup with honey. [p. 125]

6. In addition to these, we introduced others who could perform necessary and useful service for the physical well-being of the monks and also many trained in diverse crafts; then, scribes and calligraphers, and teachers of our sacred books who were sufficiently trained in profane literature. We collected many beautiful books pertaining to our own sacred writings, totally familiar to us, as well as [other books] not pertaining to our sacred writings. We collected the compositions of [St. John] Chrysostom, of the great father Basil, of Gregory the very great Theologian, and of his namesake [Gregory] of Nyssa, and of the other fathers and teachers inspired by God. We collected other compositions and works of ascetic writers, both the simple ones and also the more advanced, as well as historical works and other treatises from the outer and alien courtyard, works such as strive after the sacred knowledge. Other books [we obtained] which teach us about the lives of the fathers and contain the paraphrases⁶ which that most wise Symeon [Metaphrastes] the Logothete composed while moved by the most sacred Spirit. Moreover, we have adorned and beautified this church with the most venerable relics of the great saints and with their sacred images to make it a holy and dignified place. [p. 126]

7. After having assembled such men in such numbers with God's help and after having trained them sufficiently and shorn their worldly locks, we planted them with our own hands, like some sacred shoots in this spiritual paradise of Christ. Then, we most frequently irrigated with the sweet and most fresh springs of the sacred commands and teachings, while God brought the increase. We trusted that the Good Farmer would bring the increase and raise the monks to the summit of spiritual manhood.

8. In addition to these things, we marked out another court beyond this divine court and sacred fold [of the flock] shepherded by God and we encircled this [second] court with a wall. Here, we constructed a hospital and a hospice as well as the facilities for official visitors, granaries, an area to make bread—both a bakery and a mill and cells sufficient to house the lay servants.

9. In addition to these things [we set up] olive groves and vineyards, vegetable gardens, and very large houses in the fields to receive the fruits of the harvest time and to serve as quarters for those laboring out there. In some places, too, we restored churches or planted [new ones]. [p. 127]

To put it simply, from the beginning and throughout we have not rested in our efforts to increase the flock of Christ, and we have brought about every physical and spiritual refreshment for the monks in order that they will have no excuse to interrupt or hinder their ascetic exercises and their inclination toward only the better things. Moreover, we were never seen to have given our eyes over to sleep and our eyelids to drowsiness, since we were frightened lest some wild mule suddenly run out of the forest and tear the flock of Christ asunder and probably ruin it.

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Whoever hears what has been said and fairly examines it, let him glance all about and behold our flock [following] after Christ and [living] with him. In this flock, then, let him glorify the name of the heavenly father, and know from now on that he was not false who said: “For every one who asks, receives, and he who seeks finds, and to him who knocks it will be opened” (Matt. 7:8; Luke 11:10).

10. So much for this. Nevertheless, since time is always flowing and is unstable, all affairs of a temporal nature are swept up and moved by its ceaseless flow. They are gradually reduced by time and covered by the deep weavings of forgetfulness. For time flows on relentlessly, and anything good that may have happened or happens in it flows with it so that whatever was seems never to have existed. On account of this we knew that for the benefit of those who come after us we had to clarify the rules regarding the physical and spiritual [p. 128] way of life for the monks and their organization by means of some written constitution or composition. From the first, we have collected some of these rules from many different *typika*: that of the monastery of Stoudios, of the Holy Mountain, of Jerusalem,⁷ and of several others. Other rules we have carefully framed ourselves. These dealt with every ecclesiastical service in the sacred church, with [the rules] in the brothers' cells, with eating and drinking in the refectory, and simply, with every other administrative matter. We taught all this and passed it on in unwritten form. Then, in conformity with this unwritten tradition, we issued the clauses of this present *typikon* in written form as has been said both so that the rules which have been established might not be swept away and handed over to oblivion in times to come and so that we might obey the royal decree as we said earlier.

11. It is necessary at this point to state precisely how superiors are chosen. When any one of the superiors of the dependent monasteries dies, any two of the brothers there are to go and report [p. 129] the death of their father to the archimandrite. They are to bring along the superior's donkey with its saddle. Immediately, the wooden semantron is struck. When all the brothers are assembled, [the community] performs the customary *trisagion* and prayer for those who have fallen asleep. After this, two of the leading brothers from here are sent to the monastery in question with written documents of the archimandrite. They are to record in detail all the effects of that monastery, both internal and external. They are to counsel the brothers there and strengthen them in the fear of God so that each one performs the ministry entrusted to him without hesitation. They are also to tell them to make their nomination for their leader. If any two are found [suitable] in that house, then one [candidate is added] from this great monastery. If two are not found, then it is the other way around, with two candidates from here and one from there. When this is finished, those [sent out from here] are to return to the monastery. When the monks at the subject monastery make their written nominations in the manner described, they come [to this monastery] and request that the archimandrite establish one of those nominated to be their superior most dear to God. [p. 130]

12. For his part, the archimandrite examines well these names, and carrying out everything canonically with the common consent and deliberation of all, he chooses one as God directs and sets him up as superior. All the others shout out the customary salutation, “Worthy, worthy.”⁸

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13. After this takes place, the man chosen proceeds to his installation in the presence of the monks who elected him. After the deacon says, “Let us beseech the Lord,” the archimandrite places his hand on the man’s head and says the prayers for installing superiors. The archimandrite then removes the candidate’s old pallium and places another on him.⁹ When this new superior has taken the customary oath to the Church, the archimandrite embraces him and then dismisses [all] in peace.

Notes on the Translation

Editors’ note: The assistance of our translator, Timothy Miller [TM], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. One or two folios are missing at the beginning of the manuscript; see Arranz, *Typicon*, p. xiv.
2. *Iliad* 4:43.
3. Apparently an allusion to (3) *Theodore Studites* [8], [9], [15].
4. *Archontarikia*; derived from *archontareion*, a hall in the imperial palace where the emperors received officers of the *tagmata* and of the themes. In this passage it refers to separate hostels which monasteries maintained for noble guests; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [17]. [TM]
5. A reference to the lost founder’s *typikon*; cf. Institutional History, D.
6. A reference to the *Menologium* of Symeon Metaphrastes (10th c.), a vast hagiographic compendium, ed. *PG* 114–16.
7. Probably (4) *Stoudios*, (11) *Ath. Rule*, and the liturgical *typikon* of the Sabas monastery are intended here; cf. (20) *Black Mountain* [23].
8. The acclamation is found also in (22) *Evergetis* [13], (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [33].
9. In this passage “pallium” does not refer to the *omophorion*, the scarf worn by Eastern bishops at the divine liturgy and often equated with the Latin pallium, but rather the monastic cloak; see Lampe, s.v. *pallium*. [TM]

Document Notes

- [1] Roger II’s recruitment of the author. For the background to Luke’s selection, see above, Institutional History, A; see also discussions of other patronal relationships in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [2] ff.; (23) *Pakourianos* [30]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A6], [A9]; and (25) *Fragala* [A2], [B2].
- [2] Inspection tour of Sicilian and Calabrian monasteries. This led to the issuance of the disciplinary *typikon* summarized below in [3]; see discussion above in Institutional History, D.
- [3] Overview of disciplinary regulations. Those listed here show a strong Studite influence; cf. (3) *Theodore Studites* [8], [9], [15]. Along with (4) *Stoudios* and Theodore the Studite’s *Small Catecheses*, the Studite *Testament* enjoyed a wide circulation at this time in Southern Italy and Sicily; see J. Leroy, “Les Petites Catéchèses de S. Théodore Studite,” *Le Muséon* 71 (1958), p. 337, n. 37, cf. Arranz, *Typicon*, p. xii. For the prohibition on secret eating in contemporary documents, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [49], (32) *Mamas* [20], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [20]. The prohibition on eating meat is found only in (25) *Fragala* [B4].
- [4] Reference to the disciplinary *typikon*; provision for annual reading. See above, Institutional History, D, for the discussion of a sixteenth-century witness to this lost document. For provisions for reading of the *typikon*, generally at meal times, in contemporary documents, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [65], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [59], (30) *Phoberos* [59], (32) *Mamas* [16], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [16]; earlier, (11) *Ath. Rule* [37] has a provision, as here, for a reading in assembly.
- [5] Qualifications of the monks. With a view to the performance of liturgical services, there is, as in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3], a preference for educated monks. Arranz, *Typicon*, pp. xxxiv–l, summarizes the liturgical responsibilities of the monks based on the liturgical *typikon*.

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- [6] Craftsmen monks; books; relics. For the library of San Salvatore during Luke's superiorship, see Arranz, *Typicon*, pp. xxx–xxxii.
- [7] Selection, tonsure, and training of the monks. For the gardening analogy, see (31) *Areia* [M2]. Note the same expectation of increase in [9] below and in (25) *Fragala* [B8].
- [8] Auxiliary buildings of the monastery. These are also found in the closely related founder's *typikon* of St. Bartholomew of Trigona, ed. Mercati, "Trigona," in *Collectanea*, p. 390, cf. 394. For provisions for philanthropic institutions in contemporary documents, see (28) *Pantokrator* [36] ff, [58] ff., [63], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [70]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [17] also features *archontarikia*. Contemporary enclosure walls are also found in (27) *Kecharitomene* [73], [74], and in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [86]
- [9] Agricultural properties; foundation and restoration of churches. See similar contemporary descriptions of endowment properties in (25) *Fragala* [B3], (27) *Kecharitomene* [Appendix A], and (28) *Pantokrator* [65]. For San Salvatore's role in the restoration of churches, see above, Institutional History, E.
- [10] Sources of the liturgical *typikon*. The sources identified are also those chosen by the author of (20) *Black Mountain* [23].
- [11] Procedure for electing a new superior in a dependent monastery. These procedures also set down in the lost founder's *typikon* and in Roger II's legislation for the archimandritical authority; see Scaduto, *Monachesimo Basiliano*, p. 199.
- [12] Final choice by the archimandrite. The archimandrite here actively fulfills the role in elections passively conceded to the lot in (27) *Kecharitomene* [11]; cf. (32) *Mamas* [1] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1].
- [13] Installation ceremony for a new superior. See also installation ceremonies for officials in (22) *Evergetis* [13]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [11]; (28) *Pantokrator* [25]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [33], [34]; and (34) *Machairas* [81].

27. *Kecharitomene*: *Typikon* of Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene for the Convent of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene* in Constantinople

Date: 1110–16¹

Translator: Robert Jordan

Edition employed: Paul Gautier, “Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôméné,” *REB* 43 (1985), 5–165, at 19–155.

Manuscript: Parisinus graecus 384 (autograph)²

Other translations: French, by Paul Gautier, *REB* 43 (1985), 18–148; Latin, by B. Montfaucon, *Anecdota graeca* (Paris, 1688), pp. 129–298, reprinted in *PG* 127, cols. 985–1128.

Institutional History

A. Foundation under Irene Doukaina Komnene

The convent of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene*, “Full of Grace,” was founded joined with a male monastery dedicated to Christ *Philanthropos* by the Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene,³ wife of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), probably in the early years of the twelfth century. The first reference to either foundation is in a colophon of a manuscript in the Esphigmenou monastery on Mount Athos, which mentions a certain Sophronios as superior of the *Philanthropos* monastery in 1107.⁴ The convent was built adjacent to the monastery; both were located towards the north-western corner of Constantinople in the Deuteron neighborhood,⁵ not far from the future site of the *Pantokrator* monastery which was to be founded a generation later by the founder’s son Emperor John II Komnenos (1118–43).

B. Subsequent History

According to the *typikon*, Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos (1084–1111) donated [70] a patriarchal convent to *Kecharitomene* that was intended to serve as the convent’s mortuary chapel. The *typikon* itself seems on internal evidence to date from 1110–16. It is clear that Irene’s husband the Emperor Alexios was still alive at the time that it was written. After his death in 1118, it is generally assumed that Irene retired to *Kecharitomene* where she died on February 19, probably in the year 1123, though 1133 has also been proposed.⁶ Her daughter, the famous historian Anna Komnene,⁷ also retired here after the death of her own husband Nikephoros Bryennios ca. 1136–37. After 1148 Anna wrote her history, the *Alexiad*, at the convent. She apparently died here ca. 1153/54, becoming a nun only on her deathbed.

Little else is known of the convent subsequently, but either its *typikon* or, more likely, the lost *typikon* of its companion foundation *Philanthropos* was a source for (32) *Mamas* in 1158, which itself was the model for (33) *Heliou Bomon* in 1161/62. Then, much later, in the first half of

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the fourteenth century, the surviving fragments of (47) *Philanthropos*, written for a Constantinopolitan convent, appear to use (27) *Kecharitomene* or some other text related to or derived from it. (39) *Lips*, an earlier document, also suggests some acquaintance with (27) *Kecharitomene*. The convent was still in existence in Palaiologan times, for both Stephen of Novgorod, who visited Constantinople in 1348 or 1349, and the Russian deacon Zosima, who visited in 1419–22, mention it in connection with the relics of St. John Damascene, which are independently reported to have been present in an unnamed Constantinopolitan convent after 1261.⁸ No remains of the convent have been identified in modern Istanbul.

Analysis

That the Empress Irene should have been the author of this document, a *typikon* heavily influenced by the monastic reform movement, is certainly a testimony to the extent of the ideological victory that the reformers had achieved by the close of the eleventh century, for her husband Emperor Alexios Komnenos had once been in the forefront of their opponents. This is not to say that the empress betrays no traces here of behavioral patterns of more traditional patronage. She insists [4] on preferential admissions and special treatment for her relatives and other nobly-born ladies seeking admission to the convent, and, in an initiative that would have met with the disapproval of reformers of the eleventh century (though not some later ones), she imposes [3] a lay protectress on the foundation despite its independent and self-governing status. Yet in other important ways, particularly in the elaborate precautions taken against financial misconduct by the foundation's officials, the empress' *typikon* shows an actual intensification of concerns advanced by reformers like Leo of Chalcedon and John of Antioch in the early years of her reign.

A. Utility for History of the Reform Movement

Through careful examination of its relationships to other documents, (27) *Kecharitomene* yields important information on the history of the second generation of the reform movement that was active after the compilation of (22) *Evergetis*.

1. Analytic Groups of (27) *Kecharitomene*'s Chapters⁹

This document is itself an indubitable part of the Evergetian reform tradition, not just ideologically, but textually, for, like the contemporary (30) *Phoberos* (an independent but even closer copy), (27) *Kecharitomene* is heavily influenced by the content and also the wording of (22) *Evergetis*.¹⁰ Even so, thirty-nine of this document's eighty chapters are entirely new (Group A).¹¹ Of these, twenty-six treat material for which there are no equivalent chapters in (22) *Evergetis* (Subgroup A.1).¹² Another thirteen chapters have equivalent, but different chapters in (22) *Evergetis* (Subgroup A.2).¹³ These last treat subjects of common interest to the authors of these two documents, but without any textual linkage. There are, however, twenty-eight chapters of (27) *Kecharitomene* in which there is textual linkage with (22) *Evergetis*. Of these, twenty-one are also linked textually to a later document, (32) *Mamas* (Group B),¹⁴ while seven are not (Group C).¹⁵ Finally, there is a group of thirteen chapters of (27) *Kecharitomene* that are textually linked to the later (32) *Mamas* but not the earlier (22) *Evergetis* (Group D).¹⁶

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2. Significance of the Analytic Chapter Groups

The original chapters of (27) *Kecharitomene* (Group A) are of prime importance for determining the new concerns of the reform movement in the first decade of the twelfth century, that is, those of the generation of reformers active after the composition of (22) *Evergetis*. This is true in those cases (Subgroup A.1) in which there are no equivalent chapters in (22) *Evergetis* (see esp. [31]), but even more so in those (Subgroup A.2) that represent a rejection of the Evergetian textual tradition, though perhaps not of the overall philosophical approach of (22) *Evergetis*. Among the chapters in this last subgroup, the description of the duties of the steward [14] is notable as an example of the elaborate precautions prescribed here and elsewhere in the document against financial misconduct.¹⁷

Even those chapters of (27) *Kecharitomene* textually dependent on (22) *Evergetis*, whether shared later with (32) *Mamas* (Group B) or not (Group C), demonstrate the Evergetian *typikon*'s continued relevance for contemporaries in the early twelfth century. These chapters can also provide useful information on contemporary developments of Evergetian institutions whenever they have been substantially rewritten with additional provisions, as [10], [25] were, for example, reflecting heightened concerns about preventing financial or administrative abuses. Considered separately, the chapters in Group B are valuable for identifying certain durable textual elements of the Evergetian reform tradition that survived all the way through the composition of (32) *Mamas* in 1158, while those in Group C are useful for identifying elements that did not, but were primarily matters of concern for the second generation of monastic reformers contemporary with the issuance of (27) *Kecharitomene* in the early years of the twelfth century.

The twelve chapters of Group D, that are shared with (32) *Mamas* but are not in (22) *Evergetis*, are useful for examining durable, long-term reform concerns that were articulated only after that document's authorship. These chapters represent the original contributions of the second generation of the reform movement. Among them, a twice-repeated injunction [2], [55] to maintain the cenobitic lifestyle at all costs and a series of careful descriptions of the duties of various officials [19], [20], [23], [24], [29], are prominent.

It should also be noted here that the empress' signature at the end of [78] indicates that the last two chapters [79] and [80] must be the result of a later addition, circa 1120–30, whose provisions on the whole weaken the reform credentials of the document.¹⁸

B. Model Typikon

This document's analytic chapter groups indicate that it was ultimately based on (22) *Evergetis*, but neither directly nor exclusively. Of the considerable amount of "new" material found in (27) *Kecharitomene*'s Group A, some but hardly all of it can be considered the original work of the author or her editor, and, moreover, there is other material in Group D that is clearly non-Evergetian. Therefore, it appears that (27) *Kecharitomene* reflects such Evergetian institutions and customs as it does through the mediation of another document, now lost, which must have adapted and rewritten the Evergetian *typikon* to reflect the concerns of a newly emerging generation of reformers, battle-hardened, as it were, in the successful campaigns against government requisitions of ecclesiastical property and, above all, the *charistike*.

One possibility is that this lost *Typikon* was that of the monastery of *Philanthropos*, the other half of the double monastery jointly founded by the empress with *Kecharitomene* (see [69], [77] below), but since this document likely was authored (at least nominally) by her too, the same reservations about the author's capacity for such a complete reworking of the Evergetian legacy in (27) *Kecharitomene* also apply to *Philanthropos*. Moreover, since *Philanthropos* and *Kecharitomene* were joint foundations, it is unlikely that the lost *typikon* of the former institution was, *mutatis mutandis*, substantially different from that of the latter on areas of common concern.

The *Philanthropos typikon* probably was the intermediary through which Evergetian content shared by (27) *Kecharitomene* and (32) *Mamas* was transmitted from (22) *Evergetis* to (32) *Mamas* and through it to (33) *Heliou Bomon*. The author of (32) *Mamas* had once been an official at *Philanthropos*, and so he must have used its *typikon* as a model after his recruitment as *Mamas'* superior rather than resorting to (27) *Kecharitomene*, which had been written for a nunnery.

Therefore, it seems most satisfactory to postulate an earlier document, utilized by the empress for the *typika* of both *Philanthropos* and *Kecharitomene*, that would have served the function of digesting and updating (22) *Evergetis* for the concerns of a new generation, its existence betrayed by the chapters in (27) *Kecharitomene* Group D. In the accompanying Chart One, this is identified as the "Lost *Typikon*."

C. *Lives of the Nuns*

1. Number of Nuns

The empress sets [5] the number of nuns at twenty-four, aside from the superior, two girls being reared in the convent, and six assistants. The latter might have been intended [4] for the personal service of high-born nuns from the imperial family. The empress was willing to see the limit set increase to thirty or even forty nuns if the convent should gain the additional endowment needed to support them.

2. Liturgical Duties

The empress endorses the continual performance of the canonical hours popularized by *Evergetis* and other reform monasteries. The regulatory chapters [32], [35]–[39] appear to utilize some of the language and procedures of (22) *Evergetis* [4], [6], but may in fact be drawn from a different but related source. Like her son the future Emperor John II Komnenos in (28) *Pantokrator*, the empress was very interested in prescribing lighting arrangements for various feasts [59]–[63], [72] in the church as well as for ordinary occasions [66]–[68]. On Holy Thursday, the superior was to re-enact [72] Christ's washing of the feet of his disciples in the narthex of the church. Only the nuns and the resident priest were to serve as singers in the church [75]; professional singers—mentioned for the first time in these documents—were not allowed to enter the convent.

3. Manual Labor

Manual labor also played an important part in the lives of the nuns. How this was coordinated with their liturgical responsibilities is not addressed directly. Work organizers were charged [27] with securing the necessary raw materials from the storehouse, distributing them to the nuns, and collecting the finished articles of clothing. The nuns worked [6] in part of their dormitory to the accompaniment of scriptural readings chosen by the superior. Work of any kind was not to take place [75] in the church, especially not during services.

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4. Length of the Novitiate

As the text's editor Paul Gautier observed,¹⁹ the convent's nuns were divided [30], cf. [70] into two categories, those who received the so-called "small" habit after a novitiate of six months, and those who aspired to the "great" or "angelic" habit after serving a much longer probation, usually three years. Pious women already "practicing the monastic life in secular clothing" had only to serve six months. "Familiar and important personages," no doubt the nobly born, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37], could be tonsured whenever the superior decided was fit. The empress was glad to welcome [54] women who had been tonsured at other monasteries; this should be compared to the more guarded attitude of (22) *Evergetis* [37] and the outright hostility of (30) *Phoberos* [52].

5. Sacramental Life

The empress' *typikon* makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [5] in its own regulation [33] of the reception of the Eucharist, but does not, like its model, suggest a frequency for receiving the sacrament. She hoped to recruit [15] two eunuchs who were also ordained monks and who knew "how to read scripture well" to provide the sacraments for the nuns.

6. Cenobitic Lifestyle

In keeping with the reform movement's preference for cenobitic monasticism, the empress stresses in several places [2], [3], [51], [55] the utmost importance she placed on the preservation of the cenobitic lifestyle among her nuns. Moreover, the empress chose to give [56] her endorsement to the Evergetian version of cenobitic life by quoting from (22) *Evergetis* [26]'s provision for all the monks to share the same food, drink and clothing. The nuns were to embrace [50] a life of absolute poverty without personal possessions. The vice of secret eating, condemned by (22) *Evergetis* [22], receives [49] a special treatment here. Even a personal fast that a nun might choose to impose upon herself was not considered [51] to be an excuse for avoiding the communal table. Only the sick were excused [44].

The diet itself was regulated for ordinary days [46], for the Lenten fast [47], and for the other fasts of the year [48]. Dietary regulations during fasts generally followed the provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [10], with small ameliorations. A new feature is the empress' provision [45] of a second sitting at dinner for the servers.

Communalism was also the rule for sleeping arrangements and wardrobe. All the nuns were to sleep together [6] in a large dormitory room, visible to one another. Certain nuns were charged [28] with issuing garments, bedding materials, and supplies for the bath on the orders of the superior.

Despite her proclamations of allegiance to the principles of communal life, the empress was willing to bend [4] the rules for members of the imperial family. A princess who was unable to submit to the rigors of the cenobitic regime had the option of living in her own cell behind the apse of the refectory with the assistance of two servants maintained by the convent, but following the diet and liturgical regime of the rest of the nuns in so far as she was able.

7. Care of the Sick and Bathing

A cell was to be set aside [57] for care of sick nuns by a doctor who should be a eunuch or an old man. A sick nun would also be served [44] her meals here, and could bathe [58] as often as the doctor ordered. Healthy nuns were allowed to bathe once a month, in keeping with a more indulgent attitude common later in the twelfth century (cf. (32) *Mamas* [28]) that contrasts with stricter

provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [28], not to mention *Kecharitomene*' contemporary (30) *Phoberos* [46] which was unwilling to allow bathing to the healthy at all.

8. Relations with Family

Distinguished and noble women were allowed [17] to visit the convent once or twice a year; overnight visitors were lodged in the *archontarikion* near the gate. The nuns' own female relatives could make daytime visits with the same frequency; a nun's mother could stay overnight if her daughter were sick. Visits from male relatives were not allowed, except—under close supervision—for veneration [80] of the *Kecharitomene* icon, especially on the patronal feast. A nun could leave to visit [17] only a dying parent, and then only if chaperoned by two old nuns.

9. Burial

The empress provides [70] for the burial of the nuns in her foundation, the first time this subject is addressed in the Byzantine monastic foundation documents (other than for founders themselves). Since there was no room for burial within the convent itself, the empress got Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos to award her the patriarchal convent of *Ta Kellaraias* to serve as a funerary chapel for *Kecharitomene*.

D. Constitutional Matters

1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

The empress desired [1] that her convent be “administered and managed in whatever manner I myself wish while I am preserved in this life,” that is to say, that she should be entitled to govern it as a traditional private religious foundation, but after her death *Kecharitomene* was to be an independent and self-governing institution. Though she was not willing, as the author of (23) *Pakourianos* [3] had been, to declare her convent to be constitutionally independent from its foundation, she provided for this independence sooner than the authors of either (10) *Eleousa* [18] or (19) *Attaleiates* [14]. In language that draws in part on (22) *Evergetis* [12], the empress exempts [1] her foundation from participation in the *charistike*, *epidosis*, *ephoreia*, or any other program for external administration or subordination to another ecclesiastical institution or governmental office.

2. Office and Responsibilities of the Protectress

Like her contemporary, the author of (24) *Christodoulos* [B5], the empress thought it essential to provide [3] a powerful protector for her foundation. As she puts it with unvarnished bluntness, it was important to see to it that the convent was “well supplied with people who would protect it so that plundering by those who rob other people's property should not take place.” For this purpose, she turned to the *ephoreia*, one of the traditional means of providing protection to ecclesiastical institutions (see above, Chapter Three). This was not to be an external protectorate conceded to a governmental office (which was prohibited in [1]), but as in (19) *Attaleiates* [10], would be based on hereditary transmission within the founder's family line, a kind of private ephorate, as it were.

For the holder of this office she chose the title of protectress (*antilambanomene*). The first incumbent was intended to be her daughter, the nun Eudokia, who was to reside in the convent. Like the author of (24) *Christodoulos* [B2], the empress intended to draw up a separate testament

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[3] formally creating the *ephoreia*, but when Eudokia predeceased her, she apparently chose instead to add a chapter [80] to the *typikon* designating another daughter, Anna, as the first protectress. Thereafter, the empress intended for the *ephoreia* to be held by her direct female descendants, then her female in-laws, and finally other suitable female relatives in perpetuity.

The empress specifically denies [3] the protectress control over the convent's property; moreover, the protectress could not change the *typikon*, arbitrarily remove the superior, enroll or expel nuns, require financial accounts, or appropriate any assets. If the protectress was not a nun in residence, she was not even to enter [80] the convent except during the liturgy and for meetings on building maintenance (for this see also [74]). The empress' allotment of rights to the protectress was meager, including use [76] of certain well-appointed quarters adjacent to the convent, burial in the exonarthex [76], cf. [70] (but only if she became a nun), and liturgical commemoration [3]. Perhaps more significant is her substitution of the protectress for the preeminent monks [13] in a passage borrowed from (22) *Evergetis* [14] as the agent for the removal of an unfit or corrupt superior.

3. Role of the Superior

Although the empress is somewhat circumspect about stating it [1], the superior was to have the key role in governing the foundation. This is in accord with what reform opinion thought proper. The superior was to choose [25] all of the other officials of the convent, including the steward [14], and allow them to hold office "for a very long time" if she so chose. She also might play [11] an important, though not decisive, role in choosing her own successor.

4. Election of the Superior

The superior and "all the community" (not just the preeminent monks as elsewhere) were to select [11] three nuns distinguished by their piety and intelligence; after her death, the priest, in the presence of the protectress, was to pick at random from among the three names written on sealed slips of paper and left on the altar. The protectress was to play a more important though still not a decisive role in the election of a successor if the superior died suddenly. In that event, she would guide the community to make a choice of three candidates, even supplying a suitable outside candidate if necessary, but the final choice would still be made by lot.

5. The Convent's Other Officials

One of the distinguishing features of this *typikon* is its detailed description of the officers of the convent and their responsibilities. Some of these were evidently taken from a now lost source also used by (32) *Mamas*, specifically the chapters on the duties of the sacristan [19], the ecclesiarchissa and her assistant [20], the provisioner [23], the two treasurers [24], and the gatekeeper [29]; others may be original to this document, namely those on the steward [14], food buyer [21], the wine-pourer [22], the work organizers [27], and the storeroom treasurers [28]. The chapters on the refectorian [25] and the disciplinary official [26] were inspired by (22) *Evergetis* [31].

6. Patronal Privileges

The empress claims for herself some of the most important privileges of traditional Byzantine patrons. She reserves to herself the right to appoint both the superiors [11] and the stewards [14] during her own lifetime. She obliges [4] the convent to grant automatic admission to any of her

granddaughters who might wish to become nuns, and as noted above, she was willing to allow them to live in their own quarters, have a more substantial diet than the other nuns, and be attended to by servants. Even the scrupulous author of (23) *Pakourianos* [25], however, did not blush to require his foundation to provide preferential admission to his relatives. Among the more less controversial rights here are the empress' reservation [71] of memorial services for members of the imperial family and her provision [34] for liturgical offerings for both living and deceased relatives.

As noted above, the protectress' rights were more circumscribed; she was not to choose the superior and the latter was herself to choose the steward, although the protectress played a role [14] in the installation ceremony for the steward. Even the protectress' right to reside in quarters adjacent to the convent was structured in such a way as to prevent her presence and that of her family and retinue of male and female servants from disrupting the lives of the nuns. Yet the penultimate chapter in the *typikon* demonstrates [79] that the very close association of a privately founded religious institution like *Kecharitomene* with the private estate of the founder continued to be problematic even in this age of "independent" foundations.

In this case, as in that of (19) *Attaleiates* [5], [16], [17], the foundation and the founder's secular dwellings were not even physically separate from one another, but were linked here by a doorway [80] which the empress ordered to be kept locked. She bequeaths [79] use of her non-consecrated properties on the site to Anna, the intended protectress, and provides for continued rights of usage by her descendants for as long as the female line continues. Thereafter, the convent was to assume possession. In the meantime, the empress' relatives were free to erect new structures or make alterations on existing ones so long as these changes did not adversely affect the privacy of the convent.

7. Preservation of the *Typikon*

Since the *typikon* was to be the authoritative document governing the life of the community, the empress chose to stress its importance by providing [65] for its being read to the community (following (22) *Evergetis* [43]) "so that through continuous reading the instructions laid down might be especially permanent and indelible." Like the authors of (19) *Attaleiates* [40] and (23) *Pakourianos* [33], she also took precautions to assure the physical preservation of the *typikon*, providing [77] for three sets of the *typikon* and the inventory (preserved here as Appendix B) to be drawn up and placed in Hagia Sophia, in the sacristy of *Kecharitomene*, and in the possession of the protectress. The set of documents at *Kecharitomene*, drawn up on paper, were to be the ordinary working copies.

E. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

The chief financial officer, appointed [14] by the empress during her lifetime and by the superior thereafter, was to be the steward. He was to be a pious eunuch, supported by an assistant steward (*paroikonomos*) chosen [15] from among the two eunuchs who served as the foundation's ordained monks. In the usual course of events, the assistant would succeed the steward in his post. A lengthy new chapter in the *typikon* provides [14] a detailed list of the steward's responsibilities; he

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was to receive a copy of this chapter as a reminder of them. These included the maintenance and repair of the foundation's buildings, the management of the revenues in cash and in kind produced from the landed estates and other properties which supported the convent, and striving to make the management of these properties "more profitable." If the steward was found to be in default of his responsibilities, the superior could remove him [14] in consultation with the protectress of the convent.

There were also the two treasurers [24] who, unlike the steward and his assistant, were to be selected by the superior from among the nuns in the convent. One was to control the cash box (*kibotion*) and the other the storeroom. The precise procedures set down for regulating disbursement of funds, under which the superior and the treasurers were required to act in concert and keep detailed records, recall those of (23) *Pakourianos* [26] rather than the less detailed prescriptions of (22) *Evergetis* [20]. This *typonikon's* regulation of the treasurers and their responsibilities is non-Evergetian, but is similar to that found in (32) *Mamas* [10].

The superior, steward, sacristan and the two treasurers were jointly responsible [24] for the maintenance and security of a second cash box in which surplus money was to be stored; this recalls a prudent feature of financial administration found in (23) *Pakourianos* [26]. Evidently reform monasteries were now repudiating the old principle found in (4) *Studios* [21], which itself had Basilian roots, that monasteries should not store up surplus money but instead distribute it to the poor.

The landed estates supporting the convent required lay property administrators who would be chosen by the superior based on qualifications listed [31] in the *typonikon*. These are different from those found in (22) *Evergetis* [34], which is not employed here as a model, and include the requirement that the administrators "not be selected for any family connection or affinity."

A key to assuring financial security was holding [14] the property administrators to accurate accounts. The steward was to bring these to the convent annually for examination by the superior, who would issue exonerations to the administrators like those received by the author of (23) *Pakourianos* [33] from various emperors for his own administrative assignments. On occasion the property administrators might need to consult [17] with the superior in person, though direct contact was discouraged.

2. Inalienability of Property

In a chapter that is considerably stronger than its counterpart in (22) *Evergetis* [19], the empress endorses [9] the by-now well accepted precept of the reform movement that the foundation's movable and immovable properties should be inalienable. Any violation, no matter by whom, is declared to be "sheer sacrilege," strong words, considering that her husband the Emperor Alexios Komnenos had done much to provoke the reform movement to the formulation of this position through his confiscations of ecclesiastical properties earlier in his reign. The empress here appeals to the patriarch "who by the laws and canons has responsibility for this," the protectress, the nuns, and any concerned outsider to seek redress for any alienations that might occur in the future.

Like (22) *Evergetis* [19], however, the empress was willing [10] to permit emergency alienations of movable property should the convent or its possessions suffer great damage due to depredations of foreign invaders or from fire or earthquake. She defends her willingness to part with

movable but not immovable property on the grounds that “with the help of immovable property it is possible sometimes to acquire movable property, but the opposite is difficult.” Even so, the sale of movable property was to be to other ecclesiastical institutions, since “it is acknowledged by all” (though not, some decades before, her husband) “that what has once been consecrated ought not to be made public property.”

The alienation procedures themselves are similar but not identical to those in (22) *Evergetis* [19]. The sacristan and the priests of the convent are added to the list of officials who need to be present. As in *Evergetis*, a detailed list (*praktikon*) of valuation had to be drawn up to record the transaction; here, the protectress also needed to be informed.

3. Entrance Gifts Not Mandatory

The empress follows the example and adopts part of the language of (22) *Evergetis* [37] in forswearing [7] mandatory entrance gifts such as the renunciation (*apotage*), the customary gift (*synetheia*), and the refectorial (*trapeziatikon*). As at *Evergetis*, however, voluntary gifts, be they of movable or immovable property, were welcomed, though they could not be reclaimed if the donor later chose to leave the convent, for this would be sacrilege.

4. Other Sources of Outside Support

Reform founders understood that outside donations frequently came with undesirable strings attached that might serve to compromise a foundation’s independence. The empress welcomes [8] donations of movable and immovable property by lay people, but restricts their use to increasing the number of nuns who could be supported, supplementing the institution’s charitable distributions to the poor, and meeting the expenses of feasts and commemorations. Donations for such memorial services are noted in [71]. Donations were not to be used to increase the diet of the nuns (as was done even in the appendix to (22) *Evergetis*) or to institute other changes. Donors were not “to make any new rules on the pretext of their offerings or issue instructions opposed to our commands.” This was not a groundless fear, as (46) *Akropolites* [7], [8] illustrates.

The empress’ rejection [53] of external (i.e., non-resident) nuns (*exomonitides*) and imposed guests (*katapemptai*)—even notables and the very wealthy—followed reform opinion in rejecting these basic threats to the cenobitic order. The empress was unwilling to contemplate [76] an exception being made even to rules less crucial to the maintenance of cenobiticism, such as her prescription that lay people not be buried in the nuns’ mortuary church, even if “a large, expensive, and useful offering” to the convent needed to be turned down to preserve the principle.

5. Provisions against Financial Misconduct

In addition to the procedural precautions described above, the empress provided [13] for the removal of a superior guilty of doing favors for her relatives or stealing possessions of the convent. These grounds for removal are derived from (22) *Evergetis* [14]. The empress also turned to the Evergetian tradition in incorporating [14] the use of patronal icons in the investiture ceremony for the steward, thereby, like (22) *Evergetis* [29], seeking to enlist fear of heavenly powers as an inducement to officials to carry out their responsibilities honestly. The drawing up of a detailed inventory, preserved here as Appendix B along with a list of the convent’s incomes, Appendix A, is another feature of this *typikon* influenced by the reform movement that was intended to assist in the prevention of financial misconduct.

6. Building Maintenance and Repair

Since the desperate need of many older private religious foundations for rebuilding and repairs had been one of the original justifications for the now discredited program of the *charistike*, it is not at all surprising that reform founders would eventually see the importance of providing for building maintenance and repairs on their own. Among the authors of our documents, the empress was the first to do so, [73] giving the superior the responsibility for preservation, repair, improvement, and adornment as well as for the retiling of the roofs. She herself claims credit for structural additions to the church and the construction of the convent.

F. General Philosophy

Given the author's own exalted status in Byzantine society, it is perhaps surprising that her *typikon* shares much of the hostility to privilege found in (22) *Evergetis*.²⁰ She adopts the language of (22) *Evergetis* [17] in warning [12] that no one should usurp the superiorship or, she adds, "any other office," on grounds of seniority, professional background, noble birth or donations made previously to the convent. As we have seen, nuns were not welcome [53] even if they were from an exalted background and offered generous donations or subventions in exchange for being accepted. Nuns tonsured outside of *Kecharitomene* were welcomed [54], especially if they were not being imposed by imperial or patriarchal authority (that is, if they were not *katapemptai*, cf. [53]).

The empress also adopts [42] the condemnation found in (22) *Evergetis* [9] of those who quarreled about precedence in seating in the refectory, though in a much abbreviated form without the violent language. To be sure, the empress also insists [4] on preferential admissions and special treatment for nobly born ladies who wished to be nuns. However, even such a nun installed in private quarters in the convent was not to use them for meeting with the other nuns and causing division in the community (that is, as a place in which to set herself up as an independent locus of authority in opposition to the superior) on pain of expulsion by the protectress.

G. External Relations

1. Institutional Philanthropy

Like other institutions influenced by the monastic reform, *Kecharitomene* featured a role for institutional philanthropy. Because this was a nunnery in an urban setting, this role was kept small to avoid exposing the nuns to scandal. There was a daily distribution of bread [64] at the gate and a distribution of money and bread [59] on the patronal feast. Smaller donations took place [61], [63] on other feasts of the church year.

2. Fairness to the Peasantry

Similarly, *Kecharitomene* reflects in a diluted form the typical reform concern with the welfare of the dependent peasantry, listing [31] bringing "relief to the people in the properties" as one of the desired qualifications for the selection of the convent's property administrators.

TWELFTH CENTURY

Notes on the Introduction

1. So Skoulatos, *Personnages*, p. 149, but see also Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” p. 13, who proposed a date ca. 1110.
2. Described in Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” pp. 9–12; supplemented by Sainte-Croix 57 (12th–13th c.) from the lavra of St. Sabas for Appendix B, for which see Gautier, pp. 16–17.
3. For Irene, see Brand and Cutler, “Irene Doukaina,” p. 1009; Diehl, *Figures*, pp. 53–58; Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” pp. 6–9; Polemis, *Doukai*, pp. 70–74; and Skoulatos, *Personnages*, pp. 119–24.
4. Sp. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1895), p. 176; for the *Philanthropos* monastery, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 525–27, “Christ Philanthrope,” and Sidéridès, “Philanthropou.”
5. For the location, see Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, p. 298, and plate II, no. 31.
6. See Polemis, *Doukai*, p. 71, with n. 17; cf. Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” pp. 8–9.
7. For Anna Komnene, see Alexander Kazhdan, “Komnene, Anna,” *ODB*, p. 1142, and Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 176–97.
8. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, p. 298; with Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1835), vol. 2, pp. 40–41.
9. For an illustration of the analytic groups proposed below, see Chart One: Analytic Chapter Groups of (27) *Kecharitomene*.
10. See Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” pp. 14–16.
11. Group A: Chapters (39) new to (27) *Kecharitomene*: [4], [5], [6], [8], [9], [14], [15], [16], [17], [21], [22], [26], [27], [28], [31], [34], [44], [51], [52], [54], [58], [59], [60], [61], [62], [63], [66], [67], [68], [69], [71], [72], [73], [74], [75], [76], [77], [79], [80].
12. Subgroup A.1: New chapters (26) with no equivalent in (22) *Evergetis*: [4], [6], [8], [15], [21], [22], [27], [34], [51], [60], [61], [62], [63], [66], [67], [68], [69], [71], [72], [73], [74], [75], [76], [77], [79], [80].
13. Subgroup A.2: New chapters (13) with equivalent (but different) chapters in (22) *Evergetis*: [5] = (22) *Evergetis* [23]; [9] = (22) *Evergetis* [19]; [14] = (22) *Evergetis* [13]; [16] = (22) *Evergetis* [15]; [17] = (22) *Evergetis* [39]; [26] = (22) *Evergetis* [31]; [28] = (22) *Evergetis* [30]; [31] = (22) *Evergetis* [34]; [44] = (22) *Evergetis* [30]; [52] = (22) *Evergetis* [25]; [54] = (22) *Evergetis* [37]; [58] = (22) *Evergetis* [28]; [59] = (22) *Evergetis* [11].
14. Group B: Chapters (21) with textual links to both (22) *Evergetis* and (32) *Mamas*: [1], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [12] and (32) *Mamas* [4]; [7], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37] and (32) *Mamas* [5]; [11], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13] and (32) *Mamas* [1]; [12], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14], [16], [17] and (32) *Mamas* [45]; [13], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14] and (32) *Mamas* [2]; [18], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [29] and (32) *Mamas* [6]; [25], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [31], [33] and (32) *Mamas* [23]; [30], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37] and (32) *Mamas* [22]; [32], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4] and (32) *Mamas* [47], [31]; [35], [37], [38], and [39], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [6] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; [40] and [42], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9] and (32) *Mamas* [17]; [47] and [48], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [10] and (32) *Mamas* [18]; [56], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [26] and (32) *Mamas* [34]; [57], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [41] and (32) *Mamas* [34]; [70], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [36] and (32) *Mamas* [39], [40]; [78], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [42], [43] and (32) *Mamas* [46].
15. Group C: Chapters (7) with textual links to (22) *Evergetis* but not (32) *Mamas*: [10], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [19]; [33], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4], [5]; [36], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [6]; [41] and [43], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9]; [64], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [38]; [65], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [43].
16. Group D: Chapters (13) with textual links to (32) *Mamas* but not (22) *Evergetis*: [2] = (32) *Mamas* [5]; [3], cf. (32) *Mamas* [3]; [19] = (32) *Mamas* [9]; [20] = (32) *Mamas* [8]; [23], cf. (32) *Mamas* [11]; [24], cf. (32) *Mamas* [10]; [29] = (32) *Mamas* [12]; [45], cf. (32) *Mamas* [17]; [46], cf. (32) *Mamas* [17]; [49], cf. (32) *Mamas* [20]; [50] = part of (32) *Mamas* [20]; [53], cf. (32) *Mamas* [26]; [55] = (32) *Mamas* [25].
17. See also (27) *Kecharitomene* [10], [24], [25], and [31].

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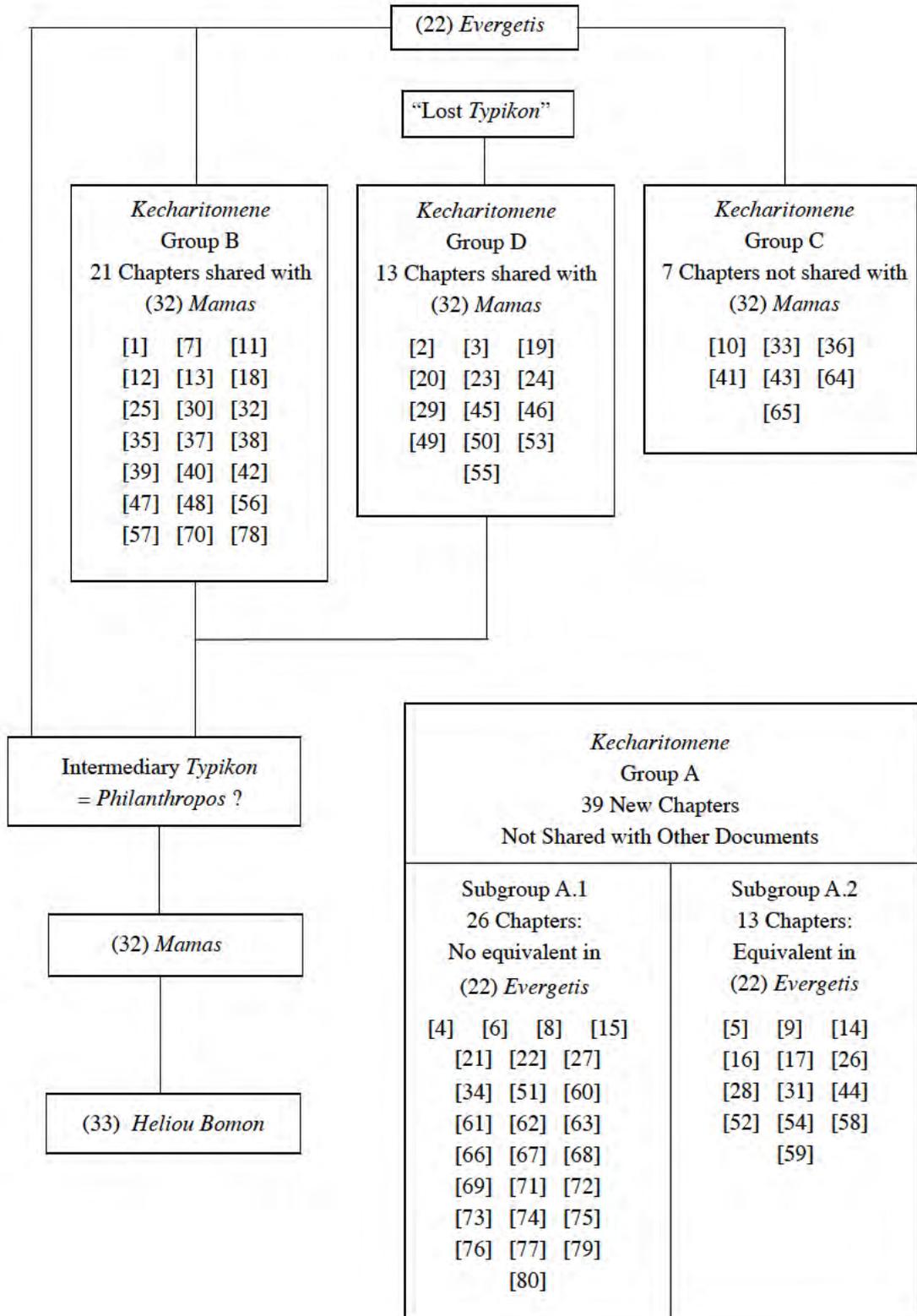
18. Gautier, "Kécharitôménè," p. 14.
19. Gautier, "Kécharitôménè," p. 76, n. 9.
20. For a different assessment, see Galatariotou, "Women's Communities," pp. 271–76, 289–90.

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(27) *Kecharitomene* is the first of six *typika* written for Byzantine convents that have survived. The later examples of *typika* for womens' monasteries are (39) *Lips*, (40) *Anargyroi*, (47) *Philanthropos*, (54) *Neilos Damilas*, and (57) *Bebaia Elpis*. The works cited in the General Bibliography, XXI. Women in Byzantine Monasticism, are part of the impressive scholarship that has been done in recent years on this subject.

Chart One: Analytic Chapter Groups of (27) *Kecharitomene*



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As noted above, this document shares substantial portions of the text of (22) *Evergetis*. In our translation, the borrowings are indicated in boldface type.

Translation

Rule of the revered convent of the most holy Mother of God *Kecharitomene* newly built from its foundations and established by the most devout Augusta, Lady Irene Doukaina, in accordance with her command and intention explained and set out [here].

[Prologue]

O Mother of God [who gave birth to] the Living Word without birth pangs, and after his birth [became] again an all-holy and precious vessel of virginity, your Son and God was the source and provider of many great good things for us, truly our Savior Jesus and “God with us” (Is. 7:14), which is the great and revered meaning of the name Emmanuel, according to the holy Isaiah, who created what exists from what did not and bestowed on us well-being by all his gifts, who honored us with reason and gave us intelligence and perception as standards to judge reality, and by these [faculties] distinguished us from the animals on the earth and set up man to rule over them, while he is being ruled from above. “What shall I render to the Lord for all the things wherein he has rewarded me?” (Ps. 115:12). He has brought to his handiwork a providential care, never up to now halting the rich springs of his goodness towards us, ever since he set the heavens in a circle, divided up time, poured out the air and spread the earth underneath, and appointed man as overseer of the visible world.

So these [acts] are indeed great and worthy of the power which has created and preserves them, as great David says, “Who will ever seek out his mercy and truth?” (Ps. 60 [61]:8). But what a good gift the bountiful visitation of the Holy Spirit gave us in you and the power of the Most High overshadowed you (cf. Luke 1:35) and rendered you a spiritual and living temple to him. Without defilement or change, out of your all-holy virgin blood there came into existence and became subject to time and was born without a father he who was born from his Father without a mother before eternity. But what a good gift he gave us in you, as I said before, he who is the giver of the other good things to us, when he raised you up as a ladder and spread you out as a bridge leading or conducting mankind to heaven. Even if the whole of heaven had happened to become one voice, I do not think it would have worthily declared or praised the greatness of this gift [p. 21] which was worthy of God. “For who can utter the mighty doings of the Lord or who will show forth all his praises?” (Ps. 105 [106]:2). Or what tongue, O Mother of God’s Word full of grace, will relate the miracles that have come about at different times through you, by which the divine “foundation of faith in God remains unshaken” (Col. 2:5) and the “strongholds of impiety are destroyed” (Prov. 21:22) and Christ’s sacred religion is firmly established on the “foundation of the apostles” (Eph. 2:20)? Who could speak of the greatness of your miracles? Who will relate the wonders that occurred at different times? Who will confess your mighty works or praise your miraculous signs, by which you strengthen the Empire and destroy tyrannies, and cause the most Christian nation to dwell in the hope of future well-being?

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What word would come to me, O divine mother of all things supernatural, either as I related simply or tried to praise the magnificence of your wonderful deeds on my behalf from my earliest years to this point in my life, and tried to describe the flood of your goodness towards me ever since my birth? For with regard to my birth—O ornament of our race with most saving power and, as is fitting, the much talked-of cause of rejoicing for the assemblies in heaven at the heavenly festivals—by the favor of God and your care and help my life had its beginning in a pious family¹ and one naturally suited to virtue; and with regard to my upbringing and education my instruction was under the finest principles and habits (let envy and the unpleasantness of boasting be kept away) which did not induce laxity or perversity. This was totally the gift of God and of you his mother. With regard to my true arrival at adulthood, whom of all men or women did you guide in every way thus as you did me, your servant, with the greatest ease, you who “are clothed” in spiritual and truly unfading “fringed garments” (Ps. 44 [45]:14), an adorned queen standing at the right hand of the Pantokrator? For when you had surrounded or flooded my life on all sides with human prosperity and placed nothing of earthly human abundance far from my surroundings, you led me even further, for reasons you know, to the summit of human good fortune—the position of empress.²

Furthermore you have granted [me] much fruitfulness in the Purple, adding to my calling and relationship as a mother those of both a maternal and paternal grandmother.³ [p. 23] For these reasons you extended the period of imperial power as far as today in your glorious defenses of the emperor [Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118)] in terrible and dangerous crises, in his great triumphs bringing safety to the empire of the Romans achieved with you as his ally over barbarians, and in the recovery of our dearest ones from diseases or their deliverance “from the throat of a pouncing lion” (Ps. 21 [22]:21). May you “add days to the days” (Ps. 60 [61]:7) of the emperor and be his irresistible ally against barbarians, so that your inheritance, and the great city [of Constantinople] entrusted to you, be preserved as an ever-flourishing root and ever-flowing font of piety.

So in these matters leaving it to the tongues of angels, whatever the tongues of angels happen to be, to praise and worship your greatness and your undefiled purity which is above the highest and oldest thrones and the Cherubim, and to thank you in a spiritual way for your compassion and mercy towards us, all that I bring to you in return is most fervent love, you who with your First-Born and Only-Begotten maintain the most providential and saving love for humanity. And the great and fearful dignity of your motherhood of God is a subject of much joyful talk and very dear to my heart and an unceasing thought, and I think of your holy childbirth with the purest pleasure and delight. No other utterance or statement is so very pleasing to me as the wonders and mystical truths concerning you, and the ever-flowing stream of good things that come to us from God through you, the intercessor. For in these matters I know that there is nothing in us worthy of your holiness which is beyond word and thought, just as there is nothing worthy of the One who became poor to take from you our substance, we who possess nothing of ourselves but are entirely God’s. For when you gave birth to the Immaterial Word beyond words, you were then granted self-sufficiency and perfection, and material things are of no value [to you].

Since it is impossible for human beings who still live and move in this world to show the ardor of their faith in you in a human way by more divine and immaterial offerings, imitating and copying the condescension and humility of the Word, I myself have built for you, the mother of the Word, a holy temple from those who are around us and are of our kind for you, “the holy and

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wonderful temple in righteousness” (Ps. 64 [65]:5), in the words of your forefather, the great David, and have “established” in it “solitary” singers of praise (Ps. 67 [68]:6) for you and the Divine Bliss from [the members] of the chaste female sex among us, dispensing to each of them from your great gifts to me the yearly and daily necessities in accordance with their physical needs. [p. 25] Furthermore I have set up the life of devotion for them cenobitic in everything, establishing and ensuring for this divine company an absence of distraction from all sides in the matter of their holy way of life. They in hope and with devout prayer are running the race ever since they made that noble vow “in the presence of God and his chosen angels” (I Tim. 5:21) concerning this holy convent, and not even in this have my hopes in you failed, virgin Mother of God, and choirs of angels whom the gospels declare to rejoice and exult greatly at a person’s salvation (cf. Luke 15:7) will always be offering thanks for this to you.

Thus then I built the holy convent for you who bore “the Great Shepherd of the sheep” (Heb. 13:20) in the abundance of my love for God, and brought a rational flock to you, the mother of the First and Only Shepherd according to the wise Solomon (cf. Eccl. 12:11). In what way would anyone rightly address you, the one favored by God (cf. Luke 1:28), the one beyond the visible and intelligible world, the one who passed beyond the bounds of nature, the mediatrix between God and men, (but why list the many things?) truly the Mother of God in virgin purity. Since you have gently tested the faith of my heart, receive my offering with favor and do not thrust away my oblation, nor “turn away your face from” your child (Ps. 26 [27]:9), but add a happy ending to an auspicious beginning, and you, wholly without blemish, spread your “wings,” as Moses says (Deut. 32:11), “silvered” with the gifts of the All-Holy Spirit (Ps. 67 [68]:15), and then protect this lovely convent from the lion who goes about seeking whom he may devour and prowls around its holy precincts in hunger and guile.

Preserve this flock which is dedicated to your majesty secure for ever, O virgin and mother, and fortify the sisterhood’s feminine nature in virtue, holding your all-powerful right hand over this good flock continuously, so that the old deceiver and serpent (cf. Rev. 12:9) might not find one Eve among them again nor whisper his deadly tricks in her ears as he leads her to “the snare of Hell” (Prov. 9:19), but that they all living together in the holy place under your most powerful protection, might buzz around this hive most diligently, to use another expression, cultivating the fruit of virtue which is sweeter than honey, “bowing down” without defilement to the Almighty “in the holy courtyard of God” (Ps. 95 [96]:9), “rendering a sacrifice of praise” (Ps. 115:7) to God “seven times a day, praising the judgments of divine righteousness” (Ps. 118 [119]:164), praising the Divine Bliss and your majesty for the decrees of the Deity beyond all being, “rising” with David “at midnight” (Ps. 118 [119]:62) and without [other] thoughts lifting [p. 27] holy hands during the night to the Holy of Holies (I Tim. 2:8; Ps. 133 [134]:2) in their churches blessing God the Lord who came forth from [the people of] Israel, casting off their dust and giving their minds wings, being slaves of the Lord, ardent in spirit, “considering how to stir up one another to love and good works” (Heb. 10:24) as the divine apostle says.

In this, O favored mother of the Word and queen of all, preserve this flock for me and keep it safe, so that then all their wickedness and ignorance may be driven out and through cleansing they may always walk towards purity and their supplications may reach and gain entrance “to the ears of the Lord Sabaoth” (James 5:4) and then he may send to us from there every thing that is for

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the well-being of the priesthood, the empire, and the Christian community, so that as a result the one who rules the empire of Christ may also in sincere devotion rule his subjects and labor to bring about peace and stability in the world, preserving the whole nation in goodness and routing barbarians, both those seen and unseen, those who wait for his back to be turned and those who try to strike him from in front, both those from beyond our boundaries and those of our own race or vipers in his bosom, something to be deprecated and repudiated. [Preserve] this your emperor and his descendants, since he is in other respects and in the matter of this my offering a like-minded helper and loyal fellow-servant. This fine company of my flock, praying to be kept safe for a very long time in a community living according to Christ, always needs your assistance and mighty aid, as is reasonable, in this very great request that brings salvation to the world, for if this is missing and divine help is not present, no good action is easy to accomplish for anyone at all.

These are our thank-offerings to you for the past, Mother of God and mistress of all creation, and our supplications for the future. In this turbulent and very stormy life may we lodge under your wings, since the person who is not protected underneath them but lives in the midst of the world or at the center of worldly affairs finds it difficult, or even completely impossible, not to be burnt as he walks on coals or not to be scratched on thorns or not to be cut on swords. Throughout this present variable life with its many movements at least may we have you, “the beauty of Jacob” (Ps. 46 [47]:4), as our champion unassailable in every way, since we have fixed all the anchors of our hopes on your goodness, and in our future life may we find you again a protector at the great and fearful judgment-seat of your Son and King, when [p. 29] those who act righteously will understand more purely and clearly the words of the great good news in lovely Nazareth about the incarnation in you of the Unutterable Word and the swaddling-clothes in the manger at holy Bethlehem (cf. Luke 2:10–12). So these are our thank-offerings and supplications to you, the very splendid and divine ark of the sanctuary; but what concerns your holy convent and the establishment of what we have prescribed for it is as follows.

1. Concerning the fact that the convent of the most holy Mother of God *Kecharitomene* should be independent and under its own control [cf. (22) *Evergetis* [12], ed. lines 539–41; 547–63]

I wish that the convent of my Lady the Mother of God *Kecharitomene* set up by me be administered and managed in whatever manner I myself wish while I am preserved in this life through the grace and fervent intercession of the same Lady, and after my death (for being mortal I expect to die and know the common obligation of our nature) that it **should be independent and under its own control**, a stranger to all mastery and ownership, and that no one at all should have any right or privilege in respect of it but it should remain independent in every way, separate and in control of itself, and be administered in accordance with what will be expressly laid down here by me. **It should neither be made subject to imperial or ecclesiastic or personal rights** at any time nor assigned as a gift or *epidosis* or for reasons of *ephoreia*, stewardship or superintendence or for any other reason to any kind of person whatsoever or monastery or holy house or orphanage or other bureau or any hospital but remain for ever only under the authority of the virgin Mother of God *Kecharitomene*, to whom it has in fact been dedicated and **it should be governed and administered by the superior** at the time in accordance with our present instructions. For my most powerful emperor, Lord Alexios Komnenos, whom I pray the Lord God grant to live a long life

and reach a grand old age, will have the same authority over the convent as I. But after my most powerful emperor has departed from this life, I do not wish the convent of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene* to be administered and managed by anyone at all, but remain for ever independent and under its own control as has been settled above in more detail, but it should be administered and directed under its own authority by the superior in it at the time in accordance with the command of this present rule.

But if anyone ever at any time and in any way wishes to gain control over this our convent and set it under the power of someone else, whether he be an emperor, or a patriarch, or some other [p. 31] member of the clergy or of the senate, or the superior herself, or its steward, or simply one of its sisters at present in it prompted by an attack of the devil, not only will he be held responsible for the divine body and blood of our God and Savior Jesus Christ but will also “be accursed,” as the holy apostle says (Gal. 1:8) and subject to the curse of the three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, because of the fact that out of a fervent heart and faith we established a convent from a very small part of the benefits conferred on us by the Mother of God *Kecharitomene* and we entrusted it to the authority and power of our Mother of God *Kecharitomene* herself, wishing it to be independent from simply everyone. This **that wretched person wretchedly planned **with malicious and deceitful intent to place under the power of persons who are perhaps corrupt and wicked and who look to nothing else but pernicious gain.****

2. Concerning the necessity for those following the monastic way of life in the convent of the *Kecharitomene* to pursue the cenobitic way of life

It is right that something be said more clearly and briefly next concerning the way of life of the nuns and the whole organization of life in the convent. What will be prescribed on this matter will be compatible with what has been clearly stated and declared by the divine fathers with regard to those who have recently renounced the world. For they decided and laid it down that those who recently fled from the very stormy world and took refuge in the calm harbor of the monastic life should enter upon a cenobitic way of life, and renouncing their own will give themselves up to a life of submission, seeing that they need a helmsman and guide as they direct the blind eye of their soul this way and that and are not able to help themselves through their ignorance of goodness. Therefore, obeying these men I wish, I very much wish, that the nuns in the convent of the virgin Mother of God *Kecharitomene* should live in a cenobitic order and way of life and that the rule of this constitution should always be in force in it, unchanged and unaltered and unshaken by every misfortune, perverted or changed in no way during the existence of this whole age, nor altered for any reason or pretext whatsoever, neither because of wealth or poverty, neither through scarcity or abundance, nor any other plausible reason or pretext whatsoever, but the cenobitic order and way of life should be completely preserved in every way unbroken for ever.

Even if the entire income of the convent should happen to be reduced to what would be enough for two nuns, we wish them to live in the cenobitic way and conform [p. 33] to the rule for this way of life. If any of the mothers superior wants the opposite to this, the nuns are to speak against it, and if the nuns want the opposite, the superior should resist; but if they all should agree

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the protectress of the convent should defend what I have laid down. But if she is led astray by them, we grant permission to anyone who wishes to fight for a holy object, if this is not done by our relatives, and to go to court for goodness itself and the reward for this, to seek that what we have laid down should be effective and that those chiefly responsible for the dissolution of the cenobitic way of life be expelled from the convent and not consider this a small achievement but one that is very great and brings salvation.

3. Concerning those appointed to protect the convent and concerning their power and the fact that the things that I will prescribe about the convent in my will are of equal importance with this rule, which must be for ever unchanged and unaltered

Since it was necessary for my majesty to be concerned how the convent of my Mother of God *Kecharitomene*, after the departure of both of us from this world, would be well supplied with people who would protect it so that plundering by those who rob other people's property should not take place, as would happen if it were not guarded with some protection and security, this I have done and with the finest management I wish my most beloved daughter, the nun Lady Eudokia⁴ Born-in-the-Purple, to look after it, support and defend it, and keep away by every means those who try to injure it, and whenever there is perhaps a danger of any of the provisions of this rule being infringed she should prevent it, seeing that she is a nun and is going to reside in this convent. Moreover after she has departed to the other world ladies will be appointed to the oversight and *ephoreia* of the convent to whom my majesty will give this right, either by means of a supplement added to this rule⁵ or some document recording my last wish. For as regards the things that I shall prescribe in my last wishes [p. 35] concerning this convent and all the things in its possession, I wish that they also should have force, as if they had been written in this my rule and then that they should also remain forever unaltered in the same way as the things prescribed here. Yet if I should wish in my will to alter some of the things written by me in this document, this I will always be able to do, and no distinction will be made between this my rule and my last wish, in as much as all the decisions of my majesty in both documents concerning matters in the convent have great and equal force, unless some of the things written here, as has been stated, will be annulled by my will.

For this reason none of those who have been entrusted with the protection of the convent by my majesty should have control over any property in it, or pervert any of the provisions in this rule, or remove the superior, or enroll nuns, or introduce and expel them, or demand any accounts either of the superior herself or the steward or one of the nuns in the matters they manage and look after, or demand knowledge of the income and the expenditure, or try to get anything at all from the convent, or appropriate anything whatsoever or try to issue instructions. For we are entrusting the undisturbed management of the convent and of all the things in its possession to the superior herself and the nuns in accordance with the specification of the rule. We place the aforesaid women in charge of the convent for this purpose only, namely to support and look after it and its possessions, to pacify the nuns who are perhaps offended, and drive away those who wish to trample on the rights of the convent or infringe any of the things laid down in this rule. It will be enough for them to be commemorated each day in the convent only and after their deaths for their names to be inscribed on the holy diptychs. For we wish this our rule to have undisturbed and unviolated authority for ever, receiving no supplement nor suffering any deletion or change. For never will be

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violated anything that has been or will be laid down in this document, nor will an alteration or change be accepted in any way from anyone whatever, not even at a critical moment, even if much better edicts and arrangements are brought upon the convent either by the superior herself or the protectress of the convent as a result of which the convent and its possessions are expected to increase greatly and its situation to improve. [p. 37]

4. Concerning those of our granddaughters who have been tonsured and who have been permitted to live here, and those women of illustrious and noble life who come to this convent and are tonsured in it, and how they should live in the convent

If any of the daughters of my dearly beloved Lady Anna⁶ Born-in-the-Purple or of dearly beloved Lady Maria⁷ Born-in-the-Purple will wish to have her worldly hair cut in this convent or even enters after having her hair cut somewhere else, she will have to be accepted, and if she is willing to abide by the same rule and regulation, keeping to the way of life and diet and living accommodation and all the other conditions of those who practice the religious life in this convent, and introducing nothing different and at variance with the communal life of the remaining nuns, she is acceptable both to God and to me as concerns her very noble transformation and right conversion. But if perhaps as a result of her customary very luxurious way of life she were not able to change to one too harsh, she herself will communicate her own thoughts and actions to the common father of the nuns, confessing to him in the same way as the rest of the nuns, but she will follow the diet and the singing of psalms as far as she is able in the cell that will be given to her, that is the small *tropike* built behind the apse of the nuns' refectory close to their enclosure together with its lavatory and the rest of the necessary attendance that goes with this room. She will live on her own and eat more food than the usual diet of the other nuns, as both the situation of the tonsured [lady] demands and the discretion of the superior directs, and she will be permitted to have also two free women [p. 39] or even slaves acting as her servants, and they must be maintained by the convent.

However since the convent has been declared to be inaccessible to men, if in fact she were to wish to meet some of her family, or a pressing need demands it, she will not be allowed to bring them inside the convent but she will go out with the consent of the superior to the exit that leads to the gate, and when she has talked to them there, she will enter into the convent again keeping it inaccessible to men, as has been said. But if one of these women is not able to abide by the regulation laid down for the rest of the nuns in this our rule concerning going out of the convent, she will be permitted by the superior, if some unfortunate circumstance has happened to her, to leave the convent with one of the very old and devout sisters, whichever one the superior wishes. The nun will return immediately and she, when she has seen her sick relative for two or three days, will return to the convent. But if her sick relative is in fact breathing his last, she will remain there until he reaches the end of his life, if his end is delayed for one or two days or even longer, and then she will return to the convent.

Also if someone else who is very illustrious and has a devout disposition were to wish to cast off her worldly hair in this convent or were to enter after her hair was cut elsewhere, she also will have to be accepted. If she is willing to abide by the same rule and regulation keeping to the way of life and diet and living accommodation and all the other conditions of the nuns in this

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convent, she is acceptable to God and me. But if perhaps she were to shrink from the communal living, in this point only will it be possible for her to differ from the whole way of life and condition of the nuns, that is for her to have the aforementioned *tropike* for her private accommodation, being allowed to have also one servant maintained by the convent to minister to her. But in any other matters strict observance of communal living will not be neglected by the superior in the case of these women, except for what has been laid down here about them. For we did not prescribe that these women should be accepted for the destruction and disordering of the cenobitic way of life; for the distinction specified in their cases is sufficient. But if perhaps one of all these were to try to injure the convent in some way, and there are many examples of foolishness, or receive some of the nuns in her own cell and converse with them causing offense and division among the whole community, and if the superior is not able to get her to mend her ways, she will be removed even against her will by the protectress of the convent at the time. [p. 41]

5. Concerning the number of the nuns

So the nuns of the most pure Lady and Mother of God *Kecharitomene* will be twenty-four in number, who must devote themselves to the service of the church and the singing of psalms and the ministries of the convent continually. But if through the favor of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene* the [wealth] in the possession of her convent should increase considerably by any way, so that there is sufficient to provide for more, the limit of nuns should be fixed at thirty or should even be allowed to surpass this by a little and be set at as many as forty. But we forbid that those practicing the religious life in the convent should be more than this, though the superior should not be included in this number nor indeed the two girls; for we also prescribe that two girls should be reared in the convent and brought up and educated and prepared and be tonsured at the appropriate time. Nor should the six servants be included whom we prescribe to be in the convent to serve the community, and if these are not sufficient another one or two will be brought in. Also we allow the increase in the nuns to be up to forty, if the nuns keep unbroken the rule and terms of their cenobitic way of life which we have laid down, and their number does not hinder their strict observance of it. But if the increase of nuns becomes a cause of anarchy, we specify that this number should be totally void. For our concern is chiefly for the cenobitic way of life of the nuns, and not that there should be many nuns.

6. Concerning the fact that all the nuns should remain in one house

So all these women must sleep in one dormitory which was recently built by my majesty and set aside for this very purpose, all visible to all, so that the more indolent may imitate the conscientious as an “encouragement to virtue and good works” (Heb. 10:24). But if the number of the nuns is too big for the size of the room, those for whom there is no room in the dormitory that has been set aside will live in a part of the adjoining room. The other part of the room will be useful to them when they are devoting themselves to their handiwork under the gaze of the superior, whatever it is that she should decide for each of them, while one of them [p. 43] is reading a portion of the Holy Scriptures, whatever seems to the superior to be appropriate and conducive to spiritual pleasure and alleviates the toil of manual labor. The dormitories recently built by my majesty and set aside for the nuns for their rest, and the remaining cells inside the convent set aside for the nuns

for a use of any sort, will remain in the same form and the same condition, neither becoming two-storied nor being altered in any other way.⁸

7. Concerning the fact that those who are going to be tonsured should be tonsured free of charge, and when the offering will be acceptable

We wish that those who enter should be accepted and have their hair cut as a gift and be counted in the aforesaid number of sisters without any gift. For neither will anyone provide a renunciation nor a customary gift nor will an offering be sought—neither that termed refectorial nor any other described by whatever name. For such things are a cause of insubordination, arguing, and disobedience for those who provide them, and not only are these people harmed very much as a result, but also they become an evil example among the rest of the community. Therefore I wish and prescribe that those who are going to have their hair cut be received into the convent as a gift without an offering of any kind and without them being asked for anything at all. But if one of them were to wish of her own free will to offer something of her own possessions, whether the offering is of movable or immovable property, it will be accepted. For what is offered in faith as a dedication to our all-pure Lady *Kecharitomene* and is going to be for the maintenance of the convent and to commemorate and help the soul of the giver ought not to be rejected.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [37], ed. lines 1154–61]: Yet **she who makes an offering must not suppose that because of this she has any preference over the rest of the sisters, but she should be treated in the same way as every one else and will have to follow the rule of the convent. But if she ever tries to leave the convent tempted by demons—there are many examples of fickleness—and would like to take what she has given back, it must not be given to her whatever it happens to be. For what has once been consecrated to God cannot be taken away, and the person who takes it away is sacrilegious and everyone knows, even if we do not say it, the sort of punishment that committing sacrilege carries.** So whoever makes an offering of private movable or immovable [p. 45] property should read the preceding words here, and if she makes her offering with a free motive pleasing to God, neither with the intention of getting it back later, nor seeking some preference over the other sisters as a result of it, then indeed her gift should be accepted and dedicated to *Kecharitomene* by whom she will be recompensed with the reward of her faith.

8. Concerning the fact that the movable and immovable property consecrated by lay people to the convent of *Kecharitomene* with a motive that is pleasing to God should be accepted

But if some lay person or one of our children or one of our other relatives or someone completely unrelated to us moved by an intention that is pleasing to God and by his own choice should choose to consecrate some movable or immovable property to the convent, we approve most readily his God-pleasing choice, knowing that he receives from God a recompense many times greater. We wish the income from the immovable property consecrated by him not to be spent to increase the diet of the nuns or to bring about any other change in our instructions, but to add to the number of nuns submitting themselves to the same rule, for distributions to the poor, as he wishes, and for the expenses of feasts and commemorations. For it will not be possible for those bringing offerings to make any new rules on the pretext of their offerings or issue instruc-

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tions opposed to our commands, but the nuns will accept the things that have been offered with a motive that is pleasing to God, and will carry out whatever those who make the offerings prescribe concerning commemorations and distributions, but nothing more than this, as has been said before.

9. Concerning the fact that all the movable and immovable property set apart for the convent should be inalienable

I wish everything that has been set apart or will be set apart for the convent or that which will accrue in any way, not only immovable property but also the movable, to remain immovable and inalienable in its possession, not being given away nor removed, nor sold, nor disposed of in any way whatsoever, even if double or triple or ten times as much were given for the object being alienated. For to do such a thing or to consent to it taking place is sheer sacrilege, and he who has done such a thing or is responsible, whether he be an emperor, or patriarch or official, or private person, or superior of the convent, or one of the nuns in it, will render account to the Fearful and Just Judge. I specify that the immovable property that has been alienated be restored again to the convent by the efforts of the most holy patriarch, who by the laws and canons has responsibility for this, of the protectress of the convent, of the rest of the nuns who are to remind [her] and recall this [property], and anyone else wishing to seek revenge for the sake of piety. [p. 47]

10. Concerning when the movable property of the convent can be alienated

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [19], ed. lines 851–53; 858–63]: So then alienation of the immovable property will be completely forbidden; and my majesty considers alienation of the movable property to be reasonable for one reason only, namely whenever some great damage has been done to the convent or the possessions in its control **from foreign attack or fire or earthquake**, and the convent is without money to repair the damage. For in that case I permit some of the movable property to be alienated for the repair of the immovable property, and then the alienation should take place to holy churches and divine chapels so that sacred objects might continue sacred and holy things might not be made public property. For it is acknowledged by all that what has once been consecrated ought not to be made public property. We choose the alienation of movable property in order to repair the immovable property for no simple-minded or chance reason, as someone might think, but because the income from immovable property is able to help the convent to a much greater extent, and because with the help of immovable property it is possible sometimes to acquire movable property, but the opposite is difficult. Also we do not allow this alienation to take place in this way without examination, nor secretly, nor in a corner, nor with the knowledge of some section of those in the convent but unknown to the rest, but it should take place when **the superior, the steward, the ecclesiarchissa**, the sacristan, **and the rest of the preminent officials** and the priests of the convent **gather together for this purpose**, decide about the proposed expenditure, and consider the category of the object to be alienated; then certain people are called in who have precise knowledge of the object to be sold off and publish a **detailed list** of valuation,⁹ which must be deposited and kept with the documents of the convent, and all this takes place with the knowledge of the protectress of the convent.

11. Concerning how the superior must be chosen and installed

The choosing and installation of the superior must now be discussed. For as my majesty has already appointed the superior who has been appointed, if a superior is needed again while I am alive, she will be appointed by me, but after my death this regulation of mine will be in force. For I prescribe that if the death of the superior then in office is expected and known in advance, all the community should go to her, and by the common decision of both them and her, since she has knowledge of the conduct and way of life of each of the nuns, three should be chosen who are distinguished for their mode of life, excel in intellect and good sense, and are wiser and more skilled than the others in the leading and tending of souls, being women recognized and acknowledged as such, whether [p. 49] some such women are found among the officials or among the rest of the nuns.

But if the superior should happen to depart from this life unexpectedly, without giving any consideration to her successor or making anything known, then, when the whole community has gathered by itself, it should make its choice of the three in the presence also of the current protectress of the convent. But if a rift should occur and a dispute arise among them concerning the choice, which I pray does not happen, the protectress of the convent will resolve the argument favoring the judgment of the group which excels in virtue and the spiritual life, but she will always be careful to make her decision freely and dispassionately, unless she wishes to see the Judge and Master of all creation perversely influenced against her because she perhaps perverted the course of justice in an unjust decision, which I pray does not happen. Those are the instructions concerning the selection.

The selection and installation of one of the chosen women will be carried out in this manner. On three similar pieces of paper of the same size the following words will be written by the spiritual father of the nuns, "Master, Our Lord Jesus Christ, Thou who knowest the hearts [of men], by the intercessions of our all-pure Lady the Mother of God *Kecharitomene*, reveal to us sinners whether thou hast judged this our sister worthy of the position of our superior," and again the same words will be written on the other pieces of paper with only the names changed. When the pieces of paper have been stamped with a seal by the protectress of the convent, they will be placed on the holy table by the priest during vespers on Saturday in the sight of the protectress and the community, or, if some feast of Our Savior Jesus Christ or of our all-pure Lady the Mother of God should occur then, after a vigil has been completed and you have made whole-hearted supplication to God from a contrite heart, my most venerable mothers, since the matter for which we made the supplication is important and on it hangs the maintenance of the convent and equally its destruction as well as the hope of salvation.

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. lines 633–40]: On the next day when [the divine liturgy has been celebrated, after the completion of this and while the priest is still dressed in his priestly vestments, a *trisagion* will be performed by you and these *troparia* will be sung, "Have mercy on us, O Lord," "Glory," "Lord, turn to us from heaven and behold" (Ps. 79 [80]:14), "And now," "Only-Begotten One of the Same Substance." The priest will make an *ektenes* declaiming this after the other petitions, "We again beg that the Lord Our God reveal to us the one worthy of our leadership." You will respond "*Kyrie eleison*" thirty times and perform fifteen genuflections repeating this also to yourselves while you raise your hands to God: "God, Thou who knowest

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the hearts [of men], show to us sinners the one worthy of our leadership.” [p. 51] After these genuflections, when the priest himself has performed **three full genuflections in front of the holy table** and, still dressed in his priestly vestments, is repeating the same invocation, he will choose and lift up one of the three pieces of paper. When it has been offered in the presence of the whole community by the priest himself to the one who placed her own seal upon it, she will recognize her own seal, and, as all watch, the piece of paper will be opened and the owner of the name written on it will be revealed. Then as our **typikon and the staff** are lying in the place before the holy altar she, after performing three genuflections, will take these objects, pondering and considering with herself from where she takes them, and to whom she promises to protect them, and that angels are recording her promise and are the ones who are going to lead her to that fearful place of judgment to give account of the fulfilling of her promises. Then she will stand in the place assigned to the superior, and everyone will offer her the divine greeting [with a kiss]. After the greeting, glory will be offered to God and the dismissal will follow with the priest’s customary prayer. She will be your superior thereafter; you will revere her as a mother, and have an obedient attitude towards her as the one **appointed by God**.

So it is my prayer that there will always be among you yourselves an abundance of women worthy of the leadership, and that there will never fail to be nuns naturally suitable for this office in this most holy convent of the *Kecharitomene*, and whenever a need to appoint a superior arises, the selection can take place from the nuns themselves who practice the religious life here, seeing that with God’s help they have laid down a very good foundation of the monastic and cenobitic way of life and in keeping with the foundation are building the edifice of the virtuous community. But if there is not an abundance of three such nuns in the convent but only two are found worthy of such leadership, they will be sufficient, and when the names of these two only are written down, the events that follow will proceed as has been stated. But if, something my majesty prays does not happen, there appears to be no one worthy of this leadership in the convent, then the protectress of the convent at the time will find a second nun from another convent, someone reverent and proven as suitable for the position of superior. Then again when the names of these two have been written down, the one in the convent and the one brought from outside, as has been stated, the procedure will be observed as it has been written down, and then the one approved by it and shown to be worthy will be appointed to the position of superior.

12. Concerning the fact that the selection of the superior and the appointment of officials also should be carried out dispassionately

[= (22) *Evergetis* [14], ed. lines 707–27]: **Well then, we also entreat** you, our most venerable mothers, when you are obliged to carry out the selection of the superior, and the choosing of the rest of the officials [p. 53] is being done by the superior, **there should be no strife, there should be no jealousy, there should be no pointless partiality or irrational favoritism, but the judgment and testing should be made by you truly, with a strict purpose and correct judgment, as if the eye “that beholds all things” was watching** (Sir. 15:19). **So then, do not resort to quarreling and dissension in your selection, but choose the one who has been selected with unanimity**, peace, and love.

[= *Evergetis* [17], ed. lines 800–07]: When the selection and choosing is taking place there

will be no one **who will usurp unworthily the office of superior** or any other office, **making a display perhaps of her seniority or sphere of work or noble birth or her offering of some property or money. But the one who is to be preferred** among you, will be whoever is such as the passage above described, **whether she happens to have been recently tonsured or** came to the convent from a secular life.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [16], ed. lines 764–80]: Therefore **you should reserve all affection, all submission, and all obedience for your superior, as one of the divine fathers has said in these words, “for if those who care for us are going to render account for us, how will we not submit to them in everything, and obey and serve them as the other parts of the body do the head?”**¹⁰ As the Divine Apostle also says, **“Obey your leaders and submit to them, for they are keeping watch over your souls as men who will have to give account”** (Heb. 13:17). **But for my sake may you maintain love, peace, and harmony with one another, burning with a tender affection for one another, supporting one another, instructing** (Rom. 15:14), **comforting** (1 Thes. 4:18), **forbearing** (Eph. 4:2), **exerting yourselves strongly to achieve whatever is good or brings salvation, whatever is virtuous and worthy of praise** (cf. Phil. 4:8). **For Our Lord Jesus Christ says “this is my commandment to you that you love one another even as I have loved you”** (John 15:12) and **“by this all men will know that you are my disciples if you love one another”** (John 13:34).

[= (22) *Evergetis* [17], ed. lines 785–99]: **You, spiritual mother and guide of this holy flock, be moderate, and in your concern for the sisters, maintain in everything a motherly affection towards them, yes, we entreat you, care for them all, support them all instructing, advising, teaching, comforting, healing the sick, supporting the weak, encouraging the faint-hearted, restoring those who sin, as St. Basil says in these words, “the superior himself like a father caring for true children will watch over the need of each one, and will bring them as far as he can suitable healing and care, and will support the member that is truly weak, whether physically or spiritually, with love and fatherly affection.”**¹¹

13. Concerning the removal of the superior who does not act as she ought to

[= (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. lines 644–58]: **So much for those matters. What is about to be said next concerning the one who will be superior after our death and those who will be mothers superior after her, [p. 55] I did not wish to commit to writing, for it should not be necessary to remove from this position and rank someone who has previously been selected for this. Also this would be a pleasing and agreeable state of affairs if in fact our nature had been unchanging and immutable, but since that is impossible—for later we change and alter, such is human nature, and when we are thought worthy of honor we grow weaker with regard to the performance of good deeds, whether it is through giving way to laziness, as in most cases, since authority has a habit of weakening those who have been elevated to it, whereas they ought to demonstrate a greater struggle and diligence—for these reasons the matter must be committed to writing and punishment given as strongly as possible.**

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14], ed. lines 661–74, 694–700]: **So if the superior should continue unchanged, properly maintaining her virtue through which she was thought worthy of that rank, she will not be removed from this office but remain firm. But if time proves her to be**

unqualified and unsuitable, either because she has exercised her leadership of the sisters in a careless and indifferent manner, or because she has been doing favors for her relatives, or has been appropriating some of the convent's property herself, or has been betraying or subjecting it to someone else, or totally disregarding any of the [instructions] in the rule, following her own wishes and therefore has been proved unsuitable for the guiding of souls, if then living wickedly she were ever to take stock of herself and give up her evil ways and embark on the road that leads to the higher things and salvation, let her stay and be the superior. But should this same woman still not give up her evil ways, but in fact indulge in them more widely, we instruct the protectress of the convent to remove that worthless woman from your leadership, and again another selection and vote be held and an appointment of another superior in accordance with the above instructions.

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14], ed. lines 701–02]: **But the one removed** from the position of superior, **if she** were removed from it because of old age or lack of intelligence and **wished to remain** and reside in the future in the convent as one of the sisters and be subject to the superior in everything, provided that she neither destroyed in any way the good order of the convent nor was the cause or object of mischief, she should stay then in the convent. But the one who clearly contributed to the destruction of the convent's structure and its discipline and way of life and to the disregarding of the instructions in this rule of my majesty should be completely driven out so no cause for offense may arise for the rest.

14. Concerning the fact that the steward in the convent must be a eunuch of godly life

My majesty prescribes that there should be a steward in the convent administering the properties that belong to it according to the decision of the superior, and managing matters in them according to her wish. There is one already appointed by my majesty, and if another is needed, another will be brought in by my majesty. [p. 57] But whenever I depart from this life, he will be appointed by the superior either from among those who carry out the liturgy in the convent, that is if one of these is active and worthy of being the steward, or even someone from outside, approved and appointed in the following manner. After he has been selected following an inquiry and knows what he has to do, he will be revealed to the one who has the oversight of the convent in order to be acknowledged by her, then entering the church of the convent and remaining for a short time while **a trisagion is performed by the sisters**,¹² falling down he will prostrate himself both before the other divine icons of the saints and before the revered and all-holy icon of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene*. Then when he has kissed it and the priest has prayed the prayer for the dismissal, he will go out of the church and from that moment be the steward and will look after the convent's properties, receiving a private copy of this chapter which makes clear his duties.

The oversight of all the immovable property belonging to the convent both inside and outside the capital will be a task requiring zealous attention, as will the accounts of the caretakers and building superintendents, the retiling of the convent and of the properties in its possession which is carried out every year with suitable care, the repair of buildings which perhaps collapse in the convent; on the instruction of the superior, he must devote his efforts and attention to this. In addition he should concern himself with the revenues from legitimate endowments and with the management of everything in the properties and houses to make them more profitable, and should

not allow those who at the time are looking after these things either to be careless in protecting and increasing them or to appropriate some of the income and make private profit. But his oversight in these matters should be exercised carefully and the revenues brought to the convent unaltered, and the crops and other items dispatched at the appropriate time, the ships that should transport them being dispatched in good time; the money should be brought to the convent and in the presence of the steward handed over to the superior and the treasurer, with a receipt for it signed by them and then entered in the income and expenditure of the treasury. But if the steward is away perhaps, staying in properties outside the convent, the handing over to them of the money that is being paid in should take place in the presence of the assistant steward. But if the assistant steward is also away in properties outside the convent, the money should be brought to the superior and the treasurer alone, and the receipts signed by them as has been stated.

The steward should be careful to make accounts of the caretakers at the appropriate time and not defer them, but more importantly he should go round the properties everywhere and observe the caretakers themselves and the properties, and be keen that these should increase; he should also visit the places that belong to the convent in the City, [p. 59] as is possible, and thus by his very deeds demonstrate his work as steward and bring to the convent the accounts of the caretakers and building superintendents made annually by him, and hand them over to the superior each year so that they may be scrutinized by her and then an exoneration of the caretakers issued by her. But if perhaps one of the stewards then in office should be discovered not carrying out these things according to the above description, he will be removed from his stewardship, and when the superior consults with the protectress of the convent concerning the report on this man, another person will be appointed such as the passage above described.

Briefly, my majesty gives this instruction: let everything be managed by the steward at the time with the knowledge and consent of the superior. He will also have an assistant steward, one of the assigned priests in the convent, as will be described, and his task will be to list all the revenues coming into the convent—money, crops, and other items—and know about these. But when the steward is perhaps not present, on the authority of the superior he will carry out her instructions.

15. Concerning the priests

There must be two priests around the convent; they should be eunuchs and monks, venerable in their way of life, gentle, restrained, knowing how to read the holy words of divine scripture well. But if through a shortage of these they are not monks, they should nevertheless be eunuchs of proven virtue and piety, so that the community may be helped towards the practice of virtue by their holy blessings and acceptable prayers and may raise a pleasing song “to the ears of the Lord of hosts” (James 5:4); and he, accepting their supplications on our behalf, will graciously forgive our sins on the day of judgment (cf. Matt. 6:12; 12:36).

Of these two priests one will also be the assistant steward as has been explained more fully in the chapter on the steward. Whenever the steward is either dismissed as unsuitable perhaps or departs from this life, the assistant steward, if he is worthy to act as steward, should be appointed steward, and in his place another priest should be introduced at once, the sort of person that the passage above described.

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16. Concerning the fact that all the nuns should be subject to one spiritual father

I wish all the nuns to confess their thoughts to one spiritual father who is a eunuch very distinguished for virtue, and, as a result of his age and monastic life, has gained much experience in the hearing of confessions and is capable of administering appropriate remedies to souls who make confession. [p. 61]

17. Concerning the way that visitors must speak with the nuns; who they must be and when

Even though it has been stated by the fathers in many places in the monastic regulations that monks do not have any family relationship on earth, yet because of human weakness we order that if a woman should visit the convent, the mother of a nun perhaps, or a sister, or a brother's wife, she will enter the convent with the permission of the superior, and when she has eaten with the nuns the food that has been set out, she will depart in the evening. If she came to see a relative who is in good health, she will do this once or twice a year, but if it was to see someone sick with a serious disease, if she is the mother, she will stay in the convent and sit beside her sick daughter, and on the second day when she has eaten the same food as the nuns she will depart in the evening. But if it happens to be a sister or a brother's wife or a sister's or brother's daughter who has come to see her, she will quite definitely depart in the evening on whatever day she comes.

But if it is a man who had come to see her, her father perhaps or a brother or a sister's husband, in no way will he enter the convent. For my majesty specifies that this be untrodden by any men and be for ever barred to them, but when a man knocks outside, after the superior has been told, the nun whom the caller wishes to see will go to the gate at her command and the superior will go with her, if she wishes and is able, or on her instruction one of the oldest and most venerable nuns, and when the gate has been opened the caller will stand at the gate, talk to the nun briefly, and go away. But if the nun whom the father or brother or sister's husband has come to see is perhaps sick and is in such a condition that she cannot reach the gate, none of them even then will enter the convent. But if the sick nun were to wish and consider it necessary to see her relative who has called, she should be carried in a litter, and when she has reached the gate, see him there, and be brought back.

For to give men an excuse to enter the convent and not have the outside gate at once barred against them all is a great burden to my majesty and ill-considered. For I have a fear that some harm from an attack of the devil might come to those who are married to the Holy Bridegroom, and for this reason I think it appropriate that men be barred from all entry, and so I command it. The same rule should apply even if a man should visit the convent to speak with the superior. But if perhaps the father or mother of one of the nuns were to be sick and be in such a condition as to be breathing his last, and the nun whose father or mother was ill were to wish and think it necessary to see her sick father or mother, she will leave the convent with the permission of the superior, taking along with her two of the oldest and most godly nuns, and when she has seen her sick father perhaps or her mother, she will return to the convent in the evening, not allowing herself in any way to stay anywhere outside the convent. [p. 63]

Moreover we do not wish those who take care of the property of the convent and those who visit the convent for other reasons, for whom it is necessary and useful to be seen by the superior, to speak to her inside the convent, but she will go out beyond the inner gate with two or three of the

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most devout old women and speak with the visitors between the two gates, and give consideration to the convent's property and then come back again into the convent keeping it untrodden by men, as has been said. But if there were no compelling business for which she was likely to go out and speak with those entering, she should not go out but be informed either by the steward or by the priest, and she should carry out what seems to her beneficial.

If a woman should come to the convent to see her, we leave the matter to her decision, for she would not dare to have a conversation with someone who visits from outside, contrary to the monastic rules. But if a woman of a distinguished and noble life, a lay person or nun from outside the convent, will wish to visit the convent because of the virtue of the nuns leading the religious life in it, she will in no way be prevented, but will enter it with the permission of the superior, and when she has eaten along with the nuns will depart in the evening. But if the visitor were to wish and think it necessary to stay in the convent, she will remain in it and leave on the following day. This will happen once or twice in the year, in the case of each of the devout women who visit. Those who arrive in this way will rest in the room for official visitors near the gate and will enter and leave the convent through the entrance there.

18. Concerning the person by whom the installation of the officials must be made and how

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [29]]: The superior will be the one carrying out both the selection and the installation of all the officials of the convent, selecting and installing by her own decision. For whenever it is necessary for anyone to be installed to whatever sort of office, the keys will be placed in front of the holy sanctuary and along with them the words about this office copied from this rule of my majesty. **After a trisagion** has been completed the one set apart for the office will approach, **genuflect three times, receive the keys, and after this will bow her head to the superior** having prostrated herself before the feet of the superior and got up again. She will install her, addressing these words to her "The most pure Mother of God *Kecharitomene* sets you apart for this office." [p. 65] However in the case of the offices **for which there are no keys**, the words of installation spoken by the superior **will be sufficient for the installation** and the receipt of the written instructions concerning each office from the place in front of the holy sanctuary, as has been described. It is necessary that the officials receive from the place in front of the holy sanctuary personal instructions for the office entrusted to each of them, so that [each] may know from where she is receiving her office and in what way she promises to manage it.

19. Concerning the sacristan

I wish there to be a sacristan in the convent who must guard the sacred vessels and liturgical cloths, and think worthy of every kind of care the things handed over to her in a written and reliable inventory of transfer. Similarly, the same official must receive the wax that is brought into the convent, and record in detail the expenditures on it, and render an account to the superior. The same official must with the help of women inside the convent make the prescribed quantity of candles for the year according to the weight laid down by my majesty for all the lighting of the church, and hand them over to the ecclesiarchissa, who will carry out the lighting of the church in the way that will be described in what follows. This official must hand over to the ecclesiarchissa for the service of the church both the things for daily use and the things used in the feasts, and

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when it is time, receive these back again from her and guard them; and the things surplus to requirements she must keep in the sacristy shut up and sealed by the superior, and she is required to hand back everything that has been entrusted to her whenever she is moved from this office according to the inventory of transfer made out for it. For it is within the power of the superior to remove and change those who hold office in the manner that will be described.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [32], ed. lines 1012–18]: **For it is just to leave unchanged those who have been appointed to each of the offices while they are performing them in a careful and devout manner, but those who neglect or despise them, and perhaps even behave deceitfully in them, should be removed and others appointed. If one of these people were to appropriate something, anything at all, she will be responsible to the all-pure Mother of God *Kecharitomene* from whom in fact she received her keys.**

The same person will be not only sacristan but also archivist, receiving with a register all the papers containing the rights of ownership of the convent, and will guard these, thinking them worthy of every kind of care, and will not allow them to become moth-eaten. When a need for some document occurs, on the instruction of the superior she will bring out the required document and hand it over, noting down what sort of document it is and who received it. When a few days have passed after this, she will remind the superior [p. 67] and recall the document that was produced, as has been described, and will not allow it to be lost. Since the wax coming into the convent is greatly in excess of the outlays, my majesty prescribes that only five *kentenaria* of it be kept for the church and the remaining requirements, and the rest at the time it comes in be immediately sold and the proceeds devoted to the other expenses of the convent.¹³

20. Concerning the ecclesiarchissa

The ecclesiarchissa moreover, being appointed by the superior, will be whoever seems to her fit and suitable for this office, receiving from the sacristan at the time of her appointment with an inventory everything that should be used in the church of the convent, and at the proper time the other things suitable for daily use or for use during the feasts. She will look after the customary decoration of the church and the lighting laid down for each occasion in this rule, receiving from the sacristan the made-up candles as prescribed in the rule, both those prescribed to be burnt for daily use and those for each feast, and she should look after the orderly condition of the church during the singing of the psalms as is customary for ecclesiarchissai. The ecclesiarchissa ought always to have an assistant ecclesiarchissa working with her, ministering and assisting in the office assigned to her.

21. Concerning the official who takes in the food and issues it, and the register of these things that she must make

Similarly we instruct the official taking in and issuing all the provisions of food for the convent to list them in detail, how much and when and from where, and to see that the issue is clearly in accordance with the instruction of the superior, if she is going to ensure that her office is free from blame and scandal, and to inform them all if she is going to maintain peace and avoid giving offense to the whole community.

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22. Concerning the wine-steward

The superior will also appoint a wine-steward who must receive all the wine both old and new that is brought into the convent, list this, and issue it when she is instructed by the superior. [p. 69]

23. Concerning the provisioner

The superior will also appoint a provisioner who must receive all the crops and the legumes also, and issue these on the instruction of the superior, and take care of these things in every way, so that they are not perhaps ruined by neglect in the granaries.

24. Concerning the office of the treasurers

Now I must speak about the keeping and listing of monetary income and expenditure. For we prescribe that there should be two treasurers in the convent, one of whom should control the box for monetary income and expenditure and the other should control the storeroom for clothes; for she will also be called the treasurer. The treasurer of the monetary income along with the other treasurer in charge of the storeroom with the knowledge of the superior and in her presence will list all the monetary income that comes into the convent, what sort it is and from where, and on the instruction of the superior removing from it whatever amount of money the superior wishes, and recording this in a small register, she with the other treasurer will take it and pay it out when the superior instructs her. A detailed note will be made by her of the payment of this money, and she will bring the note back after paying the money in full, and a calculation will be made by the superior in the presence also of the other treasurer, and lists of the money paid out in this way must be set out on a special register and placed in the treasury; then the treasurer will take more money again on the instruction of the superior and this will go on continuously. Moreover the box of this money for income and expenditure must be sealed by the two treasurers and the superior herself.

But we wish another box to be placed in the sacristy sealed by the superior, the steward, the sacristan, and the treasurers, which must contain the stored-up money. So when in the fullness of time some money of an old issue is found to be superfluous by the mercy of the *Kecharitomene*, since it happens then to be of no use to the convent, this should be stored up in the aforementioned box which is to be unsealed and sealed, as has been described above, and a note should be made of the deposit of money. Conversely, if some misfortune should happen to the convent—which I pray does not happen—with the result that it does not have the means for its expenditure from anywhere else, this box can be unsealed again by those who sealed it, and an amount of money removed and this given to the treasury and the payments can proceed as has been described above. [p. 71]

25. Concerning the refectorian and her office

[= (22) *Evergetis* [31], ed. lines 997–1005]: Along with the other officials which the way of life of those living in a community obviously needs, the superior will appoint a refectorian also, who serves whatever **the cellarer supplies her with and during the meal itself she must go around the refectory** silently and quietly and if she should see any of **the sisters** causing annoyance and being disorderly **or whispering**, she ought to gently **remind** them of **silence** and advise

them **to sing in their heart** and refrain from conversation. Furthermore the strict adherence of the sisters to proper observance will be her concern, and to be aware of **which of them was absent during grace and who** was missing **from the meal**, and **to make a report** about each one **to the superior** who by her own selection and choice appoints those who ought to hold office and will have the power to allow those who blamelessly carry out the office entrusted to them to occupy them for a very long time, if she wishes, but to remove as unsuitable those who do not carry them out as they ought, which I pray does not happen, and appoint others instead. In these cases the superior will act in accordance with her own decision and pleasure.

I exhort all those entrusted with an office of any sort, even the lowest, and as a favor I ask each of them to exercise her own office well and in a way pleasing to God, and have the sort of attitude towards the fulfillment of what is connected with it as those who are entrusted with the things of God and will have to render an account for them to God, as is the truth indeed. For the merciful God mercifully receives for himself what is done by us for each other, as the Holy Gospels teach us in which he clearly says, “As you did it to one of these, you did it to me, and as you did it not, you did it not to me” (Matt. 25:40).

[= (22) *Evergetis* [33], ed. lines 1036–58]: **I entreat them to apply themselves wholeheartedly to their offices and not to be neglectful or despairing, as if they have lost benefit to themselves** by being absent from the divine services as a result of being occupied with their offices, **but** I bid them **be more cheerful and joyful** because the Lord has given them the strength through the intercessions of his virgin mother *Kecharitomene* **to serve their own sisters in imitation of him, who says “I came not to be served but to serve and give my life as a ransom for many”** (Matt. 20:28; Mark 10:45).

You see, sisters, what work you perform, you see whom you imitate. You see that you are putting into practice the greatest of all good, love. So you should be happy and rejoice because you yourselves are accomplishing each day by your work what could scarcely be achieved by those devoting themselves to prayer. You are blessed in that occupation and to be envied. For prayer is indeed a fine thing, a very fine thing, bringing us into contact with God [p. 73] and raising us from earth to heaven, but love is of course greater and much more important. For the former is part of virtue and an element and section of the whole body of perfection, but love is its crown and consummation. For joined to itself it displays humility that exalts (cf. Matt. 23:12), mercy, and love of mankind because of which God indeed became man and is called God, and through which man is revealed as God and like the “Heavenly Father” (Matt. 5:48).

So why do you give up the treasure house and culmination of all these good things and run to what is inferior and to the possession of one thing when thus having reached the summit easily you should hold on to it securely and do everything so as not to be thrown down from it? “We are afraid,” she says, “because of our failure to carry out the rule;” but do not be afraid, for sincere confession will make up to your failure in this, justly granting you pardon. Only let it not be a failure caused by indolence. Fear this, be on your guard against this; but if this is not the case, then rejoice, I beg you, attending to your offices eagerly.

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26. Concerning the appointment of a disciplinary official and her office

Moreover the superior will appoint also a disciplinary official whom she by her own selection considers worthy of this office. She should be in charge of the monastic way of life and orderliness, and keep a close watch during the communal gatherings and the singing of hymns, lest any of the sisters anywhere should neglect the singing and talk to each other, and neglect speaking with God but have a conversation one with another. She should also watch them during the communal gatherings for eating so that they remain quiet and orderly as befits nuns. Furthermore in all aspects of their life and behavior she should keep a close watch on their actions, and if she sees any of them either sitting with each other and talking foolishly or remaining idle and lazy by themselves—those whom the great apostle orders not to eat (II Thess. 3:10)—or doing something else incompatible with a monastic profession and foreign to a spiritual way of life that is pleasing to God, she should approach them gently like a sister, and quietly and lovingly instruct them in what they should do and advise them of what is beneficial, that, ceasing from whispering which brings no benefit, or rather is harmful to the soul—for no other reason than those who are involved are distracted from their communion with God—they should devote themselves to the giving of praise to God, and fix their minds on what is being sung, and flee from the source “of all evil, laziness” (Sir. 30:28), copying David who was wise in divine matters when he says “I am alone” (Ps. 140 [141]:10), and remain quietly in their own places either applying themselves to prayer or doing some work with their hands to rout pernicious *akedia* and meditate continuously on frightening death [p. 75] and recall unceasingly the fearful day of judgment. One of these nuns who are occupied with the handiwork, the one instructed by the superior, will read the holy and saving words of the Holy Scripture for all to hear.

27. Concerning the work organizers

The superior will appoint two of the nuns, whichever ones she selects from the rest, to be in charge of the work. They must take from the storehouse material useful for the handiwork of the nuns with a note at the time and give this out to those who are working on the instruction of the superior. Again with her knowledge they must take back the articles made with the materials that were given out and hand them over to those working in the storeroom for clothes with a note so that these can be issued on the instruction of the superior.

28. Concerning the treasurers in the storeroom for clothes

The treasurers of the storeroom for the clothes of the nuns—for these also will be called treasurers—should receive all the things that must be used for the clothing of the nuns with a note and give them out on the instruction of the superior whenever she wishes. These same nuns will also receive all the other things for the service of the nuns, that is blankets, pillows, bed covers, articles necessary for the bath, in short, everything, and they will give them out whenever the superior instructs them, making notes of the issue of these things and rendering an account to her.

29. Concerning the gatekeeper

Furthermore the superior must appoint the one who is to hold the keys of the gate, whom we call the gatekeeper, whose responsibility it will be not to open the gate at all without the permission of the superior and to see to it that people do not enter or leave the convent without the

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knowledge of the superior. For this reason the chapter dealing with these things, namely how and when and which of the visitors should speak with the nuns, will be copied out and put into her hands, so that having a knowledge of the words of the rule she might remind the superior, and on her instruction the conversations may take place in accordance with the intent of the rule. Moreover the one appointed to this office must be an old woman and by the testimony of the whole community a person of godly life. Each evening she will bring the keys to the superior. Nor will she see relatives who have come to see her without the permission of the superior, but with her permission she will see them in whatever way she is permitted. Furthermore [p. 77] my majesty does not wish her to remain continuously at the gate, but prescribes that she should sit with the community in the house set apart, and if there is a need for her to visit the gate, being informed by the bell that she is called to the gate, she will go on the instruction of the superior, and when she has fulfilled her office, whatever it is, she will come back again and sit down with the rest.

30. Concerning how long a woman who enters from outside and is going to be tonsured must stay in the convent¹⁴

If those women, who are going to be tonsured and make up the prescribed number of the nuns, wish once they have lost their hair to put on the robe of submission and the cloak only, they will wait for the period of six months. But if some happen to be familiar and important personages so that it is known what sort of people they were in their lives and they are well aware of the way of life and conduct of the convent, they will have their hair cut in accordance with the rule, when the superior judges it beneficial. Those who wish to put on the holy habit at once, if they are devout women and were practicing the monastic life in secular clothing, will not wait for the period of testing—that is three years—which the holy fathers laid down as a rule for a trial and test in the case of those whose state of life is different, but in the case of these women the period of six months will be sufficient for a complete trial, and then they will get their desire as has been declared by the holy fathers. But if they happen to be women who have no knowledge and are not known, after remaining in the convent for one week they will put on monastic cloaks, and being ordered to serve in tasks according to their abilities, they will persevere for three years in the convent, not being thought worthy of the great and angelic habit, until the three-year period of their trial is passed and proves them acceptable and worthy of such a way of life. For the regulations laid down to meet these cases require that this period of time should remain in force, except when a serious disease occurs and forces the period of testing to be reduced. [p. 79]

31. Concerning who should be sent to take care of the properties of the convent

The men who are sent to take care of the properties of the convent must not be selected for any family connection or affinity or any other reason of that sort, but the superior and the steward at the time must put a lot of care into finding people who are reputable and content with little, who bring relief to the people in the properties and appropriate nothing that belongs to the convent, and are experienced in husbandry. The superior will have the authority to send out these men and to decide who will succeed them whenever they are found to have strayed from uprightness. The steward must oversee them whenever he is sent by the superior to inspect the storehouses and receive the accounts of the caretakers and manage everything as he ought.

32. Concerning the office of the first, third, and sixth hour

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 75–117]: But having spoken up to now about these matters, come now, we shall discuss in future the ecclesiastical office and, in order to begin with the light, let us begin with the first hour of the day imitating God in this, who began his formation of the world with the creation of light. **So then after the completion of the worship of matins, we must continue with the first hour in the customary way and at the end of this the following prayer should be said, “Thou who at all times and all hours.” After the prayer the customary genuflections should be performed,** by the more able ones from the ground without a *prie-dieu* but **by the weaker ones with a low support** and aid. The genuflection consists of fifteen prostrations, of which the first three must be performed in a more unhurried manner and slowly enough in the standing up and the bending of the knees, that each of you is able **to say each time three times while standing with hands stretched out, “God, be merciful to me the sinner”** (Luke 18:13). **Then when you have knelt down with your head on the ground, you should say three times in the same way, “I have sinned against Thee, Lord, forgive me.”** You must perform three genuflections like that, **but the remaining twelve more quickly,** so that each of you can say once when kneeling and once when standing **the aforementioned words of supplication.** You will not perform the kneeling down and the rising up when each of you wishes in a disorderly and confused manner, but as one body, kneeling down together and getting up together, [p. 81] **using as a guide for both actions the ecclesiarchissa** who is standing in front of the holy sanctuary and is indicating by her kneeling when to kneel and by her rising when to rise.

This is the procedure on the day when “Alleluia” is chanted instead of “God is the Lord.” (Ps.117 [118]: 27) However, if the day has an office and dismissal hymn, and “God is the Lord” is sung, the first three genuflections will be performed with the words of supplication, as previously stated, but the twelve will be omitted and will in no way be performed in the church but in your dormitory; moreover after the three slower genuflections you will say aloud with hands stretched out, **“Eternal God, the Maker of all creation.”**

After this prayer a reading of the *catechesis* will be set out for you, **and after the reading you will perform the prescribed trisagion which is for us.** While God wishes me to live, I command you to say these *troparia*: “Have mercy on us, Lord, have mercy on us,” “Gloria,” “Good Hope of the world,” “And now,” “No one who has recourse to you.” But when I have died I command you to say *troparia* of repose: “Remember, Lord, as Thou art good, Thy servant,” “Gloria,” “Give her repose, Our Savior,” “And now,” “No one who has recourse to Thee,” “Refuge and Might.” In addition to this say, *Kyrie eleison*, fifteen times and then **you will add on this prayer, “Thou who sendest out the light.”** Moreover you will pray **all the prayers with hands stretched out.**

When the aforementioned prayer has been said and the priest has spoken the customary prayer, you will all fall on your faces to the ground, **and the superior,** being your leader in all goodness will say as follows, **“Pray for me, sisters, to the Lord, that I may be delivered from passions and the snares of the Evil One.”** You will answer, **“May God save you, honored mother, and you also, pray for us, holy mother, that we may be delivered from passions and the snares of the Evil One.”** Then she again praying will say, **“May God through the prayers of our fathers save us all.”** Then standing up proceed to the communal house of your

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shared life, and when you are there, **you will avoid every foolish distraction**, but all of you will apply yourselves to your work, while one of you, whoever has been ordered by the superior, sits in the middle and reads whatever she has been instructed to; for the reading will prevent all foolish and useless or even harmful conversations and will secure great benefit for those who are willing to attend to it.

33. Concerning the *mesoria* of the first, third, and sixth hour, the *typika*, the holy liturgy, and the holy partaking

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 140–45]: When the proper time comes, the semantron will be struck and at that point you will sing the *mesoria* of the first hour, then the third and the sixth hour [p. 83] with their *mesoria*, prayers, and prostrations, wherever the superior wishes, either in the dormitory or in the exonarthex of the church. You will sing the *typika* in the narthex of the church; however **when there is a vigil**, you will not perform a prostration in your dormitory **because of weariness from the vigil**, neither **during the Twelve Days** nor during the whole of Pentecost **nor yet during the nine days after the feast of the Dormition of the most holy Mother of God** and those after that of the Transfiguration of my Savior Christ,¹⁵ nor on the actual feast days of the twelve glorious and all-blessed Apostles, nor on any Saturday. But the holy and divine liturgy must be celebrated each Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, and during the feasts. Moreover it must take place during the fasts, as the *synaxarion* prescribes.

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [5], ed. lines 160–90]: I instruct you, sisters, that while the divine liturgy is being celebrated you keep yourselves very attentive and stand full of fear and dread. For very holy and awesome and dreadful, surpassing all speech and understanding, are the happenings during this most precious sacrifice of the all-pure body and blood of Christ Our True God, during which you must be especially attentive and chase away every foul thought and only think about the great, divine, and fearful mystery beyond our comprehension which is being celebrated. **Then those who have been allowed to partake must partake of the divine elements.** Therefore, since partaking of the elements is an illumination of the soul for those who are nearly worthy, the one who partakes unworthily, eats and drinks judgment upon himself, as the Divine Apostle says (cf. I Cor. 11:27–29). We wish you to partake of these very frequently; nevertheless we entrust the decision on the divine partaking to your spiritual father with the knowledge also of the superior. **But for someone to consider herself unworthy of communion without his knowledge cannot be approved. The one who does this will be condemned as one who carries out her own wish. However it is permitted that those who should partake sing the office for the holy partaking, make together a common genuflection to one another to grant forgiveness and then partake of the life-giving elements.**

34. Concerning how many loaves must be offered during each liturgy and by whom

During the divine liturgy each day seven loaves will be offered, one for Our Lord, another for our Lady the Mother of God *Kecharitomene*, another for the saint of the day, another as a ransom and for the remission of my most mighty emperor's sins and mine, another for the nuns who have died, another for our parents¹⁶ [p. 85] and other relatives who have died, and another for our living children and sons-in-law¹⁷ and our other relatives. After our death the aforesaid loaf

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will be offered specifically for the remission of our sins, and this will be done for ever. But if one of the two of us should die before the other, one loaf will be offered again specifically for the one still alive, another then for the one who died. But after the death of the one who was living, again one loaf will be offered for both of us.

Each Saturday *stauria* must be offered on behalf of our parents and children and daughters-in-law who have predeceased us and for those who will die in the future, one for every four, and these people must be inscribed on the diptychs and must be remembered according to the description in the rule. Other *stauria* besides those for the deceased will be offered similarly each Sunday on behalf of those who are alive and are recorded on the diptychs and in the rule.

35. Concerning the ninth hour, vespers, and the night office

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 195–98]: Similarly we wish the *mesoria* of the ninth hour to be sung in your dormitory, when the small semantron is struck; but you must sing **the ninth hour in the same way as the hours previously** described with its *mesoria* and prostrations **when the semantron calls you all as is usual. The office of vespers** will be performed by you according to the description in **the synaxarion and immediately afterwards the night office**. Since at the present time six *troparia* are sung in the night office with each canticle, after our departure to the Lord four must be sung according to the *synaxarion*, and there must be two for the dead.

36. Concerning compline

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 199–200]: The office of compline will be carried out by you **after supper** in the exonarthex of the church **during which you should genuflect**, unless “**God is the Lord**” (Ps. 117 [118]: 27) is sung.

37. Concerning the night office

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 201–13]: After the completion of compline when **the priest has recited the customary prayer, you will fall** on your faces to the ground facing the superior. When she has said to you, “**Forgive me in the Lord, sisters, for I have sinned in deed and word and thought**” [p. 87] and when she has prayed for you and said “**May God forgive us all through the prayers of our fathers,**” then begin **the night office according to the regulation**, when you have reached the dormitory. You should perform this office either inside your dormitory or outside it, as the occasion demands and the superior wishes; when this has been completed **you should turn to sleep full of spiritual joy**.

38. Concerning the midnight office

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 218–21]: At the appropriate time when the nun carrying out the office of the ecclesiarchissa makes a deep bow to the superior and **has struck the semantron**, you will arrive and perform the midnight office in the narthex of the church; and the ecclesiarchissa, when she has woken you, will not be absent but will sing with you and light the lamps of the church. When you have completed the singing of the midnight office, the great semantron will be struck and furthermore **the bronze one** also. Then you will begin the office of matins, **the preliminary part of which** will be described next.

39. Concerning the preliminary part of matins

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 222–39]: **After the bronze semantron has been struck, the priest will give praise to God making the sign of the venerable cross with his censer before the holy table.** Then when you have completed a *trisagion* to accompany the praising of God, **you will sing the nineteenth and twentieth psalms with the usual troparia and the Kyrie eleison** as evenly and attentively as possible. These will be sung by you as long as my most mighty emperor is alive—and may it be a very long time, O Lord and O Mother of God—but whenever he departs this life, the psalms sung by you will be “The Lord is my shepherd” (Ps. 22 [23]:1) and “Praise is due to thee, O God, in Zion” (Ps. 64 [65]:1); the *troparia* will be those for repose: “Remember, Lord, give him repose,” “Our Savior,” “Gloria,” “And now.” After the completion of the *trisagion*, **the ecclesiarchissa will begin the six psalms** singing them **slowly and carefully** and **with a quiet voice so that the rest can follow her without stumbling or error**, and can complete the words of the psalms by themselves. **Then after the completion of the six psalms, the whole office of matins will be performed according to** the description in **the synaxarion**. [p. 89] As the *synaxarion* will lay down the most exact details about the procedure for the holy fasts, so you must carry out the other instructions and in particular the vigils every Sunday, and at a feast of Our Lord, and at the remembrances of the rest of the saints, which the *synaxarion* details.

Yet here showing consideration for your weakness my majesty has decided something more compassionate concerning vigils. For I wish and lay it down that the vigils that will be celebrated for the feasts of the Lord, God, and Savior and for those of the all-holy Lady and Mother of God should last all night, also that for the Great Canon and that for the Holy Passion, and further that for the Exaltation of the venerable Cross and that for the holy chief apostles Peter and Paul, but you should carry out those on Sundays, unless of course one of the feasts of Our Lord should occur on those days, at the beginning of the third hour in summer and at the beginning of the fourth in winter. If two vigils should happen to occur in one week, one for a feast of Our Lord, the other being one of those specified for Sundays, we order that the one for Our Lord, whether it precedes or not, should last all night, but the one for Sunday should be performed at the beginning of the sixth hour so that in that way having rested a little, you might be more eager for what is before you. Also my majesty wishes you to get up for matins on a day after an all-night vigil and sing matins one hour later than is usual so that your bodies may be revived from weariness and restored again to their proper strength.

40. Concerning the summons to the refectory and the behavior in it

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 337–57]: Since my decisions about ecclesiastical offices have been discussed, I must now speak about the nuns’ eating. Well then, when the holy and **divine** liturgy has been completed they must remain **in the narthex waiting for the summons** to the communal refectory by the semantron as is usual. **When the semantron has been struck**, they must go out with the ecclesiarchissa, **make obeisance to the superior, and then beginning the customary psalm** in a quiet and fitting voice, that is the one that begins “I will extol thee, my God and King” (Ps. 144 [145]:1), they must **walk quietly to the refectory**, and when they have completed the psalm, **sit down** in an orderly manner **in whatever way the superior arranges** their seats. **Then they should gratefully partake of what is set out without noise and distur-**

bance, while a reading as is usual takes place; **the superior only may speak, if she wishes** to say something, and she must do so quietly, and the one who must answer her must use a very quiet voice and **as few and concise phrases as possible**, so that when there is the utmost quiet in the refectory, you may attend only to the reading, and cheer and gladden your souls with it and nourish your bodies with what is set out. [p. 91]

41. Concerning the position if someone is disorderly during the meal

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 357–63]: If **someone** during the meal **were to cause a disturbance and be disturbed, cause noise and be noisy, and ruin the reading with untimely and improper** words, destroying the calm and quiet conditions, **she ought to be silenced by the refectorian** with quiet advice and admonition. If she ceases, she should be allowed to stay, but if she persists, **she should be removed from the refectory, even if she is unwilling**, by a decree of the superior who, if she wishes, will impose on her **the penalty of going without food or** will teach **her self-control in another way, as she** decides.

42. Concerning the position if someone argues about precedence in seating

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 374–82]: **If any one** of you were to be fanned by the breezes of evil to such an extent that she concerned herself with vainglory and precedence in seating **putting forward as an excuse** that she has resided longer in the convent or any other **sphere of work** whatsoever, **I command in the Lord that she be allocated the last place** and if she were to be corrected, thanks are due to God, **but if she should remain uncorrected, she is to be driven out of the convent so as not to infect the others with this filth.**

43. Concerning the fact that they should not seek anything from each other

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 384–419]: Moreover **while you eat you will** in no way **share either any food or drink with each other, even so much as a small drop to cool the wine [mixed with water]** when it is much hotter than it should be, but the **one who needs some such thing will ask the superior** for what she needs **with** as much **reverence** and solemnity as possible, and if she gains her nod of approval, she will obtain her request. **If not, she will restrain herself and sit in silence, giving thanks** because of the command of God. Then when you have eaten, you will get up from the table, and on the completion **of the specified office and the prayer**, you will go away to your dormitory.

44. Concerning the fact that the communal refectory table is obligatory for those who are healthy and concerning the sick

Those of you who are healthy will have no excuse or reason to reject this table prepared for you in common, and no excuse will be sufficient for you to reject the gathering for the communal meal. But those who are seriously ill, so much so that they are unable to get up out of bed [p. 93] or sleep peacefully but cause a disturbance and are disturbed, will obtain rest and more attentive treatment in a private cell on the decision of the superior. The superior will show more attentive concern for those who are sick, as if they were her own limbs, providing them with things appropriate for their nourishment and giving thought to their other comfort.

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45. Concerning the fact that there should also be a second sitting

So then, after the nuns have got up from the table, there should be a second sitting of loaves and courses set out, whatever has been set out on the table for the first sitting, and those who served should eat. But it must not be allowed—something which I forgot to lay down in the case of the first sitting—for anyone standing up from the table to take with her anything of what had been set out, neither bread, nor anything else, also none of the nuns should ask to take with her either cooked food or legumes or anything else, but they must all eat together.

46. Concerning the food on ordinary days

On ordinary days on Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday, and Sunday your food at the midday meal will be two dishes, or three if the superior decides, of fish and cheese; on Monday two or three dishes of legumes cooked with olive oil, and shellfish if there are any; on Wednesday and Friday, two or three dishes of legumes cooked with olive oil and vegetables similarly treated. If on these days, I mean on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday a refreshment is supplied by some devout people, or a feast of Our Lord occurs, or of one of the twelve Holy Apostles, or of the famous martyrs or hierarchs, then you should eat fish, with the superior taking care of this, unless a refreshment should come from other people.

On all the ordinary days your drink will be of the larger measure; but when the superior decides, it will be increased as much as she wishes. At supper on the same days bread and vegetables in season and small fruits will be set out for you at the discretion of the superior; your drink will be distributed with the larger measure.

47. Concerning the food during the Great Lent

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 435–36, and [10], lines 438–50]: **This is the procedure on the ordinary days of the year, but not during the holy fast days and especially during the first and greatest fast, [p. 95] on the first day of the first week of which, that is on Monday, the liturgy should not be celebrated nor should care be taken with the table or food. However on the subsequent days of this week a table should be set, and whoever chooses should partake of food. This will be composed of legumes soaked in water and perhaps some raw vegetables and fruits, and you will drink hot water seasoned with cumin. However on Friday you should eat two dishes of food, one cooked with olive oil, the other without olive oil, and drink wine distributed in the larger measure because of the feast of the great martyr St. Theodore, which the superior must celebrate as a duty and give you refreshment on Saturday and feed the community with shellfish.** But if a refreshment were to be provided by some devout person, you will be fed also on fish.

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 451–76]: **You should carry out the first week of the great and holy Lent in that way. But on all Saturdays and Sundays of the same holy fast three cooked dishes with olive oil should be set out for you and for your drink the customary large measure of wine should be distributed. The same thing should take place also both on Wednesday in the middle of Lent and on Thursday of the Great Canon. But on Tuesdays and on the other Thursdays two cooked dishes will be set out for you, both with olive oil; and your wine will be measured out with the smaller measure. Moreover on Mondays two cooked dishes will**

be set out before you, of which one will be with olive oil, the other without olive oil, and your wine will be measured out with the smaller measure, **which is half the larger**. On Wednesdays and Fridays there will be two cooked dishes but without olive oil and for your drink wine measured with the smaller measure. But **if the commemoration of the discovery of the precious head of [St. John] the Forerunner or the remembrance of the Forty Saints** or the feast of the Annunciation¹⁸ should happen to fall on any Monday or Tuesday or Thursday or Saturday or Sunday, **you must eat fish and the wine must be distributed in the larger measure, either with fish bought by the convent or through a refreshment sent by devout people**. But if one of the aforesaid feasts should happen to be celebrated **on one of the days of the first week**, you are to eat the same food as on Tuesdays and Thursdays of the other weeks of the holy Lent and wine must be distributed **in the larger measure**. **But then on all the other days of the holy Lent you will not be allowed to eat fish at all**, unless a refreshment is perhaps sent by someone on Saturday or Sunday.

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 480–505]: **When the feast of the Annunciation falls, you should celebrate it as splendidly as possible partaking of fish provided by the convent and drinking wine of the larger measure. You will eat fish during this holy feast, as has been said, if it does not fall during the great holy week. For at that time you will use only shellfish. Rather you will receive a refreshment because of the feast, [p. 97] since for three days of that week, that is Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday it is right that you should live content with some legumes soaked in water, raw vegetables, fruits that happen to be at hand, and hot water flavored with cumin. If the aforementioned feast of the Annunciation should fall on the Monday and Tuesday of the great holy week or on Holy Thursday, you will partake of shellfish only. But if it should fall on the Wednesday of Holy Week or Good Friday or on Holy Saturday itself, on Wednesday of Holy Week and on Good Friday, you will be content with some cooked legumes and vegetables accompanied by olive oil. You should partake of wine also in the larger measure.**

But on Holy Saturday all anxiety that produces distraction must be avoided, for because of the feast you will not break the fast of Holy Saturday, on which day alone we have been instructed by the canon to fast from everything, but you should observe all the more the commands of the divine fathers¹⁹ and you should achieve, according to Gregory the Theologian, all the other good things that is in them as far as you can. He says “For to celebrate a feast is this, to gain a treasure for our soul from what is firm and established, not from what is voided and becomes rotten, [things] which beguile our senses a little, but do us in my opinion a very great harm.” Again, “Let the body’s own trouble be sufficient for the body (cf. Matt. 6:34). Why does a flame need more wood or a wild animal more abundant food in order to become more difficult to restrain and unimaginably more violent? Therefore for these reasons a feast should be celebrated spiritually.”²⁰

So on Holy Thursday, whenever we do not celebrate the feast of the Annunciation, **your meal will be composed of dishes and wine in the larger measure**, as on the Tuesdays and Thursdays of the remaining weeks **of Lent. However on Good Friday**, unless the aforementioned feast of our all-pure Lady the Mother of God should occur, **no cooking is to be done at all, but you are to partake of some raw vegetables and fruits, and wine distributed with the larger measure because of your weariness from the vigil.**

But on Holy Saturday all anxiety that produces distraction must be avoided and there should only be a collation as is customary, even if the feast of the Annunciation of our all-pure Lady the Mother of God occurs.

In this manner your diet for the great and holy period of Lent must be kept, though care should be shown to the sick at the discretion of the superior. The procedure for the fast of the Holy Apostles will be laid down immediately next.

48. Concerning the food during the fast of the Holy Apostles and that of the Nativity of Christ

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 509–24]: **After the completion of the whole canonical office of the hours and the divine liturgy as the *synaxarion* prescribes in detail, you should be summoned to the refectory [p. 99] at the seventh hour in accordance with the rule laid down above. There on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday you should eat two dishes cooked with olive oil and drink wine of the larger measure;** and on Tuesdays and Thursdays two or three similar dishes, as the superior wishes; on Saturdays and Sundays you should partake of fish provided by the convent, unless a special refreshment is sent by someone, and on all these days the wine will be of the larger measure. Furthermore on all the days a **supper should be set for you of bread** and raw vegetables and fruits that happen to be at hand and the **wine should be of the larger measure because of the heat and dryness of the season. But if a refreshment were to come in,** even on another day, **you should partake of the fish on that day gratefully.**

The fast of the Holy Nativity of Christ will be similar to that of the Holy Apostles²¹ in both food and drink, and the whole canonical office will be in accordance with the *synaxarion*. The diet during this fast **will differ from that** during the fast of the Holy Apostles **in these two points only.**[First], **you will eat once for when a fast is being observed your meal will be set out at the ninth hour, and it will always be a fast when “God is the Lord” is not sung at matins.** On the other days a small supper will be set out for you, because the midday meal does not take place at the ninth hour but earlier. [Second], the wine will be distributed in the smaller measure at supper, on the days when you are allowed to take supper. But during the feast of the Entry of the Mother of God into the Temple²² you will eat fish—even if no one brings any as an offering—and on the other days whenever it is offered by someone.

49. Concerning not eating in secret

So since instructions have been thus laid down for you concerning food, we also introduce the matter of abstinence from secret eating and drinking. Avoid this to the utmost of your power, continually keeping in mind the fact that in the beginning disobedient eating made us subject to death and deprived us of life in paradise when the devil, the wicked author of evil, introduced it, who from that time right up to the present has not ceased suggesting to those who take up war against him like an ancient weapon the secret and forbidden tasting of some food or drink. Not only does he suggest it but advocates secret tasting saying that it is a natural action and blameless. But you, do not be ignorant of his intentions, looking away to the result of his advice, namely the transgression of a command. [p. 101]

50. Concerning poverty

So that you may easily surmount this trap of the evil one, we are imposing on you the

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utmost poverty which can be of the greatest service, and preserving this you would without effort escape the danger of secret eating and drinking. For what would the person who has nothing taste? So then, practice utmost poverty, not only as regards money even to the extent of an obol, but also in food and drink even to the smallest amount. For in order that you may not transgress this command of ours, we instruct the superior to examine you whenever and as often as she wishes, and to allow you to have nothing more than the things allowed by the cenobitic rule.

51. Concerning the fact that the nuns must not be despondent at the precepts of the rule concerning the cenobitic way of life

Not only should you not be despondent at these our precepts and instructions nor burdened by them, but rather it is reasonable that you should rejoice and exult, because freed from all worry you will have one task without distraction, namely care and concern for your spiritual salvation. For we have prepared for you a common table lacking none of the necessities. This you will maintain for ever inevitably and without hesitation, avoiding it in no way. For even if someone because of an ascetic practice says that she wishes to be absent from the common table, yet according to the great Basil²³ since it is possible for her being present to taste each of the things that are set out but not eat them—a statement which is accustomed to overthrow the conceit that comes from fasting—the only acceptable reason for being absent from the common meal is an illness which is known to the superior of the convent.

52. Concerning the fact that all the housekeeping expenses of the nuns should be covered by the revenue of the convent

I prescribe that garments and cloaks and headcloths and the rest of the things you need should be provided for you from the revenue set aside for the convent, and be bought in advance and stored away at the appropriate time. The appropriate time is when these items are not in short supply, but when they are very plentiful and are sold very cheaply. I prescribe that simply all your necessary provision, so that I need not enumerate individual items, is to come from the convent. These things will be done in this way so that the name of community [p. 103] may be true and not imperfect in the case of the convent of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene*. There will always be managers of these things and overseers appointed by the superior, taking care that not only are the new items not damaged, but also that the worn items are repaired. We instruct that these things be carried out in this way so that you may remain free from all worry about your life, but with one continuous task, namely to pray for yourselves and us.

53. Concerning the fact that external nuns or imposed guests should not be received into the convent

I wish that there should neither be any external nuns or imposed guests nor any called such. Therefore I instruct that an external nun should in no way be received, whether she is a woman of exalted station in life, or the possessor of great wealth and as a result either brings or promises an ample and generous offering in order to gain certain specified living allowances. For such a thing amounts to the violation of our decision and instruction. For we opened the gates of the convent freely and without any gift whatsoever to those who embrace the cenobitic way of life and seek to

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have or receive nothing more than what has been laid down by us, and we do not accept in any way a gift made with some specific aim which perverts what we have laid down.

Who would send an imposed guest to an independent convent, a convent dedicated and entrusted to the mighty hand of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene* and having her as its champion? Who would want the totally unblemished mother of the Word to make war on him by doing a favor for a corrupt person? No one would ever wish this, he would not be so foolish. For no small reward is laid up for the person upholding the wishes of those who made offerings to God, but everlasting punishment has been made ready for those who try to set them aside and pervert them.

54. Concerning the fact that virtuous nuns tonsured at another convent should be received unless they use imperial or governmental authority

Moreover if any nun, priding herself on a life pleasing to God and possessing a good name for this and showing clear traces of virtue, either through a yearning for the convent or a love of the way of life in it or even a friendly attitude [p. 105] towards us, were to wish to become a part of the community, we are ashamed and blush to refuse entry to such a person. In that case we prescribe that she be received, as it is said, with open arms, and the more so if she comes without having recourse to imperial authority or using governmental assistance or that of a patriarch, but in accordance with the observances explained by the holy fathers in the ascetic rules concerning those who move from one convent to another. For how else could we have shown that virtue is to be prized and thought important by those with sense?

However what has been said about such a nun will in no way be taken as a precedent for those who are not like her. Nor will it provide room for a pretext for those who seek pretexts to throw established procedure into confusion, transform and change good precepts, and not go straight towards the prescribed objective but bend it to their own wish. For if someone were accepted as being the kind of person as the passage previously proclaimed, but proved to be not like that—for we humans change most of all things—and appeared to be harmful to the convent or those in it and of no benefit, the superior will be able with the appropriate respect and gentleness to bar her from life in the convent in the future and send her away with prayers.

55. Concerning the fact that the cenobitic way of life should never be changed

Reference has been made many times and in many places²⁴ in this document to the cenobitic way of life, and it will be discussed again now as briefly as possible. For there is something I wish, I wish very much; I wish that the cenobitic way of life and constitution remain in the convent unaltered and unchanged for as long as this whole world exists, not perverted or altered for any reason, nor removed for any reason or excuse whatsoever, neither because of wealth nor poverty, neither because of shortage nor abundance, nor for any other specious reason or pretext of whatever kind, but that the cenobitic way of life and constitution should be preserved in every way for ever unbroken. Even if the whole revenue of the convent should happen to be reduced to being sufficient for two nuns, we wish them to live cenobitically and conform to the rule of this way of life. If one of the mothers superior wishes the opposite, the nuns are to oppose her; and if the nuns, the superior should resist them; and if all of them were to agree, the protectress of the convent should defend what has been laid down by us, and if she also were to consort with them, we grant

permission to anyone who wishes to strive for a pious action, and go to court on behalf of goodness itself and the reward for it, and seek to make our instructions effective, and drive from the convent those chiefly responsible for the abolition of the cenobitic way of life and not to think that this is a small achievement but a very great one that brings salvation. [p. 107]

56. Concerning the fact that apart from the sick the food and drink and clothing of all the nuns should be the same

[= (22) *Evergetis* [26]]: **In addition to these we give you this instruction that you should all have the same food and drink, clothing and footwear, and that there should never be any difference in these things among you. But you will all use the same—I mean the superior, the ecclesiarchissa, those who are distinguished in age and virtue and in their exalted station in life, and those who are inferior to them in these matters. For you should only help and take care in every way of those who are clearly afflicted with illness and for this reason perhaps need better food and drink to sustain their unfortunate bodies. For I think that this shows discernment and preserves the conscience of everyone else free of offense.**

57. Concerning the fact that a doctor should call at the convent and concerning the care of those who are sick

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [41], ed. lines 1250–51; 1254–56; 1259–62]: It is necessary also that a doctor should live at our convent for the care and visitation of the sisters who are sick, a eunuch or an old man, calling at the convent and visiting those who are sick and bringing means of healing appropriate to the diseases. But the superior herself **must carry out the care of the sick not in any perfunctory manner**, but according to what is necessary and possible **in food and drink and other necessities**. She **must set aside a special cell** for them to rest and buy medicines when the time is suitable, and prepare and store in it all the things useful for those who are ill. **But our sick sisters emboldened by this should not cast off self-restraint, by seeking for extra things and things which perhaps they have never even heard of much less seen or eaten, but they should restrain and control themselves, being satisfied only with those things which the circumstance of the season and the resources provide for them.**

58. Concerning bathing

It remains for me to discuss bathing. So we order that the nuns who are healthy should have a bath each month, but those who are sick, as often as the doctor who is deciding on the disease should say that bathing is beneficial. He also will speak about the appropriate food for the disease. [p. 109]

59. Concerning the feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God

At the very beginning of the feast of the Dormition of our Lady the Mother of God *Kecharitomene* the crater lamps must be removed and the silver chandeliers with many lights must be hung up and the silver pot-shaped lamps and silver crater lamps, and all of them should be filled with oil and water, and lit. Candles with cotton wick each weighing six ounces must be fixed in the *lamnai* of both the *templa* and the images for veneration to fill them, and candles with cotton

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wick of one *litra* must be fixed in the candelabra with twelve candleholders standing in front of the holy icon of the Mother of God set out for veneration. In the church four large candles of six *litrai* each must stand in the candlesticks and two of six ounces on each side of the holy altar, and candles of four ounces must stand on the tombs wherever they are, one on each, when the remains have been interred. Rose-essence and bitter aloes and incense must be supplied from wherever the superior sees that it is possible. Loaves of three *modioi* and six *trachea nomismata* in *noummia* must be distributed at this feast in the gateway to our brothers, the poor, and sufficient *trachea nomismata* must be provided for the purchase of fresh fish for the table of the sisters who are leading the religious life.

60. Concerning the feast of the Birth of the Mother of God

At the feast of the Birth of the Mother of God²⁵ they must light six of the standing candles in each of the candelabra with twelve candleholders, and six at the *templon*, and a sufficient provision [of food] must be supplied for the nuns. The feast of the Exaltation of the venerable and life-giving Cross and the feast of the martyr St. Demetrios and the feast of the Entry of the Mother of God into the Temple must be carried out similarly. [p. 111]

61. Concerning the feast of the Nativity

At the feast of the Nativity of Christ the lighting will be similar to that for the feast of the Dormition and the provision [of food] for the nuns will be similar. The distribution at the gate will be of loaves of two *modioi* and four *trachea nomismata* [in *noummia*]. This lighting will be sufficient also during the feast of the Epiphany. The distribution at the gate will be the same as that at the aforementioned feast, that is the Nativity of Christ, and the provision [of food] for the nuns will be similar.

62. Concerning the feast of the Presentation of Our Lord in the Temple

At the feast of the Presentation of Our Lord in the Temple²⁶ they must light six of the aforementioned standing candles in each of the candelabra with twelve candleholders, and at the *templon* similarly six each. The feast of the Annunciation and the feast of Palm Sunday will likewise have the same lighting.

63. Concerning the lighting for the Holy Passion

Moreover the lighting for the feast on Holy Thursday will be the same as that for the feast of the Dormition.²⁷ Likewise the distribution at the gate will be the same as that for the aforementioned feast, apart from the provision [of food]. Holy Easter Sunday will have the same lighting and distribution and provision of food as that for the feast mentioned above.

The feast of the Ascension and the Feast of Pentecost, and likewise that of the Holy Apostles²⁸ will have the same lighting and provision [of food] as that for the feast of the Birth of the Mother of God. The feast of the Transfiguration of Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ must be celebrated in the same way as that of the Dormition of the Mother of God, but the distribution should consist of [loaves] of two *modioi* of grain and four *trachea nomismata* in *noummia*.

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64. Concerning the fact that a distribution at the gate should take place each day

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [38], ed. line 1183]: It is obligatory that a distribution take place at the gate each day of loaves of a third of a *modios* of grain or of one *modios* of grain for three days, since the leftovers from the table must also be distributed each day, so that, through your joyful almsgiving to our brothers, **you also may receive joyful and abundant mercy from God.** [p. 113]

65. Concerning the fact that the rule should be read each month in the hearing of all

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [43], ed. lines 1313–14]: This instruction must be observed in every respect no less than the rest, or even more so, as it is the source and reason for the unaltered observance of what has been laid down and for the whole setting up of the convent, I mean the **reading of the *typikon* on the first day of each month** in the hearing of all those in the convent, so that through continuous reading the instructions laid down might be especially permanent and indelible, and successful in forming the habit of carrying them out. They must be kept in force and effective by total observance, unbroken and unaltered like divine laws, neither made obsolete and obliterated by time, nor weakened by any attack or violent change, nor consigned to oblivion through laziness, nor repudiated as burdensome through lack of discipline.

66. Concerning the daily lighting of the holy church

So then the daily lighting in the holy church should be like this. Lamps must be kept burning continuously night and day, one in the conch of the apse, one before the Mother of God *Kecharitomene*, one on the *templon*, one in the narthex, and another in the exonarthex. Whenever remains come to be interred in a tomb, one lamp must be lit.

67. Concerning the crater lamps that hang around the dome and the rest of them

Every second one of the crater lamps that hang in the middle of the *choros* must be lit at the beginning of the services that are usually celebrated in the church, at matins, vespers, and the liturgy; and they must be extinguished again at the end of these. The same thing should be done concerning all the lamps of the *templon*.

68. Concerning the candles that must be lit

Candles must be lit to burn continuously night and day, one in the sanctuary, and one before my Mother of God *Kecharitomene*. The candelabra with twelve candle holders must stand always at the images for veneration. One candle must be lit on these each day during the singing of the psalm, and one at the *templon*, and they must be extinguished during the dismissal. Three must be lit at the feasts which are not listed in the rule. Similarly three must be lit also at the *templon*. But at the very important feasts already mentioned, instead of burnt-down candles whole ones must be fitted, which must be kept again so that they can be used in the daily lighting until they are completely burnt up. [p. 115]

69. Concerning water

Since after much effort my majesty was able with the assistance of God to bring ever-

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flowing water to my monasteries,²⁹ and two cisterns of equal capacity have been constructed, I prescribe that the convent and the imperial houses which my majesty built should be supplied with water by one, and the monastery by the other. If a break occurs in these pipes, it must be repaired by those who receive this water. Since it was decreed by my majesty that there be two conduits to bring this water, one person from the one monastic establishment and another from the other should take care of them. If a break ever occurs in the aqueduct bringing this water, an appraisal should be obtained from one of the *tribounoi* and the expenditure contributed by both of the monastic establishments equally and the aqueduct repaired and the water kept ever-flowing.

70. Concerning the burial-place of the nuns

That is how those matters have been managed and those are the instructions. Since it was necessary to establish a burial-place for the interring of the remains of those nuns who go away to the Lord, but the confined situation of the convent did not provide us with room for the building of such a place, my majesty received from the great church of God the convent called *Ta Kellaraias*³⁰ which was patriarchal, but is now dedicated to the convent of my Mother of God *Kecharitomene* as a burial-place of the nuns leading the religious life in it, as the memorandum of the most holy and ecumenical patriarch, Lord Nicholas [III Grammatikos],³¹ made on this matter also clearly states. We also decree that there should be four nuns in it, receiving from the convent of my Mother of God *Kecharitomene* each of them each year eighteen maritime *modioi* of grain each, twelve maritime measures of wine each, fifty *litrai* of cheese each, one *modios* of legumes each, and for their allowance twenty-four *trachea nomismata* each, and for their clothing allowance one *hyperpyron nomisma*. Furthermore we decree that a lay priest be assigned there to serve in this convent both in the singing of psalms and the lighting and all the appropriate care, and that it be decreed that he receive what is necessary for this service from the convent of my Mother of God *Kecharitomene* from which items for the lighting of the lamps in this burial place should be supplied, namely two maritime measures of oil each year and twelve *modioi* of grain. [p. 117]

We prescribe that the transporting and burial of the nuns who die should be carried out as follows. The customary things done for the dead nun should be carried out in the exonarthex, I mean both the singing of psalms and all the clothing of the remains, and then she should be transported to the convent of the Mother of God called *Ta Kellaraias* with the bier carried either by her sister nuns or by the female servants with as many of the nuns following her as the superior orders. She is to be buried there in the tombs of the nuns, where only the nuns who practice the religious life in the convent of my Mother of God *Kecharitomene* must be buried.

No one who is not on the list of this community is to be buried with them, even though she were a relative of the superior or of another of the nuns or a friend or acquaintance, nor even on the instruction of the protectress of the convent, so that the burial-place of the nuns may not become a stranger's burial place. But if anyone tries to do this, she will receive condemnation from God for her transgression of the rule, and will be prevented by the protectress of the convent. Moreover one vault will be assigned for the burial of the female servants of these nuns, another for the mothers superior, another for those wearing the great habit, another for the rest of the nuns and female servants, as many as are nuns and virtuous, and another for the nuns in the convent of *Ta Kellaraias*.

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When the sisters who went away with the nun who died have returned to their own convent, they must not go away there any more, but the commemorations on the third, ninth, and fortieth days for the nun who died should be sung by the priest appointed there and be carried out by the nuns in the convent.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [36], ed. lines 1086–92, 1118–21]: **They also should be remembered every day with *ekteneis* in the divine liturgies and at matins and vespers until the fortieth day, and an offering should be made specifically for a nun until the completion of her forty-day commemorations. The ecclesiarchissa must note down the commemorations of each of those who die and write their names on the diptychs, so that their commemorations may not be forgotten and may be performed without fail. Moreover we urge the priests to consult the diptychs during every liturgy in order to commemorate those listed on them, so that they may not bear the accusation of forgetting and omitting them.**

A common commemoration of all the nuns must take place each Friday after the office of lamplighting, unless a feast prevents it; the nuns must sing a canon for the dead and carry out also a *parastasimon*, and an *ektenes* should be made for all those who have already departed. Moreover, a supplication should be made on the Saturday of Meatfare, the Saturday of Cheesefare, and the Saturday of Pentecost for the nuns who have already departed, one for each name, and they should be commemorated. Likewise, during the commemorations for each one a liturgy should be celebrated for her and an offering made, and on the Saturday of Meatfare and on the Saturday [p. 119] of Pentecost the nuns must receive one offering of bread each, to commemorate their parents and relatives, and after the oblation has been made the offerings should be assembled by the gatekeeper and a distribution should take place at the gate.

71. Concerning different commemorations that must be performed annually

Having given sufficient instructions now concerning the matters of the convent, we decree and issue instructions now also concerning our parents, brothers according to the flesh, and children who have died, and those who will die. For the commemorations for all those expressly set out below will be celebrated at the times and on the days recorded in this way.

We wish a night office for the dead to take place with a *parastasimon*, and the lighting in the church to be more abundant than the usual, and during the liturgy an offering should be made and *kollyba* offered for the deceased, and he is to be remembered in *ekteneis* during the night office and matins and the liturgy and vespers. The usual table should not be set out for the nuns, but food should be bought and they should be fed as we previously decreed should happen at the feasts of Our Lord, at whatever season the remembrance of the dead person happens to be. However if the commemoration were to occur on Wednesday or Friday, they will eat shellfish only, except for the commemoration of my most mighty and holy emperor. For at his commemoration, even if it should occur on a Wednesday or a Friday, fish in liberal quantities will also be bought for a meal for the nuns. For it is necessary that the person who is special among mankind should gain a special commemoration. But on all the non-fast days at the commemorations for the rest of our relatives they will eat fish. But if a commemoration for someone were to occur on any of the days of the Great Lent, the night office will be held only on Friday evening of that week, during which the commemoration occurred, and on the following Saturday the nuns will have a refreshment of

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shellfish. However, if someone were to come bringing fish for them, they will eat these also. The other two fasts have every day free for the holding of commemorations. We also wish the distribution at the gate to take place on that day, as will be made clear in the naming of each. [p. 121]

The commemoration for my most mighty emperor, Lord Alexios Komnenos, must be performed on whatever day he dies, and there must be abundant lighting and special fare for the nuns, and at the gate loaves of ten *modioi* [of grain] must be distributed, and eight measures of wine, and twelve *trachea nomismata* in *noummia*. I wish my commemorations to take place on whatever day I leave this body, and be exactly the same as those for my most mighty emperor. The commemorations for the dearly beloved son of my majesty, the *basileus* Lord John,³² Born-in-the-Purple, must be celebrated on whatever day he dies, and there must be abundant lighting and special fare for the nuns, and at the gate loaves of five *modioi* [of grain] must be distributed, and six *trachea nomismata* in *noummia*. The commemorations for the dearly beloved daughter-in-law of my majesty, *despoina* Lady Irene,³³ his wife, must be celebrated on whatever day she dies, and there must be abundant lighting and special fare for the nuns, and at the gate loaves of five *modioi* [of grain] must be distributed, and six *trachea nomismata* in *noummia*. The commemorations for the dearly beloved son of my majesty, the *sebastokrator* Lord Andronikos,³⁴ Born-in-the-Purple, must be celebrated on whatever day he dies in the same way.

The commemorations for the dearly beloved son-in-law of my majesty, Caesar Lord Nikephoros,³⁵ must be celebrated on whatever day he dies in the same way. The commemorations for the dearly beloved son of my majesty, Caesar Lord Isaac,³⁶ Born-in-the-Purple, must be celebrated on whatever day he dies in the same way. The commemorations for the dearly beloved son-in-law of my majesty, *panhypersebastos* Lord Nikephoros,³⁷ must be celebrated on whatever day he dies in the same way. The commemorations for the dearly beloved son-in-law of my majesty, the *pansebastohypertatos* Lord Constantine,³⁸ must be celebrated on whatever day he dies similarly in other respects, but the loaf should be of three *modioi* [of grain] and three *trachea nomismata* in *noummia*. [p. 123] The commemorations for the dearly beloved granddaughter of my majesty, Irene Doukaina,³⁹ the daughter of *Caesarissa* Lady Anna, Born-in-the-Purple, must be celebrated on whatever day she dies, and there must be abundant lighting and a special fare for the nuns, and at the gate loaves of four *modioi* [of grain] must be distributed, and four *trachea nomismata* in *noummia*.

The commemorations for the dearly beloved daughter of my majesty, the *Caesarissa* Lady Anna,⁴⁰ Born-in-the-Purple, must be celebrated on whatever day she dies, and there must be abundant lighting and special fare for the nuns, and at the gate loaves of five *modioi* [of grain] and six *trachea nomismata* in *noummia* distributed. The commemorations for the dearly beloved daughter of my majesty, the Lady Maria,⁴¹ Born-in-the-Purple, must be celebrated on whatever day she dies in the same way. The commemorations for the dearly beloved daughter of my majesty, the Lady Eudokia,⁴² Born-in-the-Purple, must be celebrated on whatever day she dies in the same way. The commemorations for the dearly beloved daughter-in-law of my majesty, the *sebastokratorissa* Lady Irene,⁴³ must be celebrated on whatever day she dies in the same way, but loaves of three *modioi* should be distributed.

The commemorations for the dearly beloved daughter-in-law of my majesty, the *Caesarissa* Lady Irene,⁴⁴ must be celebrated on whatever day she dies in the same way. The commemorations

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for the dearly beloved daughter of my majesty, the Lady Theodora,⁴⁵ Born-in-the-Purple, must be celebrated on whatever day she dies in the same way. On the 14th of October the commemorations must be celebrated for the holy master and dearly beloved father of my majesty of blessed memory, the *protoproedros* and *protovestiaros* and *megas doux ton scholon* in the East, Lord Andronikos Doukas,⁴⁶ who on taking the holy and great angelic habit changed his name to Lord Antony, and at the gate loaves of five *modioi* [of grain] must be distributed, [p. 125] and six *trachea nomismata* in *noummia*, and there must be abundant lighting and special fare for the nuns.

On the 21st of November the commemorations must be celebrated in the same way for the sanctified mistress and mother of my majesty, the Lady Maria,⁴⁷ who on taking the holy and great angelic habit changed her name to Lady Xene. On the 12th of July the commemorations must be celebrated in the same way for Lord John⁴⁸ of blessed memory, the dearly beloved father-in-law of my majesty. On the 1st of November the commemorations must be celebrated in the same way for my sanctified Lady⁴⁹ the mother-in-law of my majesty. On the 9th of January the commemorations must be celebrated for the dearly beloved brother of my majesty, the *protostrator* Lord Michael Doukas,⁵⁰ and there must be abundant lighting and a special fare for the nuns. On the 20th of February the commemorations must be celebrated for the dearly beloved sister of my majesty, the most honorable, honorable Lady Theodora,⁵¹ who on taking the holy and great angelic habit changed her name to Lady Irene, and they must be carried out in the same way.

The commemorations must be celebrated on whatever day he dies for the dearly beloved brother of my majesty, the *pansebastos*, *sebastos* Lord John Doukas,⁵² who on taking the holy and great angelic habit changed his name to Lord Antony, and they must be carried out in the same way. The commemorations must be celebrated on whatever day she departs to the Lord for the dearly beloved sister of my majesty, the *pansebaste*, *sebaste* Lady Anna Doukaina,⁵³ and they must be carried out in the same way.

Our children, when they depart to the Lord, will be inscribed on the diptychs of those who have already died, and the commemorations for them all will be celebrated in the manner declared above.⁵⁴ But if some of them perhaps dedicate to the convent important movable or immovable property, their commemorations must be celebrated in accordance with their regulation.

72. Concerning the washing of the feet that is going to take place on Holy Thursday

Moreover on Holy Thursday the washing of the feet must be carried out by the most venerable superior in the narthex of the church, where the washing of the feet by the Savior has been portrayed, according to the procedure contained in the *synaxarion* and the rule contained in it. [p. 127] The divine festival of light during the world-wide feast of Epiphany will also be celebrated in the same narthex, in which the *phiale* stands, with the bronze chandeliers hanging in it and receiving their full lighting. In the same way the chandeliers of the church must also be lit then, and two candelabra with large candles stand on this side and on that of the *phiale*.

73. Concerning the fact that no alterations should be made to the buildings of the convent

Since the long-suffering mercy of God towards me approved of this project, and I still remaining in this life have completed all the buildings of the convent, transforming in it the divine church itself, restoring the very beautiful narthex, and adding an exonarthex of Carian wood⁵⁵ and

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have built the whole convent to reach this form and state that I had decided, I wish and desire that, as all the things in it were built by me, they should remain thus and be kept unchanged and unaltered. If in time some of them should suffer destruction whether small or greater, or be diminished by some chance accidents, they should be restored again with God's help to the same form without any delay and postponement, and that they should never in any way be changed, either to produce a greater establishment or for any other reason whatsoever. For I do not wish any alteration to be made in them, neither another improved establishment of these buildings compared with the present one, nor even that another gate be added or side-gate or simply any means of entry to the convent from another place, in addition to the one that exists today on the instruction of my majesty.

Since my majesty built a wall of rubble masonry⁵⁶ behind the resting-place of the nuns, that is their common dormitory, setting aside a place in this way for their rest and relief, I do not wish a gate ever to be opened at all in this wall or a side-gate, or a door of any sort or a window or a bow slit or a small opening of any sort, and if damage ever occurs to this wall or a collapse of any kind, the portion that has fallen down or has been destroyed should be restored again in rubble masonry so as to quickly return to its previous form. [p. 129]

The most venerable superior must have complete responsibility for both the preservation and repair of the whole convent and for the improvement, adornment, and retiling of everything in it, but above and beyond everything, of the holy church of God, and she must not despise the smallest thing, but even if the damage should be as little as one glass lamp, she must fill up the place of the missing piece with another piece at once, and I decree that the retiling of the whole convent be carried out with utmost care.

74. Concerning the fact that the convent should remain unobserved from all sides

Moreover this decision of my majesty is no less important than any of those declared before, and ranks with the most necessary, deserving no casual consideration and care. For since the whole dwelling of the nuns is completely unobserved from all sides, I wish what has been set aside by my majesty for their practice of the religious life to be preserved for ever with God's help. Although it is obvious to anyone who is willing to judge correctly from the context and meaning of what has already been written that to establish a [place] of observation of [the convent] is undesirable and quite contrary to the intention of my majesty, nevertheless I thought it necessary to specifically and expressly forbid such an innovation. So because of this my consideration of the matter my majesty dismisses and completely rejects the observing at any time in any way whatsoever of any of the places inside the enclosed area which has been assigned to the way of life of the nuns, either of their courtyard, whether the outer or the inner, or of the enclosure from any side, whether from the imperial buildings or the others, whether from their outer or inner courtyard, whether by the decision of one of the protectresses of the convent or in any other way. It will never be possible at all for anyone for whatever reason, even if it seems in some way to be reasonable, to establish any observation of the activities of the convent either by means of a balcony and a top story or a door or a side door or a window or any moderately sized opening.

But if anything like this is dared by anyone, even if it should be done unintentionally, it will be for the protectress of the convent at the time of necessity to decide at once on the harm arising from it, and even if this is very small, remove it without any investigation or discussion. For, as

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has been made clear, since my majesty took care to ensure that the way of life of the nuns dedicated to my Mother of God *Kecharitomene* would remain inside their holy convent completely unobserved by every person, so the situation with regard to this has been made secure. Furthermore, it will be forbidden for any buildings either to be attached or built on to the dividing brick wall of both the outer courtyard and the enclosure of the convent, after the departure of my majesty from this present life, or for any other structure to be freshly built, but rather it will be prevented in every way, since my majesty wishes this wall also to remain in the same form and in the same condition as it is found to have on the day of my departure to God, and that it should not receive any change of any sort whatsoever at any time either by way of an addition or diminution. [p. 131]

75. Concerning the fact that chanters should not be assembled during the feast but that the convent should be untroubled by these also

Since I have completely forbidden entry into this holy place by men, as has already been made clear, I do not at all wish even that chanters should ever enter the church in it either on the day of a feast perhaps or for a commemoration, but that the nuns only themselves who happen to be there at the time should be the chanters along with the devout priests appointed in the convent.

Since it is customary for the sacrament of unction to be celebrated by seven priests once a year on the eve of Palm Sunday in the church at the cemetery, or at the burial place, I decree that it should take place. While this is being performed there, one of the seven priests should enter the convent and conduct the prayer for the anointing with holy oil for the nuns, anointing them at the same time, and leave at once.

The religious processions which must be made by the nuns in the convent according to the ecclesiastical tradition will not last long and they will go out from the church through the narthex and along [the path] which goes on from there as far as the [oratory of the] Dormition of our most-pure Lady and Mother of God, the one outside their common dormitory, with the priests of the convent carrying the holy gospel and the venerable cross, and the progress of their advance will cease there, and when the priest has made an *ektenes* there, they will return again to the church.

Moreover in this holy church of the convent (for it appeared necessary to me to add this, since it must be abominated, even if perhaps to some it does not seem an abomination) the performance of any handiwork must not go on either at the time of hymn-singing or during the reading or at any other time.

76. Concerning where and how those of our daughters and granddaughters who choose to be buried in the convent must be buried, and how their commemorations should take place

If ever any of our daughters or daughters-in-law or even of our granddaughters, to whom the *ephoreia* of the convent has been assigned and the use of the more sumptuous buildings, should choose to be buried in this convent (for it is not unreasonable to discuss this also), this will be possible for her if she has assumed the monastic habit, but not at all otherwise, and she will have a place in the exonarthex for the burial of her remains, making her own tomb according to her own wishes.

The commemorations of those who will be buried thus in this convent and the lighting of lamps on the tombs of those who have not chosen to dedicate anything at all in the convent will be

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carried out as my majesty decreed, [p. 133] with one lamp lit for each tomb to burn continuously; but [the commemorations] for those who were glad to offer and dedicate something of their own possessions by their own decision and choice, will be carried out in whatever way they decree from what is given by them, that is, as an addition to what has been decreed by us.

But it will not be possible for any of them all, whether an official or a private person, whether a superior or a nun, or even if that person makes a large, expensive and useful offering to the convent, on any pretext to plan the removal of any of the remains that will be buried in it, much less to accomplish it, or to discuss in any way burial or joint burial with these. For my majesty by this present document itself keeps everyone from such a plan and action.

77. Concerning the number of inventories and rules that have been made for the holy convent of the *Kecharitomene* and where each must be deposited

Since three rules have been drawn up by us on parchment covered with precious fabric and three inventories, that is including the present rule and the inventory of dedications to the convent, we decree that two of these—that is the rule and the inventory—should be deposited in the divine, inviolable, and holy sacristy of the Great Church of God, as that is also where the [documents] of the monastery of *Philanthropos* are, that is the rule and the inventory, so that for all time what we have decreed in it concerning the monastery of *Philanthropos* and what was dedicated to it may be indelibly preserved. Two others are to be in the possession of the protectresses of the convent at the time, so they can have an accurate knowledge of what we decreed in these. The other two, the rule and the inventory, should be deposited in the sacristy of the convent of *Kecharitomene*. Moreover the other two volumes, one of which is in the form of the rule and the other in that of the inventory, both being of paper will be for daily use in the convent.

78. A consoling exhortation to the nuns

[= (22) *Evergetis* [42]]: **So then these should be the wishes of my majesty and I hope it may be said that they are acceptable to God and my most holy Mother of God *Kecharitomene* and are greatly beneficial for your help; in the future it will be your concern [p. 135] to maintain them unbroken and unchanged always. By this I mean, to carry out completely in all the services the canonical procedure handed on to you, to preserve loyalty and honor which is due to your superiors, to love one another, to be keen each of you to surpass each other in humility, to labor all of you with one another in everything as the limbs of one body, and “to complete what is lacking” (Col. 1:24) in one another, not to stir up quarrels nor form improper friendships or cause schisms and breakaway services, to refrain from claiming the seat of honor and worldly preferments, but look to one thing only, that is to live and conduct yourselves virtuously and breathe in nothing else, if possible, than the word of salvation and everything that is for the edification and benefit of your soul, furthermore to banish from you the source of all evils, I mean the love of money and the filching of the convent’s possessions or in any other way at all to set aside and store up anything whatsoever which the superior has not approved nor the rule given to you has allowed, not only that but as a result of carelessness or some other act of disregard, to allow something belonging to the convent to disappear. For that is the same as the former case, even if it seems to be somewhat differ-**

ent, and brings the same liability in the presence of God. You must root out familiarity as much as possible and, that I may be brief, banish everything that does not lead to salvation.

So, my most revered mothers, **let us in no way prefer the things that harm and pass by those that bring salvation. For nothing of what has been handed on to you is impossible or hard to accomplish. But if one of these [instructions] were to be thought of as such, yet let us strive, let us persevere, let us endure, let us bear it nobly, let us force ourselves a little. For you did not abandon the world for indulgence and luxury, but for exertion and to strive as much as you could to gain the good things that were promised. Therefore let us force ourselves, let us force ourselves, “for the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence, and men of violence take it by force” (Matt. 11:12). No one has ever gained a triumph by being careless, no one has triumphed over his enemy by sleeping and dreaming. Crowns and triumphs belong to those who toil, strive, and persevere in the labors of battles. “Through many tribulations,” the Lord says, “we must enter the kingdom of heaven” (Acts 14:22). So then I beseech you all, “lead a life worthy of your calling” (Eph. 4:1), “present your bodies holy to the Lord,” (cf Rom. 12:1) “love one another” (John 15: 12), “run well the race that is set before you” (Heb. 12:1). Whatsoever is good, whatsoever is beloved of God, consider these things (Phil. 4:8). Do not fail to do the things “you have heard and learned” (Phil. 4:8–9), holy mothers, “the appointed time has grown very short” (I Cor. 7:29), remember your souls.**

For in thinking over these things for you, it is likely that I should have forgotten myself, who am full of every wickedness and am disposed to be careless in every way with regard to the commands of God. Because of this I earnestly beg your community never to forget our souls, but in your prayers to support us continuously who are unworthy of heaven and earth, bearing in mind, if nothing else, our great and fervent [p. 137] eagerness and our zeal directed both towards the establishment of your holy convent, and the gathering of your community, and organizing the things that support its material independence and spiritual benefit, for no other purpose at all except the care of your own souls and continuous praying for our insignificance, which we pray you never forget. But even if we are absent in the body, you should think that we are present with you in spirit and that we fall at your feet and appeal to your company very piteously and with burning tears to pray for us who have sinned against God more than all men, and, what is more, beg for more goodness from him through your holy prayers. So **may you not forget to pray for our insignificance.**

[= (22) *Evergetis* [43], ed. lines 1318–22]: **“May the God of peace who called us to his eternal glory” (Heb. 13:20–21) through his great and unspeakable goodness confirm and strengthen you in his holy will through his only-begotten Son Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ and the All-Holy Life-Giving Spirit through the intercessions of our Mother of God *Kecharitomene*.**

Irene Doukaina in Christ Our God the faithful Empress of the Romans.⁵⁷

79. Concerning the more sumptuous buildings newly built in the convent by my majesty

It is necessary also to discuss what is reasonable concerning the very sumptuous buildings newly built by my majesty in the convent of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene*. For when my

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majesty built more splendid buildings around this revered convent, apart from those necessary for the convent and supplying all the needs of the nuns for their way of life, it wished my [daughter] of blessed memory, the nun Lady Eudokia,⁵⁸ Born-in-the-Purple, to have these and use them for her own residence and repose, but since she was snatched away before my hopes were realized and went to “the eternal dwelling-places” (Heb. 13:20–21), it was necessary for my majesty to decree what it decided about them.

This I have in fact done, and I decree that after my departure from this life my most beloved [daughter] the *Caesarissa* Lady Anna,⁵⁹ Born-in-the-Purple, should possess and occupy without hindrance, while she lives, not only all the cells in which she resided while I was alive, but also all the buildings in the convent of *Kecharitomene*, that is all those which were for the use of my majesty and our children and our servants both men and women, together with the outer courtyard [p. 139] situated immediately next to the inner courtyard of the more sumptuous buildings. For a written instruction concerning the other courtyard which was once used as a vineyard but was changed into a courtyard, will be issued by me at some time and will be in force.

Furthermore, she should possess the church of St. Demetrios⁶⁰ with the two bathhouses and a third of the spring water that is brought into the buildings of the convent, that is, just as I possess them, and she must have complete freedom to build other new buildings, whatever kind she wishes, and to change those that exist, both the imperial and the other ones, in whatever way she chooses, and alter them to whatever form she wishes, observing this only, namely, not to set a new burden of any sort whatsoever on the dividing wall of both monasteries, that is that of *Philanthropos* and that of *Kecharitomene*, nor to have a place overlooking them.

After her death I decree that my most beloved granddaughter Lady Irene Doukaina,⁶¹ the daughter of Lady Anna, should have the use, possessions, and occupation of all the immovable property listed above and the remaining rights, inalienable and without any proviso. After the departure from this life of Lady Anna, Born-in-the-Purple, only the buildings overhanging the dividing wall and looking towards the garden of the monastery of *Philanthropos* must be destroyed, in which today resides the aforesaid lady, Born-in-the-Purple; and this wall must be raised by a further two cubits.

But after the death of Lady Irene, if her mother, Born-in-the-Purple, dies leaving a will, I decree that she should bequeath these imperial buildings and the others to whichever of her children or grandchildren or great-grandchildren, whether male or female, she chooses. But if her mother departs from this life before the Lady Irene, or even after her but has not settled this matter, for it is not important, then the right of possession and occupation of the buildings listed above and the other things will pass to the oldest male or female descendant, child or grandchild or great grandchild of Lady Anna, Born-in-the-Purple, moreover with this provision, that if the person to whom this right will belong departs from this life leaving a will, he has the power to pass on these to whichever of the children, grandchildren, and so on descended from him that he wishes. But if he should not have any descendants or does not settle this matter, then the aforementioned right passes again to the oldest male or female descendant of Lady Anna, Born-in-the-Purple, and this proviso is to continue thus for ever, as long as there remains enough of those descended from the line of the aforementioned lady, Born-in-the-Purple.

The lady Born-in-the-Purple will bequeath this right in her will not only to her children or

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grandchildren or great-grandchildren, as has been stated above, but also to one of her daughters-in-law married to one of these, whomsoever she wishes, and this lady will possess these in the same way, unless she were to consider a second marriage. [p. 141] For if she were so inclined, she will immediately lose this right which will always pass to the line of the lady Born-in-the-Purple. It must happen like this without any change also in the case of all the other daughters-in-law to whom this right will belong, by being passed on from those who have possessed this, as has been described above. For it will be possible not only for the lady Born-in-the-Purple but also for those who are descended from her to pass this on in their wills, if they should wish, to one of their daughters-in-law married to the men descended from them. For we must admit one thing, that even though we specifically mention the male sex only yet the female sex also must be understood by this and considered equally designated, as far as the chapter regarding these buildings is concerned.

But if, something I pray does not happen, the family fails so that there is no descendent from the line of the family of Lady Anna, Born-in-the-Purple, remaining, then I decree that these buildings should be restored to the power of this convent, and the buildings of the outside courtyard should be transformed into rented properties, and the convent should reap the revenue from them, and they should take down those of the inner courtyard and use the material and the site as the convent wishes for profitable gardens and orchards, all the revenues from which the convent will gain with those also of the bathhouses.

Moreover those who at the time are to have the occupation and the dwelling in the aforementioned buildings will live in them in a reverent manner, and will not cause any distress at all to the convent of *Kecharitomene*. But they will have the power to build where they wish inside the boundary of the buildings granted to them, and to such a height that they do not look down on any of the parts of either the monastery or the convent, but they will not prop any building on the empty walls around the convent or its buildings but the buildings will be completely free-standing just as they have been made by us. The use of these [buildings] will in no way whatsoever be granted to strangers, either by sale or hire or exchange or gift or mortgage or pledge or by any other means whatsoever by any of the people prescribed to have the possession and occupation of the aforementioned buildings, and the one who possesses this right will simply not be allowed to lodge anyone else in them, having perhaps a personal residence elsewhere. For this we completely forbid.

But if ever—and may this not happen—the person who at any particular time has the use of the buildings of the convent—for I must repeat again my words about them—incurs any civil or private liability of any kind whatsoever connected with money or a criminal charge or should even be found guilty of treason, my majesty does not wish these buildings or their use to be made liable, but remain free of all liability. If the liability is one regarding money, that person who has the use of these buildings should possess and occupy them again, even if all the rest of this person's wealth is perhaps forfeit by law to his creditors. For this use and possession of these buildings and all the things in them must be above all debt liability, since my majesty passes them on in this way to those who are going to possess them. But if he should be indicted for a crime or on a charge of treason and should be ejected from this usage, the usage must revert to the person summoned next, according to the proviso [p. 143] and definition given above. But if perhaps there should be no [descendants] left, [the buildings] will return to the controlling convent.

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If also perhaps some day—may this not happen—these buildings are burned down partially or totally, my majesty does not wish the usage to come to an end, because the residential buildings have been destroyed, but the person who then has the right of this usage according to the above regulation should again have it and possess these rights and use them, as has been described above, having the power to rebuild the buildings on the sites of those that were burnt, of whatever kind he can, though the provisos concerning the way these buildings should be passed on and go from one to another must be kept, just as has been described more clearly above, and be in force and operate. However it will not be possible for anyone to give away the site of these buildings to anyone for a garden or for the building of rental property, but to build other buildings again in place of them of whatever kind he can in order to reside in them, and we decree that the one who uses the place differently contrary to this decree of ours should be ejected from those [buildings] and they should pass to the person summoned after the man or woman who has been expelled, as has been discussed above.

Moreover I wish all these commands and provisos that have been discussed to remain secure with the party of the convent not having the power to go against the decrees of my majesty here in any way whatsoever. For with these provisos my majesty has thus created and creates the attachment of these immovable rights to the party of the convent, and in the aforementioned ways instructs that the control of them be attached to the convent. If perhaps the party of the convent possesses some rights from some documents or from elsewhere in respect of these buildings and the others and the whole of their surrounding area, my majesty does not wish that anything else should be done in respect of them contrary to what has been laid down here. For my majesty, since it has established the whole convent and the properties around it and in its control at great personal expenditure and cost, has the power in every way to decree in respect of these immovable properties whatever it decides, and wishes its decrees to remain unchanged; and if the nuns were perhaps to attempt to try something else, those chiefly responsible among the rest for this attempt will not be received favorably by any court of law, and will be expelled from the convent.

80. Concerning those who must have the *ephoreia* of the convent

Since it was inevitable that someone should be appointed by me to protect the convent, and be active in preserving the instructions in the rule unbroken in every way, and moreover my majesty decreed, in the chapter⁶² concerning those who should protect the convent, that my dearly beloved daughter, Lady Eudokia, Born-in-the-Purple, should take care of it [p. 145] and exact vengeance on those who perhaps try to harm it, and be zealous in preserving unbroken the instructions in the rule published by me. But she, because of my sins, as has been mentioned, departed this life, and I decree that after my departure from this life my most beloved [daughter] the *Caesarissa*, Lady Anna, should have the *ephoreia* of the convent; and after her death, my dearly beloved daughter, Lady Maria, Born-in-the-Purple, should have the *ephoreia* of this convent along with my dearly beloved granddaughter, Lady Irene Doukaina, the daughter of Lady Anna, Born-in-the-Purple. But when these depart from this life, this *ephoreia* should go to the other daughter of Lady Anna, Born-in-the-Purple, or to a granddaughter or a great-granddaughter and so on, for my majesty wishes her daughters and granddaughters and great-granddaughters and so on, as long as the female line continues, to oversee the convent of my Mother of God *Kecharitomene*, the one who is the eldest.

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But if the female line descended from the often mentioned Lady Anna, Born-in-the-Purple, fails, then the protection of this convent will pass, as a result of this written decree of my majesty, to one of the daughters-in-law married to one of those descended from the lady, Born-in-the-Purple, that is the one married to the eldest. Again this arrangement will be preserved until the daughters-in-law married to the males of the family fail, as long as this is observed, namely, that the woman who is going to oversee the convent does not enter into a second marriage after the death of her husband. If perhaps she gains the appointment to the *ephoreia* and then turns aside to a second marriage, she will at once be deprived of the *ephoreia*, and it will pass to the one summoned after her. This proviso must be observed in the case of them all.

Moreover after these all fail, it will pass to the lady from the most distinguished of our family, but she will not be the one who surpasses the others in age but the one in fact whom the nuns practicing the religious life in this convent at the time will choose with their superior. This will be maintained like this for ever, for as long as this present age lasts.

The one who has the right of the *ephoreia* will never enter the convent at any other time except during the liturgy, and when this finishes she will leave at once, unless some meeting is proposed which is necessary and is connected with the maintenance of the convent and then with two or three women. But if one of our noble female relatives or another woman should happen to be with her, she alone will enter the convent together with her, but not a single man, because we decree that the convent is to be completely untrodden by men and continuously closed even to eunuchs themselves.

But if some of our male children and sons-in-law married to our daughters or even of our grandsons will wish to enter the convent, through a desire for us or because of some matter necessary for the convent, they will enter as far as the exonarthex in the company of the protectress of the convent, themselves alone with her, and stand until the liturgy is completed. After the completion of this, [p. 147] when the nuns have gone away to their dormitory, they will enter the church with only the superior left behind with two or three of the oldest and devout nuns, and when they have had an appropriate conversation with them and venerated the [icon] of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene*, they will leave. They will do this once or twice a year and at the feast of the Mother of God.

Moreover my dearly beloved daughters, Lady Anna and Lady Maria Born-in-the-Purple and my most beloved granddaughter, Lady Irene Doukaina, will have the liberty, whenever they wish, to attend the church at all the divine services, and at the time of the meals to eat with the nuns but with [only] two or three of their women.

The door which leads into this convent from the direction of the imperial buildings will be closed on the inside by the superior and on the outside by the protectress of the convent. All the other things discussed in the third chapter concerning the oversight must be maintained unchanged for ever.

Concerning the delimitation of the convent

The dividing wall of the convent of *Kecharitomene* begins from the gate of entry to the convent situated in front of the public road, which comes from the direction of the convent of St. Anna of Deuteron,⁶³ and goes eastwards keeping close to the same public road and goes on as far as the

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lavatory of the infirmarian of the convent which is opposite the end of the balcony of the buildings [by] the oak tree of the convent. In length it is forty-eight cubits, and separates the buildings of the convent on the left from the public road on the right. It curves away a little, keeping close again to the same public road, and goes away as far as the lane behind the cells of the patriarchal convent of St. Nicholas.⁶⁴ In length it is fifty-three cubits, and separates the buildings of the convent on the left from the public road on the right. It turns to the north keeping close to the lane, separating the church of St. Nicholas on the right from the buildings of the monastery on the left. In length it is eighteen and a half cubits. It bends to the east for a distance of three cubits, then veers a little to the north for a distance of one cubit. It bends back eastwards again for a distance of five cubits, then again turns eastwards for four and a half cubits and bends again to the east for a distance of four and a half cubits. It turns back again northwards separating the buildings of St. Nicholas on the right from the buildings of the convent on the left and continues as far as the wall of the two-story building [housing] the wardrobe [p. 149] of my majesty; in length it is twelve cubits. It turns a little towards the west for a distance of two cubits then goes northwards again for a distance of twenty-three cubits separating the alley in front of the workshop of the convent on the left from the buildings of my majesty on the right. Up against this wall is placed the *omphaitos* belonging to [the building housing] the wardrobe of my majesty and the balcony built from Carian wood which is of the same dimensions as the uncovered balcony. It turns to the west separating the alley and the workshop of the convent on the left from the houses of my majesty on the right for a distance of fifteen cubits. It bends to the north separating the empty space behind the sanctuary of the church of the convent on the left from the houses of my majesty on the right for a distance of sixteen cubits. It turns back westwards separating the colonnade of the church of the convent on the left from the *tetrakarikoxyton* of my majesty on the right for a distance of nine cubits. It turns back again northwards separating the oratory of my majesty on the left from the *tetrakarikoxyton* on the right for a distance of twelve cubits in which also there is only . . .

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Appendix A [p. 148]

The vineyards paying tax⁶⁵ to the holy convent of the most holy Mother of God *Kecharitomene* situated around the exterior of [the convent of] Zoodochos Pege.⁶⁶

	<i>mod(ioi)</i>	<i>(nomismata)</i>	<i>k(okkia)</i>
Basil Kalogerites	2 5/6	–	23
Tzignogoulina the widow	3	1	–
Polypeirina the widow [p. 149]	2 1/2	–	20
Demetrios Kanokes	5 1/5	1	18
Kanokes the priest, his brother	3 1/2	1	4
Apostoles Lithognomon	6 1/10	2 (?)	1
Gounares Kentarchos	5	1	16
John Tzibitzoulos	5 1/3 and 3 <i>lepta</i>	1	2 (1/2)
Konstas Galotes	2 1/4	–	18
Manuel Koursares	2 1/8	–	17
Lampadares Panopoulos	4 1/10	1	9
[p. 150]			
Theodore Keporos	6	2	–
(total) (<i>hyperpera</i>)	15	(<i>kokkia</i>)	8 1/2
(total) (<i>hyperpera</i>)	12		

The *chrysoteleia*⁶⁷ of our convent of the most holy Mother of God *Kecharitomene*; the property outside our courtyard.

	<i>(nomismata)</i>	<i>k(okkia)</i>
The house of Sophianos with its land	2	–
The house of Euphemia near Sophianos	–	15
The house of Bardales, that is of Kourasmene	–	15
The house of Kapassou	1	–
The house of Angelina, the priest's wife	–	12
The house of her daughter	1	–
The house of Souroumina	–	12
The house of Garatzias	–	15
The house of Syropoulos with the vineyard	3	–
The house of Pelekanos	1	–
The house of Boutzas	1	–
The house of Theodora Kathare, who is in the old age home	–	12
The house of Gerakares	–	12

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	<i>(nomismata)</i>	<i>k(okkia)</i>
The house of Roudroa	1	3
The house of Thomais, the stepdaughter of Tzoukena	–	12
The house of Tzoukis	1	–
The house of Chamopournea	–	12
The house of Katakalos; Mamitzonites has it	–	18
Another house near this one	–	21
<i>(total) (hyper)p(y)r(a)</i>	17	<i>k(okkia)</i> 13

John Serbos for the small vineyard (?) [p. 151]

The *chrysoteleia* of the convent of the Mother of God *Kecharitomene*, outside the chronological limits (?)⁶⁸ of the first indiction.

	<i>(nomismata)</i>	<i>(kokkia)</i>
Rent [of] the bakery	20	–
Rent [of] house next to the warehouse	2	12
Rent [of] house once belonging to Sophianos	5	–
House of Tzegoudes	–	15
House of Sophianos, the maker of rush mats	1	–
House of Latouros	1	–
House, a workshop of the same man		
Another house of his son-in-law	–	12
Rent [of] house near it	2	–
Two houses of Apedou	1	12
House of Mauraganos	–	21
House of Maurianos		
Another of the same man, total	1	12
The vine dressing		
House of the priest Zagaras	1	9
House of Thomais	–	21
House of Michael Charastias	1	3
House of Triantaphylos	–	12
House of Mauros	1	–
House of miller's wife	1	–
House of Charatzias	–	15
And a vineyard measuring a small <i>modios</i>	1	12
John Serbos, a small <i>modios</i>	6	18

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	(<i>nomismata</i>)	(<i>kokkia</i>)
Palaiologos as a result of purchase from Apedou	1	12
(total)	50	9
And from the tax of [<i>zoodochos</i>] Pege	10	12
And from the workshop	20	–
And from Galatas	3	–
The priest has [his] allowance for the year	20	–
The man who looks after the vineyard has [his allowance] for the year	42	–
The church has [its] expenditure, wax and oil	12	–

[p. 152]

Appendix B

with the [following] lines: O Queen full of grace, Irene presents a gift of the wood of the Cross to your convent. Inside it [is] the venerable wood with six gold caskets (?)⁶⁹ and with gold: the middle of this [is] silver the inner of the reliquary silver-gilt with six silver reliquaries the lids of which are silver-gilt depicting the scourging of Christ, the Crucifixion, the Descent from the Cross, the Entombment, the Resurrection, and Christ greeting the Marys, with a larger of silver with gold inlay and two other small

<Another> reliquary fully *tzapotos* inside and out⁷⁰ silver-gilt having depicted on its doors St. Peter and St. Paul and [the venerable] wood on the outside of the doors it has hierarchs [St. John] Chrysostom and St. Nicholas; on the inside on this side and that of the venerable wood [are] silver reliquaries and above and below is an encaustic inscription in [the following] lines: The faith of the empress Irene gained a protection of herself and her husband and children, the holy passion of the most revered of the relics of the martyrs also with large silver rings (?)⁷¹ and p....
..... and two glass jewels.

Another reliquary, silver-gilt all over for the venerable wood, having its lid depicting the Crucifixion with the Mother of God and [St. John] the Theologian and the evangelists; on the outside of the lid the <Crucifixion> and inside the reliquary the venerable wood completely covered with silver, and it has depicted on it the Crucifixion above and St. Stephen below and six <other> of the Cross St. John on this side and St. [Mary] Magdalene on the other side; it has and *katovlia* and a lock (?)⁷² with a silver key and

Another reliquary *tzapotos* all round having depicted above St. Demetrios and inside of St. Demetrios himself and on top with a deep purple cross. [p. 153]

..... silver-gilt, and two others, two silver-gilt icons, the first [of] St. Peter and the other [of] St. Paul.

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Suspended between these pillars, a small silver *tzapotos* having the four evangelists.

<Another icon> depicting the Dormition [and] the birth—both of the Mother of God—the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Annunciation, the Nativity of Christ, the Baptism, and Christ enthroned and the Mother of God similarly. <Another> [icon] St. Theo <Another> [icon]

About <painted on wood> and unadorned [icons].....

<Another> large icon <painted on wood> for the sanctuary [of] the most holy <Mother of God> and Child.

<Another> similar large icon [of St. John] the Theologian.

Another similar icon [of] St. Basil.

Another icon with wings, [of] the prophet Daniel and other saints.

Another of St. Eupraxia, Christ *Antiphonetes*, and the most holy Mother of God.

<Another> [of] the martyr St.

<Another>

Another icon [of the] Forty <Martyrs>.

<Another> of the most holy Mother of God.

Another icon

<Another>

<Another>

<Another>

And another icon [of] <the> three <hierarchs> ... [St. John] Chrysostom and St. Gregory the Theologian.

Another old icon.

Another similar icon.

Another icon [of] the Mother of God and Child with a silver-gilt frame with various saints depicted and various glass jewels.

Another new icon, painted on wood, [of] Christ enthroned, and below similarly the Mother of God and on this side and on that of both of them [Sts.] Peter and Paul and the Saints Theodore with a silver-gilt frame and a similar ring.

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Another small silver icon [of] the Crucifixion and another small one similarly of silver [of] the Nativity of Christ.

Two *amparateines*⁷³ icons with gold studs, one with a ring of silver with gold inlay, the other with a similar golden ring and [both] were ruined by age. [p. 154]

Concerning the *templa*, the lilies,⁷⁴ the crosses, the arched candlestands⁷⁵ above these, the holy doors, the capitals⁷⁶ the doorposts,⁷⁷ and the curtains woven with silver and gold fixed on the pillars.

..... of the holy sanctuary various decorated holy crosses of silver with gold inlay along with their complete *Hexapteryga* [and] various saints.

Three other [crosses] stand inside the *templon*, silver-gilt with various glass jewels and on their sides two silver-gilt lilies weighing six *litrai*, twenty-six *hexagia* and above [them] similar silver-gilt lilies weighing eight *litrai*.

The holy doors of the sanctuary of silver completely [covered with] gold inlay [depicting] the Annunciation, with all their [complete set of] identical studs, weighing altogether ten *litrai*, <that is> fifty-eight *hexagia* and their studs four.

The doorposts of the holy doors of silver completely [covered with] gold inlay depicting Christ and the Mother of God weigh three *litrai* *hexagia*.

<The curtains> of the four pillars bearing a representation of a cross [and the] portraits of <various> saints.

About the venerable crosses.

A silver-gilt cross which stands inside the sanctuary *tzapotos* from head to foot, silver-gilt, having on the front side of it and the back eleven [pieces of] silver enamelling with various glass jewels and a complete [set of] pendants⁷⁸ and six complete arched candlestands (?) above.⁷⁹

Another small cross completely made of gold with six similar pendants and various glass jewels.

Another plain silver cross *tzapotos*, small, with two bosses (?)⁸⁰ missing from it.

Another two small crosses, one of which is larger [and] has Christ depicted across the middle; on the back of it [is] an inscription; the other one [is] small and without a covering, but was of gold.

Another small black with

Another wooden [reliquary] containing the relics of St. Demetrianos. [p. 155]

Concerning the sacred patens and chalices and [other] patens.

One set of silver-gilt paten and chalice, together with a spoon, *ithmos* and asterisk, weighing eight *litrai* and one ounce.

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Another set of silver paten and chalice, plain, with bands of gold inlay, together with an *ithmos*, asterisk and spoon.

Another set of paten and chalice, similar in all respects [to the former set] together with an *ithmos*, asterisk and spoon. Both [paten and chalice] are of silver. These two similar sets of paten and chalice weigh twelve *litrai* eight ounces.

Another set of paten and chalice resting on a foot, plain, together with an *ithmos*, asterisk and spoon. Both [paten and chalice] are of silver, with a cross and stars of gold inlay. [The set] weighs five *litrai* and ten ounces.

Another small silver paten with gold inlay of octagonal shape for the sacrament; it weighs two *litrai* seven ounces.

Another large paten for the bread offerings

Notes on the Translation

1. The Doukas family, for which see Polemis, *Doukai*, pp. 1–15.
2. Irene, who was born ca. 1066, married Alexios Komnenos ca. 1078 and became empress in 1081 with the accession of her husband to the throne; see Brand and Cutler, “Irene Doukaina,” *ODB*, p. 1009.
3. Irene was the mother of Anna, Maria, John (the future emperor John II Komnenos), Andronikos, Isaac, Eudokia, Theodora, Michael, and Zoe. There are provisions below in [71] for the commemoration of all of her children except for Michael (born 1097) and Zoe (born 1098). Of Irene’s ten known grandchildren, only Anna’s daughter Irene Doukaina is mentioned in this document (see [71], [79], [80] below).
4. Eudokia Komnene, Irene’s third daughter, born 1089 or 1094 (Kazhdan, “Liste,” p. 236), for whom see Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 254–59, and [71], [79] below.
5. As [79] and [80] in fact were; cf. Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” p. 14.
6. Anna Komnene, Irene’s eldest daughter, born 1083, for whom see Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 176–97, and [71], [79], [80] below.
7. Maria Komnene, Irene’s second daughter, born 1085, for whom see Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 198–202, and [71], [80] below.
8. See also [73] below.
9. *praktikon*.
10. Unidentified quotation.
11. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 28, PG 31, col. 1417C.
12. Possible quotation from (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. line 611.
13. The candles were manufactured at the convent.
14. This chapter is a paraphrase of (22) *Evergetis* [37]; see Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” p. 76, n. 9, and p. 77, n. 11.
15. Feast of the Dormition, August 15; feast of the Transfiguration, August 6.
16. Andronikos Doukas, for whom see Polemis, *Doukai*, pp. 55–59, and Maria of Bulgaria, for whom see Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” p. 124, n. 37; see also [71] below.
17. Living children: Anna, Maria, the future emperor John, Andronikos, Isaac, Eudokia, Theodora, Michael, and Zoe, though Michael and Zoe are omitted in [71] below. Sons-in-law: Nikephoros Bryennios, husband of Anna; Nikephoros Katakalon, husband of Maria; and Constantine Kourtikios, husband of Theodora, are mentioned below in [71], while George Botaneiates, husband of Zoe, is not.
18. Feast of the Discovery of the Head of the Forerunner, February 24; feast of the Holy Martyrs, March 9; feast of the Annunciation, March 25.

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19. *C. Trull*. c. 89 (R&P 2.512); *Constitutiones apostolicae*, ed. J. B. Pitra, *Juris ecclesiastici graecorum historia et monumenta*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1864), pp. 284, 288–89.
20. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio in Pentecosten*, *PG* 36, col. 429B.
21. Fast of the Holy Apostles, from the Monday after the feast of All Saints (Sunday after Pentecost) through the vigil of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 28; fast of the Nativity, from November 15 until Christmas.
22. Feast of the Entrance into the Temple, November 21.
23. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 18 ([LR 18]), *PG* 31, col. 965.
24. In [2] and [51] above.
25. Birth of the Mother of God, September 8.
26. Feast of the Presentation of Our Lord in the Temple, February 2.
27. As discussed in [59] above.
28. Feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 29.
29. *Kecharitomene* and the male monastery of *Philanthropos*, for which see [77] and [79] below.
30. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 188.
31. Patriarch of Constantinople, (1084–1111); see Alexander Kazhdan and Anthony Cutler, “Nicholas III Grammatikos,” *ODB*, p. 1467.
32. John II Komnenos, the future emperor (1118–43) and Irene’s eldest son, born 1087, for whom see Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 203–28, and the bibliography for (28) *Pantokrator* below.
33. Irene of Hungary, died 1134, who is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8], [32], [35], and [44].
34. Andronikos Komnenos, Irene’s second son, born 1091, for whom see Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 229–37. He is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
35. Nikephoros Bryennios, husband of Irene’s daughter Anna Komnene, for whom see Alexander Kazhdan, “Bryennios, Nikephoros the Younger,” *ODB*, p. 331. He is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
36. Isaac Komnenos, Irene’s third son, born 1093, for whom see Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 238–54, and the bibliography for (29) *Kosmosoteira* below.
37. Nikephoros Katakalon Euphorbenos, husband of Irene’s daughter Maria Komnene, for whom see Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” p. 121, n. 27. He is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
38. Probably Constantine Kourtikios, first husband of Irene’s daughter Theodora Komnene; see Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” p. 121, n. 28, and p. 122, n. 35.
39. Irene Doukaina, Irene’s granddaughter by Anna Komnene and Nikephoros Bryennios, born ca. 1105, for whom see Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 326–30 and [79], [80] below.
40. Irene’s eldest daughter; see also [4] above and [79] below.
41. Irene’s second daughter; see also [4] above and [79] below.
42. Irene’s third daughter; see also [4] above and [79] below. She is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
43. Wife of Irene’s second son Andronikos Komnenos; see Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” p. 122, n. 33.
44. Wife of Irene’s third son Isaac Komnenos; see Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” p. 122, n. 34.
45. Theodora Komnene, Irene’s fourth daughter, born 1096, for whom see Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” p. 122, n. 35, and Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 259–64.
46. Irene’s father, who died in 1077; see also [34] above. He is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
47. Irene’s mother, who died shortly before 1095; see also [34] above. She is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
48. The *kouropalates* John Komnenos, father of Irene’s husband Alexios I Komnenos, who died 1067, for whom see Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 49–57. He is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
49. Anna Dalassena, mother of Alexios I Komnenos, patron of Christodoulos of Patmos, and founder of the Christ *Pantepoptes* monastery in Constantinople, for whom see Abrahamse, “Women’s Monasti-

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- cism,” p. 48, Charles Brand, “Dalassene, Anna,” *ODB*, p. 578, and Skoulatos, *Personnages*, pp. 20–24. She is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8], [32].
50. The *protostrator* Michael Doukas, Irene’s eldest brother, for whom see Polemis, *Doukai*, pp. 63–66. He is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
51. Theodora Doukaina, Irene’s youngest sister, for whom see Polemis, *Doukai*, p. 75. She is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
52. John Doukas, Irene’s second brother, monk and patron of *Evergetis*, for whom see Polemis, *Doukai*, pp. 66–70, and Skoulatos, *Personnages*, pp. 145–50.
53. Anna Doukaina, Irene’s younger sister and wife of George Palaiologos, a partisan of the Chalcedonian reform movement; see Polemis, *Doukai*, pp. 74–75. She is also commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
54. See also [34] above.
55. Tentative translation of the otherwise unattested *karikoxylon*. See Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” p. 126, n. 46.
56. *enchoregos*.
57. Original signature; see Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” p. 10.
58. Irene’s third daughter, who died after 1118; see also [3] and [71] above.
59. Irene’s eldest daughter, who did in fact retire to the convent after her husband Nikephoros Bryennios’ death ca. 1136–37; see also [4] and [71] above and [80] below.
60. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 91.
61. See the mentions of her in [71] above and [80] below; the date of her death is unknown.
62. See [3] above.
63. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 35–37.
64. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 373–74.
65. *hypotele ampelia*. For the tax on vineyards, see Gautier, “Kécharitôménè,” p. 150, n. 15.
66. For this convent, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 223–28.
67. *chrysoteleia*. On this tax, see A. Kazhdan, “Chrysoteleia,” *ODB*, p. 455.
68. *ta ekstos chronika indiktionos a’*.
69. *boutia*.
70. *tzapotos*: the meaning of this term is uncertain. It is thought to denote either a silver or gold revetment or the technique used to ornament the metal by means of a hammer and chisel. See Lemerle, *Actes de Saint-Pantéléémôn*, p. 68, note to lines 8 and 17. The term is still used in the latter sense (*skalistos*) by old silversmiths on Mount Athos, according to Professor Tsames of the University of Thessalonike who very kindly discussed the word *tzapotos* with us.
71. *kichroule*.
72. *tzikos*.
73. *amparateines*: we are most grateful to Professor Tsames for suggesting that the reference may be to *elektron*, since the latter is known in the demotic as *amparo*. See K. Langitsis, *Etymologiko Lexiko tes Neoellenikes* (Athens, 1978), s.v. *amparo*. For candelabra made of *elektron*, see (61) *Eleousa Inv.* [6] and footnote 57 where the meaning of *elektron* is discussed.
74. *krina*.
75. *kamarai*. On these candlestands, used also over icons, see (61) *Eleousa Inv.*, p. 1677, n. 56.
76. *kephalides*.
77. *harmosphinia*.
78. *meta kataseiston*: for which see Lemerle, *Actes de Saint-Pantéléémôn*, p. 68, note to line 11.
79. *kamarai*.
80. Reading *melon* for *milon*.

TWELFTH CENTURY

Document Notes

- [1] Free and self-governing constitution. A Group B chapter; makes minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [12]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [4], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [4], and (34) *Machairas* [21]. See also provisions in (23) *Pakourianos* [18], (24) *Christodoulos* [A16], (28) *Pantokrator* [69], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [31], (30) *Phoberos* [33], and (31) *Areia* [M12], [T12].
- [2] Maintenance of the cenobitic life. See also [51], [55] below. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [5], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5], and (47) *Philanthropos* [1], [2], [3], [4].
- [3] Role of the protector. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [3] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [3]. Amended by [80] below.
- [4] Special privileges for founder's relatives. A Subgroup A.1 chapter; cf. other treatments of this issue in (23) *Pakourianos* [25] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [50]. Amended by [80] below.
- [5] Number of nuns. A Subgroup A.2 chapter; cf. other treatments of this issue in (22) *Evergetis* [23], (23) *Pakourianos* [6], (28) *Pantokrator* [19], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [48], (30) *Phoberos* [42], (31) *Areia* [M4], (32) *Mamas* [5], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5].
- [6] Common residence in one dormitory. A Subgroup A.1 chapter.
- [7] No mandatory entrance gifts. A Group B chapter; makes minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [37] on irrevocability of voluntary offerings; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [5], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5], and (34) *Machairas* [59]. See also provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55], (30) *Phoberos* [53A] and (31) *Areia* [T6].
- [8] Conditions for acceptance of outside gifts. A Subgroup A.1 chapter; cf. treatments of this issue in (20) *Black Mountain* [85], (22) *Evergetis* [36], (23) *Pakourianos* [20], (31) *Areia* [M10], [T6], and (46) *Akropolites* [8].
- [9] Inalienability of consecrated property. A Subgroup A.2 chapter. For exceptions to the general rule, see [10] below.
- [10] Regulations for emergency alienations of movable property. A Group C chapter; makes minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [19].
- [11] Election of the superior. A Group B chapter; makes minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [13] for the investiture ceremony; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [1] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1]. See also provisions in (23) *Pakourianos* [5], (24) *Christodoulos* [A18], (26) *Luke of Messina* [11], [12], [13], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [32], and (30) *Phoberos* [35].
- [12] No partiality or favoritism in choice of officials. A Group B chapter; quotes (22) *Evergetis* [14], [16], [17]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [42], [45], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [41], [44], and (58) *Menoikeion* [18], [19].
- [13] Removal of the superior. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [2], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [2], and (34) *Machairas* [88], [89], [90]. See also provisions in (10) *Eleousa* [16], (23) *Pakourianos* [19], (24) *Christodoulos* [A20], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [41], and (30) *Phoberos* [35].
- [14] Qualifications and duties of the steward. A Subgroup A.2 chapter; cf. other treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [13], (24) *Christodoulos* [A21], (28) *Pantokrator* [64], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [34], (30) *Phoberos* [35], (31) *Areia* [T7], (32) *Mamas* [7], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [7].
- [15] Duties of two eunuch priests. A Subgroup A.1 chapter; cf. other treatments of qualifications of priests in (19) *Attaleiates* [30]; (23) *Pakourianos* [7], [24]; (39) *Lips* [6]; (40) *Anargyroi* [5]; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [79].
- [16] Confession of nuns to a eunuch spiritual father. A Subgroup A.2 chapter; cf. later provisions for nuns (39) *Lips* [11] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [111].
- [17] Visitation procedures. A Subgroup A.2 chapter; the ban on male visitors is analogous to the ban on women in (22) *Evergetis* [39] and related documents. See also later provisions for visitations in (39)

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- Lips* [15], [16]; (40) *Anargyroi* [5]; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [75], [76]. The absolute ban on male visitors is amended in [80] below.
- [18] Installation ceremony for officials. A Group B chapter; makes minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [29]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [6], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [6], and (34) *Machairas* [92]. See also the provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [35] and (30) *Phoberos* [18].
- [19] Duties of the sacristan. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis* [32] except for the brief quotation of the latter's provision of tenure of office for officials; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [9], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [9], and (58) *Menoikeion* [5].
- [20] Duties of the ecclesiarchisssa. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [8], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [8], and (58) *Menoikeion* [4]; cf. (34) *Machairas* [93].
- [21] Duties of the food buyer. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with later documents. See also (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [88].
- [22] Duties of the wine stewardess. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents.
- [23] Duties of the provisioner. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [11] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [11]; cf. (34) *Machairas* [96].
- [24] Duties of the two treasurers; cash reserve fund. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [10] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [10]. (23) *Pakourianos* [26] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [94] also provide for cash reserves.
- [25] Duties of the refectorian; exhortation to all officials. A Group B chapter; copies (22) *Evergetis* [31] and [33]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [23] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [23]. See also provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [37], [39], (30) *Phoberos* [48], and (58) *Menoikeion* [10].
- [26] Duties of the disciplinary official. A Subgroup A.2 chapter, not shared with other documents. See different treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [31], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [37], (30) *Phoberos* [48], and (34) *Machairas* [114].
- [27] Duties of the work organizers. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. See (20) *Black Mountain* [80], (34) *Machairas* [86], and (37) *Auxentios* [7] for officials with similar responsibilities.
- [28] Duties of the treasurers of the wardrobe. A Subgroup A.2 chapter, not shared with other documents. See different provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [30], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [36], and (30) *Phoberos* [47].
- [29] Duties of the gatekeeper. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [12], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [12], and (58) *Menoikeion* [7]; cf. (34) *Machairas* [116].
- [30] Length of the novitiate. A Group B chapter; paraphrases (22) *Evergetis* [37]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [22], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22], and (34) *Machairas* [55], [56]. See also treatments in (23) *Pakourianos* [25], (24) *Christodoulos* [A26], (25) *Fragala* [A8], [B8], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55], and (30) *Phoberos* [51].
- [31] Qualifications and duties of the property managers. A Subgroup A.2 chapter, not shared with other documents. See different provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [34], (23) *Pakourianos* [16], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [40], (30) *Phoberos* [49], and (34) *Machairas* [109].
- [32] Offices of the first, third and sixth hours. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [4]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [47], cf. [31], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46], and (34) *Machairas* [31], [36]. See also treatments in (20) *Black Mountain* [10], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [9], and (30) *Phoberos* [9].
- [33] Regulation of the *mesoria*, the liturgy, and reception of the eucharist. A Group C chapter; makes minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [4], [5]. See also treatments in (10) *Eleousa* [7], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [14], (30) *Phoberos* [11], (32) *Mamas* [32], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [32], (34) *Machairas* [36], [37], [38], and (58) *Menoikeion* [16].
- [34] Offerings of bread at the liturgy. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents.
- [35] Prescriptions for the ninth hour, vespers, and the night office. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [6]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [47] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]. See also treat-

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- ments in (10) *Eleousa* [7], (20) *Black Mountain* [11], [12], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15], (30) *Phoberos* [12], and (34) *Machairas* [42], [43].
- [36] Office of compline. A Group C chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [6]. See also treatments in (20) *Black Mountain* [13], [14], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15], (30) *Phoberos* [12], (32) *Mamas* [47], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46], and (34) *Machairas* [44].
- [37] Night office. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [6]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [47] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]. See also treatments in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15] and (30) *Phoberos* [12].
- [38] Midnight office. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [6]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [47], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]; cf. (34) *Machairas* [45], [46]. See also treatments in (20) *Black Mountain* [15], [16], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15], and (30) *Phoberos* [12].
- [39] Office of matins; celebration of vigils. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [6] for discussion of matins; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [47], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46], and (34) *Machairas* [39]. See also treatments in (20) *Black Mountain* [17], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15], and (30) *Phoberos* [13].
- [40] Behavior in the refectory. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [9]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [17], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], and (34) *Machairas* [63]. See also provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [33], (23) *Pakourianos* [8], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [21], and (30) *Phoberos* [21].
- [41] Discipline of the disorderly at meals. A Group C chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [9]. See also treatments in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [21], (30) *Phoberos* [21], and (34) *Machairas* [63].
- [42] No arguments about precedence in seating. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [9]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [36], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [35], and (34) *Machairas* [64]. See also provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [22], (30) *Phoberos* [22], and (31) *Areia* [T3].
- [43] No sharing food and drink. A Group C chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [9]. See also treatments in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [23] and (30) *Phoberos* [22].
- [44] Communal meals obligatory except for the sick. See also [47] below and (10) *Eleousa* [13]. A Subgroup A.2 chapter, not shared with other documents.
- [45] Second sitting for meal servers. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [17] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17]. See also provision in (28) *Pantokrator* [9].
- [46] Diet on ordinary days. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [17] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17]. See also provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [37], [38], [47], [57], (23) *Pakourianos* [8], (28) *Pantokrator* [12], and (43) *Kasoulon* [2], [5].
- [47] Lenten diet. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [10]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [18], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], and (34) *Machairas* [67], [68], [69], [70], [71], [72], [73]. See also provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [56] ff.; (23) *Pakourianos* [10]; (28) *Pantokrator* [12]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [25], [26], [27], [28]; (30) *Phoberos* [27], [28]; (31) *Areia* [T5]; and (43) *Kasoulon* [9].
- [48] Diet for the fasts of the Holy Apostles and the Nativity. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [10]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [18], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], and (34) *Machairas* [76]. See also provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [38R], [54], (23) *Pakourianos* [10], (28) *Pantokrator* [12], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [28], (30) *Phoberos* [29], [30], (31) *Areia* [T5], and (43) *Kasoulon* [3].
- [49] No secret eating. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [20] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [20]. See also provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [24], [69], [71], [72]; (22) *Evergetis* [9], [22]; (28) *Pantokrator* [9]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [23], [47]; and (30) *Phoberos* [23], [41].
- [50] superior to inspect cells. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [20] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [20]. See also provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [27], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [53], and (30) *Phoberos* [45].
- [51] Advantages of cenobiticism; attendance at common table mandatory. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents.
- [52] Communal purchase and provision of clothing. A Subgroup A.2 chapter, not shared with other docu-

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- ments; cf. other treatments of this issue in (20) *Black Mountain* [75], (22) *Evergetis* [25], (23) *Pakourianos* [9], (28) *Pantokrator* [22], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [52], (30) *Phoberos* [44], (31) *Areia* [T4], (32) *Mamas* [28], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28], and (34) *Machairas* [102].
- [53] No external nuns nor imposed guests. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [26], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26], and (58) *Menoikeion* [11]. See also treatment of this issue in (31) *Areia* [M15].
- [54] Nuns tonsured elsewhere welcomed. A Subgroup A.2 chapter, not shared with other documents; cf. other treatments of this issue in (22) *Evergetis* [37], (23) *Pakourianos* [25], (30) *Phoberos* [52], (32) *Mamas* [22], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22], and (34) *Machairas* [60].
- [55] Maintenance of the cenobitic life. Repeats some of the text of [2] above; cf. [51]. A Group D chapter; independent of (22) *Evergetis*; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [25] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [25].
- [56] Equality in food, drink and clothing. A Group B chapter; copies (22) *Evergetis* [26]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [34], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33], and (34) *Machairas* [106]. See also provisions in (10) *Eleousa* [4], [13], (23) *Pakourianos* [4], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [53], and (30) *Phoberos* [45].
- [57] Provision for a doctor, care of sick nuns. A Group B chapter; makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [41]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [34], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33], and (34) *Machairas* [108]. See also provisions in (23) *Pakourianos* [28], (28) *Pantokrator* [10], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [61], and (30) *Phoberos* [55], [56].
- [58] Bathing. A Subgroup A.2 chapter, not shared with other documents; cf. other treatments of this issue in (22) *Evergetis* [28], (28) *Pantokrator* [13], [15], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [97], [113], (30) *Phoberos* [46], (31) *Areia* [T3], (32) *Mamas* [28], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28].
- [59] Feast of the Dormition. A Subgroup A.2 chapter, not shared with other documents; cf. other treatments of patronal feasts in (10) *Eleousa* [13]; (22) *Evergetis* [11]; (23) *Pakourianos* [11]; (28) *Pantokrator* [7]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [10], [29], [65]; (30) *Phoberos* [32]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [48]; and (34) *Machairas* [27], cf. [29].
- [60] Feast of the birth of the Mother of God and other feasts. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. See also treatment in (34) *Machairas* [28].
- [61] Feast of Christmas. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. See also treatments in (28) *Pantokrator* [7] and (34) *Machairas* [34].
- [62] Feast of the Presentation of the Lord. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents.
- [63] Lighting of the church for Holy Week and other feasts. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. See also the provision in (28) *Pantokrator* [7].
- [64] Daily charitable distributions at the gate. A Group C chapter; makes minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [38]. See also treatments in (28) *Pantokrator* [8], [11], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [6], (30) *Phoberos* [54], (32) *Mamas* [13], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [13], (34) *Machairas* [118].
- [65] Monthly reading of the *typikon*. A Group C chapter; makes minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [43]. See also treatments in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [59], (30) *Phoberos* [59], (32) *Mamas* [16], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [16], (34) *Machairas* [167], and (58) *Menoikeion* [9].
- [66] Lighting of the church. See also [67], [68] below. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. (28) *Pantokrator* [6] makes a similar provision.
- [67] Lighting of crater lamps. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. These lamps also mentioned in (28) *Pantokrator* [6].
- [68] Illumination with candles. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. See also (28) *Pantokrator* [6].
- [69] Maintenance of the aqueduct and water pipes. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. See also provisions in (32) *Mamas*, Prologue.
- [70] Burial of nuns; commemorations for nuns and benefactors. A Group B chapter; makes minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [36] for the regulation of commemorations; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [39], [40]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [39]; and (34) *Machairas* [156], [157]. See also provisions in (21) *Roidion* [B12]; (23) *Pakourianos* [20], [21]; (28) *Pantokrator* [56]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [54]; and (30) *Phoberos*

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- [50].
- [71] Commemorations for members of the imperial family. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. See other provisions for commemorations of the founder and his relatives in (22) *Evergetis* [36], Appendix; (23) *Pakourianos* [21]; (24) *Christodoulos* [B5]; (28) *Pantokrator* [8], [32], [44], [72]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [7], [11], [64], [72], [91]; (30) *Phoberos* [50]; (32) *Mamas* [40]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [50]; and (34) *Machairas* [154].
- [72] Observances for Holy Thursday and the Epiphany. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. See other treatments of the feast of Epiphany in (4) *Stoudios* [A38], [B37] and (20) *Black Mountain* [92].
- [73] No structural alterations to the convent. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents.
- [74] Convent to remain unobserved from all sides. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents.
- [75] Male singers banned; procession on the eve of Palm Sunday; no handiwork during services. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents, made up of miscellaneous disciplinary regulations. See also (39) *Lips* [39] for the ban on male singers.
- [76] Burial and commemoration of the founder's tonsured relatives. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents.
- [77] Preservation of the *typikon* and the inventory. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. See also security provisions in (19) *Attaleiates* [40], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [78], and (32) *Mamas* [Second *Semeioma*].
- [78] Founder's final instructions. A Group B chapter; makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [42] and a part of [43]; text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [46], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45], and (34) *Machairas* [163], [166], [168]. See also provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [57] and (30) *Phoberos* [59]. Note the empress' original signature at the end of this chapter.
- [79] Inheritance rights to secular residences within the nunnery. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. According to Gautier, "Kécharitôméné," p. 14, this chapter and [80] below are in a different hand from the rest of the document.
- [80] Succession to the protectorate; access by male relatives; victualing rights for female relatives; door to the imperial buildings. A Subgroup A.1 chapter, not shared with other documents. Amends [3] by designating an alternate protectress, [4] by conceding additional patronal privileges, and [17] by allowing male relatives restricted access.
- Delimitation of the convent. See similar property delimitations in (35) *Skoteine* [40] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [145].
- [Appendix A] Lists of vineyards and taxes due. Note that properties are not tax exempt. See contemporary inventories of immovable properties in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 9] and (28) *Pantokrator* [65], [66].
- [Appendix B] Inventory. See contemporary inventories of movable properties in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 5], [INV 6], [INV 7], [INV 8], [INV 12] ff.; (23) *Pakourianos* [33B]; and (31) *Areia* [T11].

28. *Pantokrator*: *Typikon* of Emperor John II Komnenos for the Monastery of Christ *Pantokrator* in Constantinople

Date: October 1136

Translator: Robert Jordan

Edition employed: Paul Gautier, “Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator,” *REB* 32 (1974), 1–145, with text at 27–131.

Manuscripts: Parisinus graecus 389, fols. 1–61 (before 1740); Codex 85, nunc 79, Theological School, Halki, now in the Patriarchal Library, Istanbul, fols. 69–122v (1749).¹

Other translation: French, by Gautier, “Pantocrator,” pp. 26–130.

Institutional History

A. Description of the Foundation

The monastery of Christ *tou Pantokratoros* “The Ruler of All” was built by Emperor John II Komnenos (1118–43) on a hill in the north central part of Constantinople.² In some sources the work is attributed to his spouse Irene, daughter of King Ladislav of Hungary.³ The construction is attributed to an architect named Nikephoros. The foundation included a triple church, with discrete but physically joined facilities dedicated to Christ *Pantokrator* (south church), the Archangel Michael (central church), and the Mother of God *Eleousa* (north church). This structure survives as the mosque *Zeyrek Kilise Camii* in modern Istanbul. Archaeological evidence suggests that the *Pantokrator* was built first, followed by the *Eleousa*, and lastly by the Archangel Michael, which was designed to serve as an imperial mortuary chapel for the Komnenian dynasty.⁴ There was also a famous hospital attached to the foundation as well as an old age home. A lepers’ sanatorium associated with the foundation was in a separate location. All of these structural components of the foundation are mentioned in the *typikon* translated below.

B. Pantokrator under the Komnenian Dynasty

Though it was technically an independent monastery (see [69] below), the Komnenian emperors employed *Pantokrator* for many of the usual purposes of more traditional imperial monasteries. Upon his sudden accession to the throne upon John II’s accidental death in 1143, Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) ordered the *mezas domestikos* John Axouch to confine his older brother Isaac Komnenos there until he himself was able to reach Constantinople. Both John II and his wife Irene were buried there, in 1143 and 1134 respectively. In 1158, Manuel buried his wife Bertha (Irene) of Sulzbach in the mortuary chapel, and in 1180 he himself was buried there too.⁵

The monastery also began its famous collection of icons and relics at this time, including an icon of St. Demetrios brought by Manuel I from Thessalonike in 1149, and the marble slab on

which Jesus Christ was thought to have been laid out for burial, brought by the same emperor from Ephesos in 1169/70.⁶

The first known superior of the foundation was Joseph Hagioglykerites, who is mentioned in a source in 1149 in connection with *Pantokrator*'s acquisition of the icon of St. Demetrios and also as the donor of an undated manuscript to the monastery of the Mother of God *Pantanassa* on the tiny island of Hagia Glykeria south of Cape Akritas where he himself had once been a monk.⁷ Since (28) *Pantokrator* [24] limits the pool for the selection of a superior to monks already at the head monastery or its dependencies, Gautier ("Pantocrator," p. 22) supposed that Joseph was either John II's own first appointee as superior or else *Pantanassa* must have become a dependency before his elevation to the office. He apparently served until his death, circa 1154–55.

*C. Pantokrator during the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–61)*⁸

The foundation was located in the quarter of the city conceded to the Venetians, who used it as a repository for valuable relics and the famous icon of the Mother of God *Hodegetria* that they had forcibly removed from Hagia Sophia in 1206. Other famous relics of the monastery, including a head of St. Blasios sent by the Latin emperor Baldwin II (1240–61) to St. Louis IX (1226–70) of France, were dispersed to various locations in western Europe. It is not known whether the monastery continued to be inhabited by Greek monks during the era of Latin rule, or whether they were replaced by monks from western Europe.

D. Pantokrator under the Palaiologan Dynasty (1261–1453)

Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–82) is reported in a traveler's account to have sought out the icon of the *Hodegetria* at the *Pantokrator* immediately upon the Greek reconquest of Constantinople so it could be paraded on August 15, 1261, as he made his re-entry to the city.⁹ A report that Michael VIII's Genoese allies set fire to *Pantokrator* to avenge the Venetian destruction of one of their churches in Acre probably refers to some dependency rather than the principal foundation.¹⁰ Michael VIII chose Theodosios of Villehardouin, then superior of another monastery, to serve as the *Pantokrator*'s spiritual director, circa 1261–62.¹¹ In 1265, the emperor entrusted Theodosios with the care of his illegitimate daughter Mary while she was traveling to the Mongol khan Hülegü to consummate a marriage alliance. On his return, Theodosios retired to the monastery of the Mother of God *ton Hodegon* rather than to *Pantokrator*, which suggests that he must have resigned the office of superior of the latter institution. Considered as a candidate for the patriarchate of Constantinople in 1275, Theodosios was actually named patriarch of Antioch in 1277 or 1278, serving until 1283 or 1284.

Early in his reign, Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1325) used the monastery as a place of imprisonment for opponents of his anti-unionist policy vis-à-vis the Roman church.¹² The son of the Serbian king Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321), Stefan Dečanski, was imprisoned here too in 1313–20, along with his own two sons.¹³ Alexios Philanthropenos may also have been imprisoned here after being blinded at the order of the emperor.¹⁴ Andronikos II also resumed use of the monastery as an imperial burial site, interring his second wife Irene here in 1317.¹⁵ Eight members of the ruling dynasty were buried at *Pantokrator* in the fifteenth century, including the emperors Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425) and John VIII Palaiologos (1425–48).¹⁶

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In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, several Russian pilgrims, attracted by *Pantokrator*'s famous icons and relics, visited the foundation and left brief accounts, including Stephen of Novgorod (ca. 1349), Alexander the Clerk (1394–95), Zosima the Deacon (1419–22), and the Russian Anonymous (1424–34).¹⁷

Sometime between 1422 and 1425, the courtier and historian George Sphrantzes got Manuel II to choose his friend Makarios Makres as superior of *Pantokrator*.¹⁸ *Pantokrator* had fallen on hard times, its buildings in bad shape and its community down to only six monks. Sphrantzes and Makres collaborated in restoring and improving the monastery. They also managed to double the number of resident monks. At about this same time, Manuel II's son Andronikos, once despot of Thessalonike, retired to *Pantokrator* as a monk and died there in 1426. Later in 1429–30, Makarios served as John VIII's envoy to Pope Martin V (1417–31) for negotiations on the reunification of the Greek and Latin churches.¹⁹ After the conclusion of his mission, Makarios returned to *Pantokrator*, where he died in 1431.

Makarios' immediate successor may have been Gerontios, perhaps *Pantokrator*'s last superior.²⁰ Though Gerontios took part at the reunification council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–39) and signed the decree of union in 1439, he became an ardent anti-unionist on his return to Constantinople in 1440.

E. Conversion into a Mosque under the Ottoman Empire

The monastery apparently ceased operation upon the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453. Zeyrek Mehmet Efendi converted the triple church into a mosque towards the end of the fifteenth century under its present name, Zeyrek Kilise Camii.²¹

F. Fate of the Typikon

The original *typikon* came into the manuscript and book collection of John Nicolas Mavrocordato, dragoman or “official interpreter” of the Sublime Porte, the court of the Ottoman sultan in Constantinople, who later served as *voivode* or governor of Moldavia (1709) and Wallachia (1716).²² His library was dispersed after his death in 1730 and the *typikon* came into the possession of the monastery of *Blakserai*, a dependency in Constantinople of the Peloponnesian monastery of *Mega Spelaion*. Copies were made, one before 1740, that is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Parisinus graecus 389), and another in 1749, which also contains a transcription of (19) *Attaleiates*, that was once in the library of the Theological School on the island of Halki and is now in the Patriarchal Library, Istanbul (Halki 85, nunc 79).²³ By discovering the Halki manuscript and another copy derived from it on a journey to the Ottoman Empire, the Russian scholar P. Bezobrazov was able to publish short excerpts from (28) *Pantokrator* for the first time in 1887.²⁴ The *editio princeps* by Dmitrievsky in his collection of monastic *typika* followed in 1895, is based on the same Halki manuscript.²⁵

In 1902, however, Spyridon Lampros discovered the original *typikon* at the *Mega Spelaion* monastery near Kalavrita, still bearing the autograph signature of John II Komnenos. He published some extended excerpts from the document in 1908, but unfortunately (as fate would have it), neither he nor Nikos Bees, who announced his intention to do so in 1909, prepared an edition.²⁶ On July 17, 1934, a fire swept the monastery library, destroying the original *typikon* and virtually all of the other manuscripts in its collection.²⁷

*G. Archaeological Evidence*²⁸

The three parallel churches built by John II Komnenos are still standing and constitute the largest and most important surviving architectural monument of the middle Byzantine period. Only the central church building, the former imperial mausoleum, is now in service as a mosque. Cyril Mango located the site of the tomb of Manuel I, and a Komnenian sarcophagus, perhaps of John II's wife Irene, is now in the museum at Hagia Sophia. The inlaid marble pavement of the south church building was uncovered by the Byzantine Institute in 1953, and structural repairs were carried out by the Turkish authorities in 1966–67.

Outside the mosque to the south are ruins that belong to the monastic complex but they have not yet been studied. At the base of the hill to the southwest, there are also the remains of a large cistern associated with the original foundation.

Analysis

This *typikon* is undoubtedly the best known of all the Byzantine monastic foundation documents thanks to the author's establishment and detailed description of a hospital [36]–[55] associated with the foundation.²⁹ Though justifiably famous, this philanthropic institution was only a part of a large monastic foundation governed to some extent by principles of the monastic reform movement.

A. Lives of the Monks

1. Number of Monks

The emperor provides [19] for “not less than eighty monks” at this foundation, making it one of the largest of those represented by the monastic foundation documents. Fifty of these were to be responsible for the performance of liturgical services, while thirty were to fill service functions as cooks, bakers, gardeners, kitchen helpers and bath attendants. Another fifty salaried members of the clergy of various ranks are assigned [32] to provide liturgical services at the church dedicated to the Mother of God *Eleousa*. Also reckoned separately are [28] the seventy monks and six servants stationed at the foundation's six dependencies.

2. Liturgical Duties

The emperor provides instructions for the performance of liturgical services in all three of the foundation's churches: the main church of the *Pantokrator* [1], the church of St. Michael [35] where the imperial tombs were to be located, and in the church of the Mother of God *Eleousa* [33]. The large contingent of clergy assigned to the *Eleousa* were divided into two groups which took turns singing the liturgy of St. Andrew that was also celebrated in the Imperial Palace. The emperor also provides prescriptions for the illumination of all three churches.³⁰

3. The Novitiate

Applicants seeking admission to the monastery were not to be admitted [16] without a period of testing, the length of which is not specified. Citing canon law, the emperor also provides that monks tonsured elsewhere were not to be admitted without first gaining permission from their current superiors.

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4. Sacramental Life

The Holy Eucharist was to be made available [9] to the monks on feast days. Like the author of (22) *Evergetis* [15], the emperor obliges [20] his monks to offer confession to their superior, or else to the superior's designee who should be an old and pious monk. In accordance with canon law, confessors are obliged to obtain permission "through episcopal authorization" to hear confessions.

5. Cenobitic Lifestyle

The emperor implicitly endorses [9], cf. [20] the provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [9], [22] on sharing common meals and forbidding secret eating. He also envisions [22] a communal provision of clothing to the monks. He evidently held [28] alternatives to cenobiticism, such as the kelliotic lifestyle practiced in several of the dependent institutions of the foundation, in disfavor, but did not attempt their abolition. There is no ringing endorsement of the superiority of the cenobitic lifestyle, however, as in (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], [51].

6. Diet

There were to be two meals daily on ordinary days. The emperor provides regulations for both dinner [9] and supper [11]. As in (27) *Kecharitomene* [45], there was a second sitting at dinner for the servers, here joined also by those who were legitimately delayed from prompt attendance by their duties. The supper seems to have been more bountiful than usual for many Byzantine monasteries: it consisted of bread, wine, seasonal fruits and vegetables, and "whatever else is suitable for eating at dinner." Fairly detailed prescriptions are found in [12] for both fast days and ordinary days. The emperor permits the superior to make changes from "strict conformity to the canons" in the community's diet during fasts.

7. Personal Possessions

There is no outright endorsement of monastic poverty, as in (27) *Kecharitomene* [50]. The clergy stationed at the church of the *Eleousa* were to receive [32] both monetary and in-kind remuneration for their services on a graduated pay scale; likewise for the servants in the philanthropic institutions. Those clergy who participated in the weekly vigil service for the forgiveness of the emperor's sins were to receive [31] an additional cash payment, as they would [33] also on the celebration of the patronal feast of the Mother of God. If they missed the feast, however, they were to be subject to a fine payable from their personal resources. Also, the priest stationed at the foundation's mortuary chapel was allowed [56] to keep any donations offered to him, and the kelliotic monks in most of the foundation's dependencies [28] surely also had their private incomes.

8. Care of Sick Monks

The presence of a fully staffed hospital on the premises of the foundation facilitated the care of monks who fell sick. The emperor instructs [10] the superior to see to it that appropriate care was provided to an ailing monk in his cell. Alternatively, a six-bed sanatorium (*triklinarion*) could be made available for rest and recuperation.

9. Bathing

Following a gradually liberalizing attitude towards the use of baths by monks observable since

the late eleventh century (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [28] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [58]), the emperor permits [15] the monks to bathe twice a month except for the Lenten fast, when it was not to be allowed [13] at all, and during other fasts when the frequency was reduced to once a month. Supplies for bathing were to be maintained [10] in the sanatorium for both ailing and healthy monks. Elderly residents of the old age home were also to be bathed [60] twice a month in the separate hospital bath. The sick are allowed to bathe [46] twice a week in this bath, or more frequently if the attending doctor so ordered.

10. Relations with Family

Although the emperor does not address this subject directly, he does forbid [18] women entry to the monastery, “even if they are distinguished ladies and are adorned by a devout life and a noble birth.” In this respect he was even stricter than the author of (22) *Evergetis* [39], who allows women to come in “rarely and carefully and unexpectedly.” At this foundation, however, women were to be allowed entrance only under exceptional circumstances, such as for the burial of kinfolk or for memorial services. The emperor also strictly enjoins [21] the monks not to be absent from the monastery overnight. Barring an exceptional need, even the stewards were to be bound [64] by this requirement.

11. Burial

There was a cemetery at Medikariou, one of the foundation’s dependencies, apparently across the Golden Horn, where the emperor intended [56] for a funerary chapel to be built. A priest from the dependency was to celebrate a weekly liturgy for the departed monks buried there and legitimately receive donations (*paramythiai*) for this service, presumably from relatives of the deceased.

B. Constitutional Matters

1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

Towards the end of the *typikon* and as an apparent afterthought, the emperor provides [69] for the constitutional independence of his foundation. While this provision clearly states that the foundation was to be exempt from imperial, governmental, and ecclesiastical control, the chapter lacks the passion and rigor of its counterparts in earlier documents, e.g., (22) *Evergetis* [12] or (27) *Kecharitomene* [1].

The emperor also subordinates [28] six older monasteries as dependencies of his new foundation. Five of these, Monokastanon, Anthemiou, Medikariou, Galakrenai, and Satyros, were populated by *kelliotai* who were to be allowed to continue with their traditional monastic lifestyle (cf. the less indulgent attitude towards *kelliotai* shown by the author of (21) *Roidion* [A2]). Some of these *kelliotai* were so-called internal monks and others external monks “according to the decision of those supervising them and without due canonical observance or the maintenance of the monastic way of life.” This suggests that these institutions were imperial monasteries (except for Satyros which is said to have been patriarchal) that had until recently been administered under the *charistike*. In any event, the emperor orders that a list (*katastichon*) be drawn up of those monks entitled to support. A sixth dependency, Nossiai, had twelve resident cenobitic monks and six servants, and was to be governed by its own *typikon*. None of these monasteries was to have its

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own superior, but they were to be governed directly by the superior of the *Pantokrator* monastery instead. Each of them had [64] their own stewards to look after their financial affairs, though these officials were subordinated to one of the stewards of the main monastery. A seventh dependency, Bordai, appears [65] only in the inventory towards the end of the document.

2. The Protectorate

As another apparent afterthought, the emperor adds [70] an important constitutional feature by designating his son the *basileus* Lord Alexios as the defender and supporter of the monastery. His untitled position was analogous to that of the protectress in (27) *Kecharitomene* [3]. The emperor intends that the office should be inherited by the “leading member of our family.” He cautions that the incumbent had no license to exploit his position to seize any of the assets of the foundation.

3. Election of the Superior

Evidently the emperor had already chosen the incumbent superior, and like his mother Irene, the author of (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], he must have considered this to be his lifetime prerogative. As for later, he instructs [24] that the superior will select from among the monks not only of the *Pantokrator* but also of its dependent institutions three candidates worthy to be his successor. After the superior’s death, the community was to discuss the nominations and select the new superior by consensus. If there was no agreement on one of the nominees, the determination was to be made by a random choice of lots by an unlettered member of the community. The emperor also provides for one of his successors to add the name of an especially worthy but hitherto overlooked candidate to the list of those being considered, though this had to be done at the instigation of a member of the community, and even then the emperor’s nomination was still not formally determinative.

4. Installation of the Superior

The emperor provides [25] regulations for the installation of the new superior. The patriarch was to issue an ordinance (*pittakion*) instructing one of the bishops resident in the capital to install the nominee “so that strict adherence to the canon may be maintained” and “the independence of the monastery may in no way be disturbed” as a result of this bishop’s *sphragis* of the new superior.

Earlier, especially when relations between founders and the ecclesiastical hierarchy were bad, the canonical prerogatives of the local bishop or (in Constantinople) the patriarch with respect to the superior’s installation were often simply ignored, as in (22) *Evergetis* [13]. Later, when there had been some improvement, some founders like the author of (30) *Phoberos* [35] were willing to recognize the hierarchy’s prerogatives. In (28) *Pantokrator* [25] the emperor chooses a middle course, distancing the patriarch by one remove from the installation ceremonies.

5. Role of the Superior

Though the emperor is not anxious to say so forthrightly, by default the superior is [26] the effective master of the foundation here, just as in other reform monasteries. Unlike other cautious founders such as the author of (23) *Pakourianos* [5], [18], however, the emperor was willing to grant [23] a considerable amount of latitude to the superior to make necessary changes in the daily life of the monks or the liturgical rituals in the church on account of an individual’s illness or other good reason. We have already mentioned his concession [12] to the superior allowing him to

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make changes in the monks' diet. The emperor also authorizes [34] the superior to appoint the numerous members of the clergy to their posts in the church of the *Eleousa*. When necessary, the superior was to appoint [64] a new steward in consultation with the other stewards. Though there is no direct confirmation, he may have appointed the rest of the monastery's officials as well.

6. Patronal Privileges

As noted, the emperor appears to have exercised [24] his patronal right to appoint the superior. He may have appointed other officials as well, but if so, he was not anxious to assert his right to do so. Although his declaration of the foundation's independence is made [69] without fanfare, the emperor evidently took it very seriously, for he makes it clear [70] that the incumbent of the protectorate should expect no compensation from the monastery for his services.

A note at the end of the document's inventory indicates [65] that, like his mother in (27) *Kecharitomene* [79], the emperor had provided some sort of private residence for himself nearby the monastery. His intentions for this dwelling are lost in a lacuna in the manuscript. In the document as we now have it, the emperor's explicit claims of patronal privileges for himself are limited to the traditional liturgical offerings and posthumous commemorations [8], [44] cf. [72]. In a way the entire foundation was meant to serve as a kind of commemorative offering for the benefit of the souls of the emperor and other members of the imperial family. To this end the hospital staff and even "as many of the sick as are able" were not exempt from obligation, and accordingly are asked [44] to participate in annual commemorative processions to the church of the *Eleousa*.

7. Security for the *Typikon* and Other Documents

The remarkable preservation of the autograph of the *typikon* down to modern times occurred despite the fact that the emperor chose to issue no particular directives for the security of this important document. He was more concerned about a secret testament that he intended to draw up [68] later. This latter document was to be stored in the monastery's sacristy and opened only after the emperor's death and after notification of the patriarch in the presence of five specified witnesses from the monastery and elsewhere.

C. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

The emperor follows contemporary practice in seeking to get the superior more directly involved in the financial administration of the foundation. Yet rather than consolidating the responsibility for the foundation's finances into the hands of a single steward supported by one or more assistant treasurers, as in (22) *Evergetis* [13], [30] or (27) *Kecharitomene* [14], [24], the emperor chose to establish [64] no fewer than four stewards (all resident monks): one for the chief monastery, a second for the six dependencies, a third for the church of the *Eleousa*, and a fourth for the hospital and the old age home. The superior was not to make any important decisions without consulting them "for in the meeting together and advice of a greater number, the management of these matters will be carried out better."

2. Entrance Gifts Not Mandatory

Following the lead of the Evergetian reformers, the emperor declares [17] that entrance gifts will

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not be required as a prerequisite for admission to the monastery. The justification offered here, that otherwise “freedom will be given to anyone to be admitted to the monastery,” implies that in pre-reform foundations preference was given to applicants who offered the largest gifts regardless of their personal suitability. Here, the emperor requires that character, training, righteousness, and virtue should rank above (but perhaps not exclude?) consideration of “gold or any gift” offered. The emperor then authorizes the superior to make special accommodations (perhaps disciplinary concessions) for applicants offering valuable professional qualifications or who come from “a preeminent family” or were brought up in a “luxurious way of life.”

3. Endowment of the Foundation

An inventory incorporated into the *typikon* illustrates [65] the range of properties and other sources of income required to support a foundation of this size. Among these, the six dependent monasteries mentioned above [27] must themselves have been richly endowed with incomes considerably beyond what was required to sustain the small number of mostly kelliotic monks stationed in them. One of these monasteries, Galakrenai, had been donated to the foundation by the emperor’s late wife Irene along with various other properties.

4. Commemorative Observances

As elsewhere, the willingness of the monks to conduct commemorative observances in exchange for donations from outside benefactors was another potentially important source of income for the foundation (in this era, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [71]). The emperor specifically mentions [8] his nephew John Arbantenos who donated a house and estates producing a considerable income, in return for which he was to be buried in the monastery, receive memorial commemorations three times daily, and have charitable distributions carried out in his name equivalent to one-third of the revenue of the property he had consecrated to the monastery. Various other court officials were to receive commemorations three times yearly though their contributions are not specified.

D. Overall Philosophy

1. Acceptance of Privileges

Even more so than his mother did in (27) *Kecharitomene* [4], the emperor was willing to sacrifice reform principles in order to accommodate the maintenance of aristocratic privilege. He forthrightly declares [26] that since the superior has “more cares and toil than the others” he should also have “more privileges in daily routine compared with the rest,” including better bread, wine and fish. His mother’s endorsement of the Evergetian prescription of equality in food, drink and clothing (see (27) *Kecharitomene* [56]) is not repeated here in this document. Indeed, he considers [26] it reasonable for the superior to enjoy a better diet than the other monks “since he necessarily has more cares and toil than the others.” The emperor’s willingness also to allow [23] the superior considerable latitude in determining dietary requirements and liturgical obligations for individual monks is consonant with his desire [17] to offer disciplinary concessions to novices valued for their skills or the benefactions they promised to bring with them upon admission.

On the other hand, the emperor does endorse [9] the Evergetian warning to the monks not to quarrel about precedence in seating at meals in the refectory. Instead, he instructs that “each should defer to each in the matter of a seat; for this is a sign of humility and love.” Like his

mother, however, the emperor declines to adopt the violent language of (22) *Evergetis* [9] in support of this admonition.

2. Respect for Canon Law

In one notable respect, this document does show a considerable change from the traditions of essentially arbitrary, idiosyncratic private patronage. This is the emperor's willingness to take into account the requirements of canon law in framing the regulations in his *typikon*. His insistence [20] that the superior or his designee obtain episcopal authorization to hear the monks' confessions and his prohibition [16] of accepting a monk from another monastery without the permission of the candidate's previous superior are examples of provisions for which the emperor accepts canonical precedents on matters about which the early Evergetian monastic reformers were less scrupulous.

Yet in some other cases, the emperor's awareness of the requirements of canon law does not necessarily lead him to offer full compliance. At one point he in fact declares [67] that "permission has been granted to me by the divine fathers, the ordinances of the church, and the requirements of the law to make regulations and act in the case of my own possessions just as I wish." As noted above, he only partly concedes [25] the rights of the patriarch to ratify the election of a new superior and to install him. Moreover, he authorizes [12] the superior to make changes from "strict conformity to the canons" in dietary and other observances during fasts. Still, the significance of the author's acknowledgement of an external body of pertinent legislation cannot be underestimated given the entirely opposite weight of prior patronal tradition.

E. External Relations

The remarkable hospital (*xenon*) associated with this foundation caps a long tradition of institutional philanthropy observed in these documents since (16) *Mount Tmolos* in the late tenth century. Chapters [36] through [55] regulate this hospital, while [58] through [62] concern the old age home and [63] the lepers' sanatorium.

1. The Hospital

The hospital, presided over [41] by an infirmarian (*nosokomos*), was to have sixty beds [36] divided into five wards, one of which was to be reserved for women. Each ward was to be staffed [38] by two non-resident doctors (serving in alternate months [39]) and a complement of assistants and orderlies. The doctors were not to undertake [54] any outside work (during their months of service?), not even "unpaid service by imperial command." The women's ward had an extra female doctor. An outpatient department was to be staffed by four extra doctors including two surgeons. Two of the doctors from this department would take turns providing services to the monks of the monastery in alternate months. There were also to be various service personnel [43], including a chief pharmacist and three druggists as well as two priests stationed in the hospital's chapel. A teacher of medicine was to "teach the principles of medical knowledge" [55] to student doctors, apparently chosen [48] from among the hospital's auxiliaries.

Salaries [52] for the various hospital personnel are detailed, as are the supplies needed by the infirmarian [49] and the superintendent [50], who served as a cellarer. The emperor also does not neglect to provide [51] regulations for liturgical services, burials and commemorations of the deceased.

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2. The Old Age Home

The director (*gerokomos*) of the old age home was to be chosen [61] from among the monks of the monastery. With the assistance of six orderlies, he would take care [58] of twenty-four old, infirm men in the home; the healthy are specifically excluded, regardless of social class. As at the hospital, there would be [59] a chapel for the use of the residents, staffed here by a priest and a reader. The emperor provides cash and in-kind allowances for both the staff [62] and the residents [59].

3. The Sanatorium

A lepers' sanatorium [63] was to be established at a site away from the monastery. The emperor seeks a "special remembrance" from its residents, but unlike those of the hospital, he does not presume to tell them to come to church to pray for his soul.

4. Routine Charitable Donations

Less institutionalized forms of philanthropy were practiced at the foundation as well. A bakery (*mankipeion*) was to provide [45] bread to nourish the residents of both the hospital and the old age home. For non-residents, there were to be [8] charitable distributions at the gate in honor of the foundation's benefactors. Leftovers were to be collected [11] for this purpose after both the mid-day and evening meals.

Notes on the Introduction

1. See Gautier, "Pantocrator," pp. 6–7; the autograph manuscript, once in the Peloponnesian monastery of *Mega Spelaion*, was destroyed by fire in 1934; see discussion below in Institutional History, F.
2. Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J. A. Van Dieten (Berlin, 1975), p. 48, and *Synopsis Chronike*, ed. K. N. Sathas, *Mesaionike Bibliotheke*, vol. 7 (Paris, 1894), p. 216.
3. John Kinnamos, *Historia*, ed. A. Meineke, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1836), p. 10.
4. The order of construction is as proposed by Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute," 333–71.
5. Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, p. 222, and *Synopsis Chronike*, ed. Sathas, *MB*, vol. 7, p. 248.
6. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta hierosolymitikes stachyologias*, vol. 4 (St. Petersburg, 1897), pp. 238–42; Choniates, ed. Van Dieten, p. 222, and *Synopsis Chronike*, ed. Sathas, *MB*, vol. 7, p. 307.
7. See discussion in Gautier, "Pantocrator," pp. 21–23.
8. See discussion in Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 516–17, and "Les sanctuaires de Byzance sous la domination latine," *REB* 2 (1944), pp. 174–75.
9. Paul Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, vol. 1 (Geneva, 1877), pp. 105–6.
10. So Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 517.
11. Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 23.
12. Pachymeres, *De Andronico Paleologo*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB*, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1835), p. 402.
13. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 517, with Jelisaveta Allen, "Stefan Uroš III Dečanski," *ODB*, p. 1950.
14. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 518, n. 9.
15. Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, *CSHB*, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1829), p. 273.
16. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 517–18.
17. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 289–95.
18. Gautier, "Pantocrator," pp. 23–25; Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 518; George Sphrantzes, *Chronicon minus*, ed. V. Grecu, *Georgios Sphrantzes, Memorii 1401–1477* (Bucharest, 1966), p. 50.
19. Sphrantzes, ed. Grecu, *Memorii*, p. 48.

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20. Gautier, "Pantocrator," pp. 25–26.
21. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, p. 214.
22. Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 6, and "Obituaire," pp. 235–36, with n. 2.
23. Gautier, "Pantocrator," pp. 6–8, and "Obituaire," pp. 236–37.
24. P. Bezobrazov, "Materiali dlya istorii vizantiiskoi imperii: I. Ne izdannie monastirskie ustav," *ZMNP* 254 (1887), 65–78.
25. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 656–702.
26. Lampros, "Prototypon," pp. 392–93; Bees, "Parasemeioseis," p. 234.
27. Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 236.
28. For the archaeological evidence on the site, see Mango, "Byzantine Monuments"; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, pp. 71–101; Megaw, "Recent Work"; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, pp. 209–15; and Schweinfurth, "Mosaikfussboden."
29. For the hospital, see especially Hergès, "Pantocrator"; Miller, *Hospital*, pp. 12–21; Schreiber, "Spitalordnung"; and Volk, *Gesundheitswesen*, pp. 134–94. Codellas, "Pantocrator," p. 399, has a conjectural plan of the facility.
30. Church of the *Pantokrator*: [6], [7]; church of St. Michael: [34]; church of the *Eleousa*: [29].

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Translation

Typikon of the Imperial Monastery of the *Pantokrator*¹

. . . it raised me above all treachery and plotting and at the right time² painlessly set me at the position of absolute power in the ancestral empire of the Ausones [Romans], agreeing, as one might say, with the final command and wish of my late father's divine soul. Then after that extraordinary elevation it also destroyed the cunning plots of my visible and invisible enemies and rescued me from every trap subjecting all my enemies under my feet (cf. Ps. 8:6; 24 [25]:16). How will I recount in full the wonders that God's right arm achieved for me against Persians,

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Scythians, Dalmatians, Dacians, and Paeonians,³ the many unspeakable victories [p. 29] that it often wondrously wrought with me on them all, making me stronger than all the invaders, dispersing and scattering the ambushes of those within and those without, destroying and binding hand and foot those of my friends and relations⁴ who stood against me and wickedly distanced themselves from brotherly concord?

So, what might I offer to the All-Merciful One for such great favors? What could I give thee, Master who lovest goodness, for such great debts except that I turn to thee completely and submit whole-heartedly to thy will? Under its guidance I built a new church dedicated to thine almighty wisdom and portrayed in front of the church and in the sanctuary the Indescribable One and I offer thee that which is thine own, for through thy help I found someone to share its planning, construction, and completion, my partner and helper in life, though before the complete establishment of the task she left this world by thy mysterious decision and by her departure cut me apart and left me torn in two.

Yet though I am not able to fathom the depths of thine incomprehensible wisdom which beneficially manages our lives, I give thanks for thy patience and at last according to my capabilities I unveil my enterprise bringing thee a band of ascetics, a precious gathering of monks, whose duty it is to devote themselves to the monastery and propitiate thy goodness for our sins. To these I add another holy group, a chosen band,⁵ a precious portion, a very fine company of dedicated men—priests, deacons, and as large a number as is necessary for the church and the sanctuary. For I am building another sacred dwelling also for the most-pure Virgin, thy virgin mother, and I am maintaining its offering of praise in a fitting manner through a holy assembly of clergy. Along with these I bring thee, the Lover of goodness, some fellow-servants, whom thou in thy compassion called brothers (Matt. 25:40), worn out by old age and toil, oppressed by poverty and suffering from diseases of many kinds.⁶ Those whose bodies are ravaged by leprosy [p. 31] are all receiving the appropriate care, others are being relieved of their burdens, revived from weakness, and are receiving complete healing of their wounds, and others are being freed from want, finding consolation in a sufficient supply of food and clothing. We bring thee these people as ambassadors to intercede for our sins; by them we attract thy favor and through them we plead for thy compassion. For we have taken due thought for the protection, care, and managing of these animate and inanimate temples, and now we prescribe in detail what will be done in their regard.

So then we wish the sequence of divine praises in this most-holy monastery to proceed according to the ecclesiastical rule set up by us.

[1. Ceremonial of the Office]

The service of matins on Sundays and the great feast days will begin at the fifth hour of the night, but on all the remaining days it will take place before or after the midnight office according to ecclesiastical procedure. For the superior will take care that those attending the church get a moderate amount of sleep so that they may have the strength to offer up prayer and perform the singing of psalms with an alert mind, when the grosser exhalations caused by food have been dissipated by a moderate amount of sleep so the mind can offer the praise and intercession more attentively.

When the hour of the ecclesiastical office and service arrives, the rites of the church will be

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performed each day like this. The waker will get up and go to the superior's cell, bow outside it and call out, "Bless me, pray for me, Father." The superior will bless him in an audible manner and the other will go away and immediately sound the semantron. Then as the brothers assemble in the church⁷ he will sound the service semantron which is also called the great one. So when the monks have gathered in the narthex, they will perform the midnight office of psalm-singing [p. 33], being obliged in this office to sing the psalm "Blameless" (Ps. 118 [119]) so as to complete it at three stations, and at each of the stations, they should sing a *trisagion* with three *troparia*, two penitential [*kathismata*] and one *theotokion*.

[2. Incenses]

When the psalm "Blameless" has thus been completed and the monks are now about to process into the church, the priest who has the duty for the day will go in with them and receive the censer from the ecclesiarch. Then he will stand in front of the sanctuary and with the usual prayer bow and when he has performed a censuring in the form of a cross in front of the sanctuary screen he will go next into the sanctuary and will perform a censuring three times in the form of a cross in front of the holy table, then he will do likewise also at each of the other sides of the holy table. When he comes out of the sanctuary one of the readers will receive him and with his head uncovered will precede him with a light. The priest will follow and first of all will go to the chapel of the Incorporal⁸ where our tombs are situated; then standing before the icon of the Pantokrator itself, he will cense it in the form of a cross, after that all the holy places in the church and the most venerable icons in them, and along with them all the monks who are standing there.

[3. Chants and Prayers in Honor of the Emperors]

During the course of the censuring the monks will sing at this point a *trisagion* for my majesty and the specified psalms, that is the nineteenth which begins "The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble, the name of the God of Jacob defend thee," and the twentieth which begins, "In thy strength the king shall rejoice, O Lord, and in thy salvation he shall greatly exult," and these *troparia*, "Save thy people, Lord," and, "He who was raised on the cross," and a *theotokion*, "Quickly intervene before we are enslaved," and *kyrie eleison* fifteen times. But after the passing of my majesty they will perform the *trisagion* twice on the same occasion instead of once. The first one will be for the emperors who are alive at the time with one psalm which [p. 35] begins "The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble," and the aforementioned *troparia* and the *theotokion*, but they will perform the other *trisagion* in our memory when psalm six will be recited which begins, "O Lord, rebuke me not in thy wrath," and they will sing one *troparion*, "Rest with the saints," and a *theotokion*, "You who are like a wall and harbor." Then they will repeat this prayer—"Remember, Lord, our orthodox rulers and founders who are at rest and pardon for them every voluntary and involuntary sin committed by them in word or deed or thought and make them dwell in the places of light, in green places where all pain, grief, and sorrow have fled away, where the sight of thy face gladdens all thy saints for ever, and grant them thy kingdom and the favor of participating in indescribable and everlasting benefits and thine eternal and blessed life. For thou are the life and repose of those who are at rest and to thee be the glory."

So while this is being carried out, when the priest has carried out the censuring of the whole

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church, he will go again, as has previously been made clear, to the doors of the sanctuary and when he has performed a censuring at them three times in the form of a cross, he will pronounce “Glory be ever to the holy, consubstantial and life-giving Trinity now, always, and for ever and ever.” The monks having said “Amen” will immediately begin the six psalms,⁹ not chanting them raucously but quietly to themselves, taking care to harmonize with the ecclesiarch who is standing in the middle of the church and reciting clearly enough to be heard. After the completion of the six psalms sometimes “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) will be sung, that is on festival days and feasts, and sometimes “Alleluia,” but both of them with a bright and triumphant chant.

[4. Order of Precedence]

The position of the monks will be as follows: the priests will stand in front of the deacons and the deacons behind them and the rest like this in order, in whatever position the ecclesiarch assigns to each one on the instruction of the superior. The deacons however will never stand among the priests even though they have been entrusted with one of the more important offices. The steward however will be exempted from this and will always keep his own position even if he has not been honored with the priestly status.

[5. Other Instructions]

Whenever the monks are gathering in the church no one is allowed to pray in front of the sanctuary screen or in any other place, but when each one is about to enter the church he will bow in front of the royal doors¹⁰ and then he will enter reverently and stand in his own place not bowing to the monks. When the recitation of the psalms or another chant is beginning, they must all wait for the one who begins and whenever he completes the beginning verse he should prostrate himself on the ground and they should all prostrate themselves in time with him. No one should dare to begin unless instructed by the one who has this office, but each one must wait [p. 37] with patience to be instructed when to begin by the one who will be appointed and will take the lead. Even if someone knows the liturgy accurately, he must keep quiet and everyone must refrain from all conversation during the singing of the psalms having this only in his mouth; but if someone being uncertain wishes to learn something for his own benefit, he should ask about this quietly during the *kathisma*. When the *hypakoe* or another chant of this kind is being sung, the specialist chanters should stand in front of the sanctuary and sing this in a fitting and orderly way.

[6. Illumination of the Main Church on Ordinary Days]

The church should be lit like this. Some lamps should burn continuously—two in the sanctuary, one standing lamp¹¹ in the *synthronon* below and another in the triple lamp of the sanctuary, two before the Pantokrator, one before the Resurrection and another before the Crucifixion, one in the triple lamp of the dome, one in the apse on the right of the sanctuary where the Last Supper is, another in the apse on the left where the Washing of the Feet is, and another before the beautiful doors where the Dormition of the Mother of God is.

The following lamps also should burn continuously at night—one in the narthex, another in the exonarthex, and another before the [representation] of the ecumenical councils. But during the services of matins, the liturgy, and vespers all the crater lamps of the *choros*, sixteen in number,

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should be lit all around as well as lamps of the *templon*, four of the triple lamps, four lamps in the four vaults, three in the narthex in addition to the night-lamp, and two in the exonarthex in addition to the night-lamp there too.

Candles should burn continuously, one in the conch of the apse, two before the Pantokrator, one before the Resurrection, one before the Crucifixion, one before the Washing of the Feet, one before the Last Supper, and another one above the beautiful doors, and the candle in the dome along with the others. During the services three lighted ones should stand on the *templon*, one on the little *templon* and another one at the altar, two others before the Pantokrator and another one before each of the two icons set out for veneration. But on [p. 39] Sundays during matins and the liturgy and furthermore during vespers on Saturdays seven candles should be lit on the middle *templon* and three candles before the *templon* on the right at the small sanctuary. The same things should be done during ordinary feasts.

[7. Illumination of the Main Church on Feast Days]

During the more important feasts the church will be lit as follows. Firstly, during the feast of the Transfiguration¹² instead of crater lamps, chandeliers should be hung up and all of them should be brightly lit, fitted with all their lamps. Six-ounce candles should be fixed around the *templon* and the icons for veneration. In the candelabras with twelve candleholders which stand in front of the holy icon of the Savior which is on display candles of one *litra* should be put, and in the choirs six large candles weighing eight *litrai*; three more should be put in the narthex and one in the exonarthex. In the candleholders of the triple lamps in the conch of the apse and in the dome candles of eight ounces should be put and the same thing should be done with the rest of the triple lamps on which there are points for candles, and in the sacristies. Two large candles should be put on either side of the holy altar. Rose-essence and bitter aloes will be provided from the storehouse by purchase and a distribution at the gate will take place of twenty-four *modioi* of bread and of *noummia* or *tetartera* to the value of two of the gold *nomismata* preferred at the time, and for the provisioning of the table three courses of fresh fish will be supplied. The feast of Easter also will be celebrated similarly in all respects.

During the feast of the Nativity of Christ the chandeliers will be lit in the same way, and four-ounce candles will be put on the *templon* and at the icons for veneration, eight-ounce candles in the candelabra with twelve candleholders, and at the choirs six large candles weighing six *litrai* will be put and two in the narthex. The distribution at the gate will be similar but the provisioning of the table will consist of the supply of two courses. The same things will take place during the feast of the Epiphany and that of the Exaltation of the Cross;¹³ but the distribution at the gate will be reduced by a half.

For the feast of the Annunciation¹⁴ the amount of lighting will be half as much and a distribution will take place of eight *modioi* of bread and of *noummia* or *tetartera* [p. 41] to the value of one gold *nomisma* and provisions for the monks will be the amount of one course. During the feast of Pentecost the same things will be carried out in the same way, also on Palm Sunday, and during the feasts of the Presentation of Our Lord in the Temple, of the Birth of the Mother of God, and of her Entry into the Temple.¹⁵

But during the feasts of St. Basil, of St. Gregory the Theologian, and of St. [John]

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Chrysostom¹⁶ the amount of lighting will be even more reduced so as to add to the illumination of the ordinary feasts only one candelabrum with twelve candleholders, the one that is going to stand in front of the holy icon of the one whose feast is being celebrated. The provisioning will be similar—that of one course.

The feast of the Holy Apostles¹⁷ will have the lighting and the provisioning of the feast of the Annunciation, but the feast of St. Philip¹⁸ only its provisioning. On Holy Thursday there will be a distribution of twenty-four *modioi* of bread and of *noummia* or *tetartera* to the value of two similar gold *nomismata*.

The feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God¹⁹ will be celebrated in the monastery in the same way as the feast of the Annunciation, but a more splendid festival will be held in the church of the *Eleousa* as will be made clear later on. However at the gate there will be a distribution of twenty-four *modioi* of bread and of *noummia* or *tetartera* to the value of two similar gold *nomismata* and for the provisioning of the table sufficient *nomismata* will be provided for two courses.

[8. Liturgical Offerings and Commemorations]

It is time to speak also about the offerings of bread for the holy liturgy. For each day there should be four *hexagia* of fine wheat flour and from this offerings of bread should be made, two greater ones—one for Our Lord and the other for the Mother of God—another for the saint of the day, and four others as memorials, for the sovereign and father²⁰ of my majesty of blessed memory, for my lady grandmother²¹ of blessed memory, for the lady and mother²² of my majesty of blessed memory, and for my lady wife²³ of blessed memory. From these same *hexagia* the superior's daily supply of fine white bread also should be made. The bread offerings should be broken into pieces and distributed to the monks.

Each Saturday other offerings also should be made from flour as follows: for the grandfather²⁴ of my majesty of blessed memory, the *kouropalates*; [p. 43] for my grandmother²⁵ of blessed memory, the *protovestiaria*; for her husband;²⁶ for the uncle²⁷ of my majesty of blessed memory, the *sebastokrator*; for the daughter-in-law²⁸ of my majesty of blessed memory, the wife of my most dear son, *Basileus* Lord Alexios; for my brother of blessed memory, *sebastokrator* Lord Andronikos;²⁹ for my sister, the nun Lady Eudokia;³⁰ for the brother-in-law of my majesty, Caesar Bryennios;³¹ for my other brother-in-law Euphorbenos;³² for the uncle³³ of my majesty, the *megas domestikos*; for my aunt³⁴ his wife; for Lord Manuel,³⁵ the uncle of my majesty; for the Caesar;³⁶ for the three aunts³⁷ of my majesty of blessed memory, the *Caesarissa*, the *panhypersebaste*, and the Lady Xene; for my other uncle,³⁸ the *megas doux*; for *sebastos* Lord George Palaiologos;³⁹ for my aunt,⁴⁰ the most honorable; and for my other aunt,⁴¹ the wife of Palaiologos.

Two offerings should also be made on behalf of my grandchildren who have died, one offering specifically on behalf of my much loved grandson Lord Alexios, the son of my most dear son *sebastokrator* Lord Isaac. Three baskets of *kollyba* should be offered on Saturdays jointly on behalf of them all equally. So the aforementioned names of the dead will be remembered in these ways.

[p. 45] On the Saturdays of Meatfare,⁴² Cheesefare,⁴³ and Pentecost the following people

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will also be remembered: the late eunuch John the *mystikos*, the other *mystikos* Tzykanisteriotes, *sebastos* lord Constantine Rogeres, *sebastos* Eustathios Kamytzes, Michaelitzes Stypeiotes, the doctor Niketas the *protos*, George Dekanos, and the *vestiarites* of my majesty, Theodore Beroites, one offering being made on behalf of each of these.⁴⁴

After our decease these offerings also will be added to the commemorations of each day, namely, offerings for me and my most dear sons Born-in-the-Purple: *basileus* Lord Alexios,⁴⁵ *sebastokrator* Lord Andronikos, *sebastokrator* Lord Isaac, and *sebastokrator* Lord Manuel;⁴⁶ for my very dear daughters,⁴⁷ the *Caesarissa* Lady Maria, the Lady Anna, the Lady Theodora, and the Lady Eudokia.

Another basket of *kollyba* will also be offered once in the week.

The names of all these people will be written on the diptychs and we will be remembered then during the offering and the divine mysteries but at the moment our names will be written on the diptychs of the living and will be remembered in the same way during the offering and the divine mysteries.

Since the husband of a niece of my majesty, the *pansebastos sebastos* Lord John Arbantenos,⁴⁸ wished to be buried in this monastery founded by my majesty, he consecrated to it some of his own landed property—a house and estates producing a considerable income—on condition that a night office should take place every day on his behalf and the *trisagion* be repeated at matins and at vespers by some monks from the monastery, by four at least. In addition to this, the same man wished that [p. 47] at the time of his remembrance distributions should be made for his soul from the revenues of the same landed property amounting to one-third of the revenues from the landed property consecrated by him.

My majesty decrees that these things be carried out in such a way that a *trisagion* be repeated each day by some monks both during matins and after the office of lamplighting, a night office be also sung by them to intercede for him, a candle should burn unceasingly, similarly a lamp should be kept burning continuously on his tomb, and distributions for his soul be carefully carried out before and after his commemoration so that what is distributed on both occasions adds up to a third of the revenues from his landed property. This procedure should continue unchanged for ever because this man consecrated his property in this hope to this monastery of my majesty.

However on our tombs, that is, on that of my most dear wife and on that of my majesty, instead of one candle two must burn continuously on each.

[9. Regulations for Dinner]

It is time to discuss the common table of the brothers. The monks should have a common table in the monastery of the Savior *Pantokrator*; they should share in common food. No one should eat in secret, since this has been forbidden by the divine fathers and causes very great damage to the soul and brings greater danger. The time of eating is not always the same. For when the psalms are recited during the hours, it being a period of fasting, I mean before the feast of the Holy Apostles, the third hour and the sixth will be recited according to the rule of the church and after the divine liturgy the ninth hour will be celebrated without a recitation of the psalms.

When the blessed bread has already been given to the monks and the semantron has been struck for the third time, they will walk to the refectory with a psalm on their lips, the one which

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begins, "I will exalt thee, my God" (Ps. 144 [145]). But when the days are not fast days but glorious feast days, the holy mystery will be celebrated and the monks will receive the blessed bread as has been stated, and the semantron will be struck three times and they will go off to the refectory with the aforementioned psalm on their lips. This will be the difference in the time of eating except during the fasts of the great Lent and Christmas. [p. 49]

Also their progress to the refectory will be orderly with the priest who officiated at the sacrament leading them all, the superior walking after him, and the rest of the brothers following one after another. When they are approaching the refectory table, the priest, being at the head on the right, turning to the east should say this prayer by himself, "O Lord, my God, the heavenly and life-giving bread, the true food of the whole world, who governs this present life and has promised us enjoyment of the life to come, thyself bless our food and drink and allow us to partake of them without incurring condemnation, glorifying and giving thanks to the One who provides all good gifts."

Next, the superior should stand in his proper position at the head table, and then the priest making the sign of the cross over the table should say aloud after the aforementioned prayer "Because thy most honored and magnificent name has been blessed and glorified." Then when the brothers have responded with "Amen," the superior should sit down and after him the rest without noise and disturbance and each should defer to each in the matter of his seat; for this is a sign of humility and love. When all are seated, the person appointed to read should begin the reading; but the priest who celebrated the sacrament, standing up, should pronounce a blessing, saying "God be blessed" and when the brothers have responded with "Amen," the refectorian should impose silence on all and then the reader should begin the reading.

When the food has been set out, the refectorian should shout in a loud voice "Master, bless, pray," and the priest who celebrated the sacrament should bless the food that has been set out. Then, when the superior has stretched his hand out to the food, the rest also should begin to eat. Brothers also should go round after this to distribute the hot water when wine-cups have already been distributed to all. However the superior should first strike the top of the table three times with a small wooden gavel at each serving. At the first stroke they should all stand upright holding their own wine-cups and the superior likewise, and then when they have all received a common blessing they should sit down again and after this each one should bless his own [p. 51] wine-cup with the sign of the cross.

No one however will ask a blessing from anyone else if the superior is present, but if he is absent, the steward should carry out both the knocking and the blessing of the wine-cups instead of him. But if he is not a priest, he should strike the table himself but should entrust the blessing of the drink to the senior priest or the priest who celebrated the sacrament. But if the steward is not present, the most senior priest himself or the priest who celebrated the sacrament should perform what ought to be done by the superior. No one should sit in the seat of the superior.

When the food has been eaten and silence prevails on the insistence of the refectorian, the second course should be brought in, whatever it is, and the priest should bless this too. This should happen for each dish even if there is a refreshment and more is put out. When there is a refreshment and more food is put out, the wine-cups should also receive an extra amount at the discretion of the superior.

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When the meal has been completed and the reader has stopped, the refectorian at the command of the superior should place a basket to receive the plates and another in which spoons will be put. Then the superior should say grace and likewise all of them in turn, and immediately the basket should be placed to receive the leftovers and first the superior should throw his leftover bread into it, then all the rest while “Blessed is God who nourishes us” is sung; the pieces of bread should be given to the brothers in front of the gate. After “Blessed is God” is finished, the priest who celebrated the sacrament should repeat the following prayer, “Lord, our God, increase the surplus of thy servants and pity us because thou art holy now and always and for ever and ever.” Then after the “Amen” the refectorian after a sign from the superior should make a sign of the cross with the basket and say in a loud voice “Great is the name” and all of them should reply “of the holy consubstantial and life-giving Trinity.” Then the superior should bless them all, and the refectorian should sing loudly “Merciful and pitiful is the Lord” (Ex. 34: 6) and the rest of the brothers should join in the singing with him. Then when the priest who celebrated the sacrament has given thanks to God with them all, he should begin Psalm 121 [122], “I was glad when they said to me,” and Psalm 83 [84], “How lovely is thy dwelling place, O Lord.” After that the priest should pronounce a thanksgiving and then say a prayer and each should go away to his cell.

After the monks have got up from the table, those who have been in attendance should eat; but no one should be allowed to take bread or anything else from what was set out to his cell. If some of those sent away on duties are so delayed that they do not arrive at the time of the meal, then the same food must be placed on the table for these people in the same way [p. 53] to prevent a scandal arising if they took food away to their cells.

[10. Care of Sick Monks]

If anyone is so sick that he is bed-ridden and cannot walk, the appropriate care should be provided in his cell. Also the superior should with sincerity take care of all those who are ill, securing a doctor to visit the monastery and provide soothing plasters and oils so that they can be stored up in the sick room; and he himself should call, often visiting those who need care, ministering to all their needs with white bread, the best wine, and other things that can comfort those who are ill.

The sanatorium should have six made-up beds for those who wish to lie down and another for the doctor who will stay here too to care for the sick whenever necessity demands. Useful articles for washing oneself should be placed in it in sufficient quantity—I mean basins, ewers, and soap dishes, towels, hair wipers, hand towels, etc.—and enough for six to wash at the same time; and not only will those who are ill use these things but also in fact all the monks. Care must especially be taken that those who look after them should show their care for them in every action and in their concern, believing Christ who said “As you did it to one of the least of these my brothers, you did it for me” (Matt. 25:40). This is what concerns the sick.

[11. Regulations for Supper]

Rules must be laid down also about supper. For after the office of lamplighting when the semantron is struck three times, the monks will go to the refectory singing the verse which begins “The poor shall eat and be satisfied” as far as “for ever and ever” (Ps. 21 [22]:26–27), and then

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they should sit down and when the priest who celebrated the sacrament has pronounced a blessing they should eat bread and drink wine. As the time of the year allows they will be supplied with vegetables and some fruit according to the season and whatever else is suitable for eating at supper. Concerning the serving of the drink the rule which we also mentioned in connection with the midday meal will be observed.

After the completion of the eating and the drinking, a basket should be set out for the leftovers to be put in and the following should be said, "Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit." Then the superior should pronounce the blessing after the brothers have previously said "*Kyrie eleison*" three times together and added "Lord, bless," and after that the superior should repeat "Christ our God, increase," and what follows. Next the refectorian should lift the basket, make a sign of the cross with it at the end of the table, and say in a loud voice "All-holy Mother of God, help us." Then when the refectorian has begun the verse which goes "O Lord, thou hast made us glad with thy work, and in the operations of thy hands will we exult" (Ps. 91 [92]:4); "The light of thy countenance, O Lord, has been manifested towards us," (Ps. 4:6) he should keep [p. 55] them all chanting this verse together as far as "For thou hast caused me to dwell securely" (Ps. 4:6-8). Then they should be dismissed by the superior at the last word.

[12. Dietary Regulations]

Immediately upon the command of the superior the ecclesiarch should give the signal for compline. But on the vigils of the great feast days and especially those of the Savior they must prepare the things for supper more carefully and lavishly so that cooked dishes also should be put before them prepared with vegetables and legumes, and fruits of the season. Fish too should be often supplied to them and a measure of wine greater than is customary.

It is necessary to speak of both the number and the kind of dishes that will be set before the monks on each occasion. On all Wednesdays and Fridays observance of the sacred canons will not be neglected nor will there be any thought of neglecting it, yet any change made in the strict conformity to the canon to accommodate weakness of the brothers will be completely at the discretion of the superior. On the Mondays which are not fast days, except those during the great fasts, three dishes will be set before the monks brightened with olive oil and seasoning, prepared not only with vegetables and legumes but also oysters and mussels when in season. On Tuesdays and Thursdays cheese and eggs will be eaten; and on Saturdays and Sundays fresh fish will also be set before them. There will always be three cooked dishes; on the four aforementioned days of the week there will be two dishes made from salted and fresh fish, cheese, and eggs and the third will be of legumes.

The great fasts will be different in the following way. The fast of the Holy Apostles⁴⁹ will have an abstinence from cheese and eggs only to be observed on the days without a fast. The fast of St. Philip⁵⁰ will also put an end to the eating of fish during five days of the week, with the exception of Saturday and Sunday. If, however, a feast day occurs on one of the five days, then they will have the refreshment of fish. They will eat once in the day during this fast after the completion of the office of lamplighting although the fast of the feast of the Holy Apostles does not preclude the eating of supper. On the five aforementioned days of the week the food of the monks will be set out sometimes with olive oil for their refreshment and sometimes without any

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of this gladdening because of the holiness of the days.

When a feast of our Lord comes round or of the Mother of God or of one of the famous saints, on these feast days there will be a refreshment for the monks at the discretion of the superior. However the revered name of the Mother of God should be set as a seal to mark the end of all meals of the monks, both the midday meal and supper, and with this invocation the refectorian at the bidding of the superior should take a piece of bread of reasonable size, bless it with the sign of the cross, and then all the monks taking a portion of it [p. 57] should also drink a final drink in the name of the Mother of God, so that they may be sanctified both in their souls and bodies through the invocation of her divine name and by what is eaten and drunk in its honor.

Also each day the distribution of two maritime *modioi* of bread should take place at the gate and the observance of this distribution should be maintained without evasion every day.

During the week of Cheesefare, the eating of cheese and eggs will be firmly maintained that the faithful may not seem to observe the fasts of unbelievers by respecting their ordinances.

The great [Lenten] fast, being special in every way since we offer to God a consecration of ourselves, will have the strictest possible observance in every way with regard to both food and drink. Thus they should eat once a day during it, apart from Saturday and Sunday, even if a feast should occur, and during the first week they will be served with less bread than the usual portion, legumes soaked in water, *almaia* without olive oil, nuts, and dried figs. During these days they will take less wine than usual. If some wish to spend the first day without food, as is the custom of many, it will be allowed according to their preference.

On Friday evening because of the vigil of St. Theodore a measure of wine should be given to each of the brothers and olive oil should be sprinkled on the *almaia*. On Saturdays and Sundays three dishes should be served, one of fresh vegetables, the second of legumes, and the third of oysters, mussels, scallops,⁵¹ and onions, all seasoned with olive oil. Also they should be given the usual measure of wine. A similar system of diet to that of the first week will continue on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays during the following weeks of the fast. On Tuesdays and Thursdays they will be served legumes and fresh vegetables with a moderate amount of olive oil poured over them after the cooking. As an additional refreshment the legumes they will eat will be prepared with honey and they will be given the usual measure of wine.

Because it is fitting that those who struggle spiritually should have some respite, the monks should have the refreshment during this holy fast of eating fish on the feast day of the [p. 59] Forty Saints,⁵² unless this falls on one of the five days of the first week; for then they will have the refreshment only of olive oil. In the same way they will eat fish also on Palm Sunday. However the whole of the fourth week of the Lenten fast will have the same observance in the matter of food as the first week, and Holy Week similarly, with the refreshment of olive oil allowed only on Holy Thursday. On Good Friday and Holy Saturday until the evening the diet should consist only of bread, legumes soaked in water, and wine mulled with cumin. On the joyful day of the Annunciation, whichever of the days of Lent it occurs—apart from the five days of the first week and Holy Week—permission will be granted for the monks to eat fish; but should it occur on the five days of these two weeks, the monks will have the refreshment of wine and olive oil. Yet if the feast falls on Holy Thursday they will also eat fish.

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[13. Clastration and Abstention from Bathing during Lent]

However none of the monks will be allowed to wash himself during all this period of Lent, unless the constraints of some disease make it necessary; nor will they be allowed to go out of the monastery so that they may maintain an undistracted perseverance at their prayers. If some pressing need to go out urgently requires it, the side gate will be opened and the one instructed by the superior will go out through it. All those who are going to carry out some service, whether inside or outside the monastery, should first receive a blessing from the superior; but if the superior is away, the steward should do this, and if both of them are absent, the senior priest should take their place.

[14. Honor and Respect Due the Superior]

All should show such honor to the superior that they never pass him by without a greeting, whether they meet him on the road or see him just poking his head out. Also, anyone summoned to him or whoever comes of his own accord should in the same way do obeisance, and should clasp his hands together while standing in front of the superior and show him the respect that is his due everywhere, with peace and obedience guiding them in everything.

[15. Bathing Permitted]

Since it is also fitting that the monks should have the refreshment of bathing, they should all have a bath twice in the month to wash themselves, except however during fasts. For in no way will they wash themselves during Lent, as has been stated, and during the other two fasts they will take a bath once a month.

[16. Reception of Postulants]

Whenever someone comes asking to be received into the monastery, he will not be admitted without any testing, but with a strict examination. If he is from another monastery he will not be admitted without the encouragement of that superior, since the observance of the canons also prevents this. [p. 61]

[17. Entrance Gifts Not Required]

An entry gift will be required of no one lest, because of this, freedom be given to anyone to be admitted into the monastery. For the character of each person, his training, the righteousness of his actions, and the abundance of his virtue will count above gold or any gift, and the whole brotherhood's way of life will have equal consideration. But if someone is necessary for the monastery, since the requirements of its activities demand people who are able to contribute as they can, or if a person for certain reasons needs some concession, either because he happens to be from a pre-eminent family or he has been brought up in a rather luxurious way of life, it will rest with the superior after consideration to devise measures for the care of that person in accordance with the benefit to the monastery as he perceives it.

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[18. Entry Forbidden to Women]

Women will not enter the monastery and the monastery will be a forbidden area for them, even if they are distinguished ladies and are adorned by a devout life and a noble birth. But if some must enter, perhaps for the burial of their relations or their commemoration, they will not enter by the monastery gate but by the gate of the church of the *Eleousa*.

[19. Number and Responsibilities of the Monks]

Since it is appropriate to discuss the number of the monks, the total of the monks will not be less than eighty. Moreover those who are active in the church will come to as many as fifty and will devote themselves to the praise of God and be concerned with the divine hymns without interruption. The rest will be divided up among the menial duties. However those who are active in the church will be men who are reverent in manner, adorned with virtue, zealous in the duties entrusted to them, of venerable wisdom, and will take care that none of the monastery's possessions are destroyed through carelessness. There will not only be bakers, gardeners, and cooks among the servants but also helpers for the ecclesiarch and assistants to the steward and other such people. However the ecclesiarch, the sacristans, the archivists, the infirmarian, and the guest-master must be from those assigned to the church, also the treasurers, [p. 63] the provisioners, two choir leaders, six priests, six deacons—as to whether there can be more priests and deacons there will be nothing in this document to hinder the superior—two precentors, two assistant choir leaders, and an official responsible for summoning the brothers to church.

From the category of servants there will be four together serving all the brothers in the lowliest tasks, or rather the most important and godlike ones, if the saying is true which says “whoever humbles himself will be exalted” (Matt. 23:12). So these men will wash their tunics and outer garments, bathe those who are dirty, minister eagerly to the sick, and will clean the jugs, plates, and pots. The superior will control all these men from the most important to the lowest and will keep an account of the tasks they are all employed on and will consider worthy of the appropriate respect and honor those who carry out their duties well but those who conduct themselves in the opposite way he will move completely to something useful.

However none of the monks will be entrusted with the supervision of property or any of the tasks that require the spending of time outside the monastery lest they incur a harm to their souls greater than the expected benefit to the running of the monastery. For not even the whole world itself is equal to one soul. But the monks will carry out all the tasks inside the monastery and no lay person will live inside the monastery but they themselves will dwell alone in their own paradise and will cultivate this carefully and plant it, one for a yield of thirtyfold, another of sixtyfold, and another of an hundredfold (cf. Matt. 13:23), having attained the full measure of perfection, and so no secular darnel will grow among them. On the other hand lay people will carry out the duties in the properties of the monastery and each one will be liable for the appropriate accounts.

None of the monks serving in the church will be permitted to leave the monastery to sing psalms, whatever festival is being celebrated by anyone, whether it is another monastery that is celebrating it or some lay people. For such an undertaking will be in every way dangerous and harmful to the monks in the monastery as well as bringing shame on the monastery and its superior because those who are subject to him are not watched over and supervised.

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[20. Confession to the Superior]

As the preceding text has prescribed all the requirements common to the monks—sharing the refectory, living inside the monastery, attendance in the church, unwavering prayer—it also lays down as their common duty the confession of their sins before the superior and urges them [p. 65] all alike to reveal to him willingly their dangerous thoughts and all the stirrings of their soul so that the enemy hidden within them thus shamed might run away very quickly from their minds. So as a result monks looking to the confession of their thoughts as an excuse to leave the monastery will not be allowed to depart from the precincts of the monastery lest they unwittingly receive a fatal wound instead of a draught of salvation, and instead of gaining the healing they seek suffer a wound caused by the doors themselves. They should drink the most valuable water which comes from their own well and each should receive the appropriate healing from confessing to his superior.

But if perhaps someone becomes so lacking in faith and clearly finds it distasteful to confess to his superior, the latter will take care to win him, as far as he can, and will make allowances for his weakness, entrusting him to one of the old monks in the monastery, a godly man who is capable of discerning thoughts and hearing the confessions of this brother. Naturally both the superior and the one who receives permission from him to hear confessions in accordance with the divine canons will previously have been given permission through episcopal *sphragis* to hear the confessions of the brothers and will receive spiritually and devoutly the power to bind and loose from those who have received it from God. (Matt. 18:18)

[21. No Overnight Absences]

However not a single monk will be allowed ever to spend the night outside the monastery. For each of those who go out on the request of the superior will take every care to get back inside the gate of the monastery before sunset. For evening solitude is harmful and fatal to those sheep of the flock who are left outside the fold, and is a joy to wolves. May this not happen to any of those in this holy sheepfold since all of them are protected by the almighty hand of the Savior.

[22. Communal Provision of Clothing]

Since the brothers need a reasonable number of clothes, each of them at Easter time will be supplied with two undergarments, one cotton tunic containing four *litrai* of cotton, two pairs of boots and every two years one woolen cloak and one vest also every two years. These the monks will receive, first showing the old ones to the superior so that they can be dealt with by him as he wishes. [p. 67]

[23. Superior's Discretionary Authority]

These then are the instructions my majesty has given concerning the procedure of the monastery. If from time to time the superior in office should notice that something ought to be added or taken away either in the daily life of the monks or in the liturgical procedure of the church whether through some illness on the part of the monks or for another acceptable reason, this will be a matter for his discretion.

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[24. Election of the Superior]

It is time now to speak about the installation of the superior. Since disagreements and quarrels have customarily occurred among the brothers at the selection of superiors, some preferring this one, and some that, I wish the one who is superior after my death to choose on his own three brothers from all the monks, both those in the controlling monastery of the *Pantokrator* and those in the monasteries attached to it and even in the dependencies. For he will in no way exclude them should he find anyone worthy of this position of leadership in any of these monasteries or dependencies. When he has gathered the monks together, he will write the names of those who have been chosen on a piece of paper in their sight, then he will sign and fix his seal to this paper, and he will deposit it in the sacristy and it will be kept there until his death, but the names written on it will not be made known to any of the brothers. Then, when the position of superior is empty, the paper will be brought out when all the brothers have gathered and will be set out before them, then the seal will be broken, and if all of them together are pleased with one of the three written down as being a person who excels the others, this person will be accepted at once without any hesitation for the position of superior.

If however there is a difference of opinion about the three, and some choose one and others another, when all from the other monasteries are gathered in the chief monastery, all the brotherhood will together make a most earnest supplication to God and will entreat him earnestly with tears to reveal to them the one who is worthy of the leadership. Then the names should be written on three pieces of paper and someone who does not know how to read should carry these to the holy table, place them under its holy cloths, and then night office should be held for three days with vespers and liturgies, and when the [divine] mystery is completed on the third day some other person who does not know how to read should on the instruction of the brotherhood go into the sanctuary and putting his hand on the holy table take one of the pieces of paper and show it to them all and the person written on it should be considered by all to have been judged by God worthy of the leadership.

If it should ever happen that when the names written down by the superior are considered, someone is found to have been left off this document, though he surpasses those who are written down in excellence and clearly shines out in his personal conduct and is a better candidate for the leadership, and most of the monks testify to this—I mean two-thirds of the brotherhood—they will hereby have the authority to bring it to the notice of the divine Emperor through one of his closest aides and to seek correction of what has happened, to prevent one [p. 69] who is better than the rest being overlooked through some human failing, which seems to happen often, by being wrongly omitted from the vote for the leadership.

[25. Installation of the Superior]

So when the selection for the office of superior has been carried out following the aforementioned procedure, one of the bishops who reside in the capital,⁵³ after a request from the monks, should be instructed by patriarchal ordinance to celebrate the divine mystery and install the superior, so that strict adherence to the canon may be maintained and the independence of the monastery in no way disturbed as a result of the [episcopal] *sphragis* of the superior. Then the one being installed will receive with all reverence his pastoral staff from the icon of the Pantokrator

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itself as he will surely render account to him on the day of judgment for his period of rule. The brotherhood will accept the one to be appointed thus by God's instigation and choosing, as one could say, with great joy and, as the phrase goes, with open arms, and the brotherhood will show him total affection, submission, reverence, and willing obedience. He in return will help them as beloved children (Eph. 5:1), and will show a careful concern for each one, advising, encouraging, strengthening, exhorting, reproving, summoning them to reform, always acting for the benefit of all like the apostle (cf. I Cor. 9:19).

[26. Privileges of the Superior]

Therefore this superior, since he necessarily has more cares and toil than the others, will for this reason also have privileges in the daily regimen⁵⁴ compared with the rest, and no one will be jealous of his different mode of life, each one thinking to himself that his selection for the office of superior was due to him and that the number and variety of his cares merit some consolation. So, each day he will be supplied with the fine leavened bread previously mentioned, which we ordered to be made for him, he will drink a superior wine, and will be given provisions from the storehouse on the days that the brothers are permitted to eat fish.

I order that the reverend superior who after my death will then take over the reins, as long as he behaves in a godly and spiritual manner in accordance with the contents of the *typikon*, is to be criticized by no one nor asked to render account, since he is going to render account to the Pantokrator alone at the time of his righteous judgment.

[27. Revenues of the Dependent Monasteries]

Since other monasteries were attached by my majesty to this monastery, that is, the monastery of Nossiai,⁵⁵ the monastery of Monokastanon,⁵⁶ the monastery of Anthemiou,⁵⁷ the monastery of [p. 71] Medikariou⁵⁸ on the far side opposite the city, the monastery of Galakrenai,⁵⁹ and the monastery of Satyros⁶⁰ in accordance with the patriarchal ordinance issued for it, with all the properties of those monasteries inside and those outside the city, I wish the revenues of these to be used in the first place for all the administration, care, and maintenance of the monks themselves and the churches in the monasteries, the customary feasts and commemorations, and the other necessities of each of the monasteries. Then, after all reasonable and necessary expenditures have been made, whatever is left over of the revenue will pass to the controlling monastery of the *Pantokrator*. On the other hand if one of these monasteries should find itself in need, through a difficult situation, whatever it needs will be provided.

[28. Constitutions of the Dependent Monasteries]

The monastery of Nossiai will have a cenobitic way of life in accordance with its *typikon*, but the others will have the kelliotic way of life as they have had up to now. Since each of these monasteries has contained up to now with no distinction some internal monks⁶¹ and some external monks⁶² according to the decision of those supervising them and without due canonical observance or the maintenance of the monastic way of life in them, we have decreed that a list should be made of those in them now and it be given to the superior so that these men may be kept undisturbed. But from now on no internal monks or external monks will be admitted to any of

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these monasteries until the number of the monks in each monastery is reduced to the number laid down here.

For we wish the monastery of Nossiai to have twelve monks living a cenobitic way of life and six other servants carrying out all the necessary service of the monastery. Their way of life will be in accordance with the procedure at the controlling monastery of the *Pantokrator*.

We wish the monastery of Monokastanon to have sixteen kelliotic internal monks and these monks will receive whatever has been given to each of them up to now, in accordance with what is contained in their *typikon* and the customs they have followed up to now. There will be twelve kelliotic monks in the monastery of Anthemiou and they will receive [p. 73] whatever they were receiving up to now, in accordance with the rule they have followed.

In the monastery of Medikariou there will be six kelliotic internal monks and they will receive the same. In the monastery of Galakrenai also there will be six kelliotic monks having the same procedure as the rest of the kelliotics. In the monastery of Satyros there will be eighteen monks similarly living the kelliotic life, and each one of them will receive whatever they have been receiving up to now.

There will be no superior in any of these monasteries, but their affairs will be managed by the stewards who must be included and counted in the aforementioned number of brothers in each monastery. However, all of the monasteries will be under the superior of the monastery of the *Pantokrator* and will be set, like one body made up of different limbs, under one head, the aforementioned superior.

[29. Church of the Mother of God *Eleousa* and Its Lighting]

Since my majesty wished a church also to be built near this monastery dedicated to my most holy Lady and Mother of God *Eleousa*, and between this church and the monastery another chapel in the form of a *heroon* dedicated to Michael the commander of the heavenly armies, in which we have decreed our tomb to be placed, now at this point I must discuss matters concerning the procedure in these two churches.

For I wish the lighting in the church of the *Eleousa* to be like this. One lamp should burn continuously in the conch of the apse, one standing lamp in the *synthronon*, one before each of the two icons for veneration, three lamps before the banner of the holy icon of the *Eleousa*, and one in the dome. These then I prescribe to burn continuously. The ones that are lit in the services and are again extinguished at the end will be as follows—one in each of the three apses of the church, all the crater lamps around the *choros*, seven lamps before the middle of the *templon*, three before each of the two small *templa*, another triple lamp before the holy icon of the *Eleousa*, one lamp in each of the four corner bays, and three lamps in the narthex. A candle will be lit to burn continuously in front of the banner, one before each of the two icons for veneration, one in the dome and another in the conch of the apse. Three others will be lit and extinguished before the banner, one before each of the two icons for veneration, three before the middle *templon*, one before each of the small ones, one in the *synthronon*, [p. 75] one in each of the three apses and in the narthex, and one at the mosaic icon of the *Eleousa*.

Since it was decreed by us that on Friday evening of each week the banner of intercession with the rest of the holy icons following it should turn aside and go among our tombs and that an

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ektenes should be made for us, now we also issue these instructions concerning the illumination that there will be on that evening. For the arrival of the holy banners four large candles will be lit in those colonnades which are alongside the public colonnade and are used both for the arrival and the departure of these sacred icons. On the same evening also ten lamps will be lit and each must burn in its own lantern. In the *phiale*, where water must flow to refresh those who are weary from traveling, another lamp with lantern will be lit; on the exterior side of the church situated beyond this passageway six lamps; in the passageway situated in front of the door of the narthex one standing lamp and one candle; in the narthex itself three other lamps; before [St. John the] Forerunner above the door of the narthex one standing lamp and one candle, and opposite him before the icon in mosaic of the Mother of God one candle; outside the other *phiale*, in which other water similarly flows to refresh the people, one lamp with its lantern; inside the church four large candles, seven other candles, that is one candle before each icon that is placed above the different doors in the church, and the rest of the candles that are usually lit; in the passageway of the *heroon* itself in front of the icon of Christ, which is placed above the passageway to our tombs, two candles; all the crater lamps around the *heroon* should be lit or the chandeliers whenever these are hung up instead of the crater lamps. In the two apses of the *heroon*, that is before the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, there should be one candle each, and in the other apse one candle before the Holy Sepulchre and another candle before Christ appearing to the Marys.

[30. Clergy Stationed in the Church of the *Eleousa*]

We decree that all the clergy of the church should number fifty, that is, eight priests, two of whom, being more distinguished, will lead the others each during his own week with the same applying to the deacons, ten deacons, two choir leaders, two others acting as *laosynaktai*, sixteen chanters, four precentors, and eight orphans acting as lamplighters, and four [p. 77] other extra orphans who must receive advancement in precedence whenever the number of certified orphans is incomplete. In addition, we decree that four respectable women of propriety, mature in age and character and with the rank of *graptai*, should carry out their duties, two in one week and the other two in the next, and the four of them should be present on a Friday evening and watch over the church and what happens there. For we have decreed that these orphans and *graptai* should exist for this reason, that they should conduct the procedure of the meeting of the holy banners every week, carry out the service to those brothers who gather by refreshing them all with water, and see to the oversight of the church and the things connected with it.

[31. Duties of the Clergy of the *Eleousa*]

These clergy should follow a pattern of two weeks. Half of them should sing during one week and the rest during the second. They should sing the liturgy of the Hagiopolites⁶³ in the form that is used in the great church in the palace. On Friday of each week a vigil should take place with the night office when the banner of intercession with all the rest preceding and following it, together with all the clergy and people, will be invoked on the way by the members of the clergy of the *Eleousa* and will be met with all reverence and fitting honor and in faith brought into the church and all men and women, that is as many as follow these revered banners, will make an *ektenes*, banners and people alike in the appropriate order, for the pardon and remission of our

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sins. *Kyrie eleison* will be repeated fifteen times for each banner and then they will go forwards again towards the holy tomb.⁶⁴ Then those taking part will receive for their own consolation twelve *hyperpyra nomismata*;⁶⁵ this procedure will take place each week and the distribution also at the departure of the banners from the church.

[32. Remunerations of the Clergy of *Eleousa*]

We decree that the clergy of this church should receive as their [cash] allowances and grain allowances the following: the leading priests should each receive fifteen *hyperpyra nomismata* and twenty-five maritime *modioi* of grain each, the other six [p. 79] priests similarly fourteen *hyperpyra nomismata* each and twenty-five maritime *modioi* of grain each, the ten deacons thirteen similar *nomismata* each and twenty-four maritime *modioi* of grain each, the two choir leaders the same as the deacons, the two *laosynaktai* and the sixteen chanters twelve similar *nomismata* each and twenty maritime *modioi* of grain each, the four precentors six similar *nomismata* each and fifteen similar *modioi* of grain each, the eight orphans or lamplighters the same amount, the four *graptai* four similar *nomismata* each and twelve maritime *modioi* of grain each. The distribution will take place at the times it has traditionally been carried out from the beginning.

A weekly allowance should also be given to the servants, one *hyperpyron nomisma* each week and another similar *nomisma* to the same people each week for the vigil on Friday. At the two feasts of the Mother of God, that is the Annunciation and the Purification [Presentation of Christ in the Temple], all of them should receive two *hyperpyra nomismata* at each of these two feasts; at the commemoration of the sovereign and father of my majesty of blessed memory three *hyperpyra nomismata*; at the commemoration of my majesty the same amount; at the commemoration of the lady my most beloved wife of blessed memory the same amount; at the commemoration of the lady and mother of my majesty of blessed memory two *hyperpyra nomismata*; at the commemoration of the lady and grandmother of my majesty of blessed memory the same amount. Since my majesty hopes that my most beloved son the *basileus* Lord Alexios Born-in-the-Purple wishes to be placed, as he promised me, in the same tomb with me, they will receive at his commemoration the same as at the commemoration of my majesty.

[33. Liturgical Ritual of the Church of *Eleousa*]

However the feasts of my most holy Lady and Mother of God will take place as follows. The feast of her holy *Metastasis* will be celebrated with a vigil, with all the clergy assembling and carrying out the whole liturgy with fitting diligence, and they will receive for their singing fourteen *hyperpyra nomismata*. But if some of them are missing from this feast and are not eager to carry out all the liturgy with fitting diligence, not only are these not to share with the rest in what is given for this feast, but each of them as a punishment will be fined two *hyperpyra nomismata* out of those which belong to him. The lighting of the church will be made brighter following the procedure set out above for the feast of the [p. 81] Transfiguration in the monastery. The feast of the Entry into the Temple will have a little less lighting but the singing at the feast will be carried out by all the clergy. The same procedure will hold good also for the feast of the Birth of the Mother of God. However for each feast in the church one offering of fine wheat flour weighing two *litrai* and two other offerings of the purest flour weighing two *litrai* each also will be supplied

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from the bakery of the monastery. That made from fine wheat flour will be for the Lord, but those made from flour for our commemorations. At the same time half a maritime measure [of wine] for the eucharist will be supplied every week from the monastery and incense will be provided from the monastery also each week weighing half a *litra*. These are the things I prescribe for the church of the *Eleousa*.

[34. The Church of St. Michael and Its Lighting]

In the church of [St. Michael] the Incorporeal one candle will be lit to burn continuously in the conch of the apse and another before the tomb of my most beloved wife and one before that of my majesty. In the services, during matins and the liturgy and during vespers there should be one candle before the icon for veneration of the Incorporeal opposite the Savior, three candles before the middle *templon*, another in the holy sanctuary, and another one before each of our tombs. Lamps should be lit to burn continuously, one in the conch of the apse, a triple lamp before the Incorporeal, another single lamp in the dome of the Incorporeal, and one in the middle of the exterior *heroon*. One lamp should also be lit to burn continuously in each of the tombs which have remains and one candle in each during the services of the vigil on Friday.

[35. Liturgical Ritual of the Church of St. Michael]

All the singing of psalms in this church and the rest of the office should be carried out completely by a group from the monastery but the *trisagion* at the tombs should be performed by clergy from outside;⁶⁶ the same applies to the night office each evening. The ecclesiarch of the monastery should carefully maintain the lighting in the church of the Incorporeal and in the tombs themselves, and he should take care that this is done in the approved manner. For he must supply the oil and the candles for this church from the monastery in sufficient quantities. The liturgy should take place in this church three times a week, that is on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, and for each liturgy three offerings should be provided by the monastery weighing two *litrai* and made of the purest flour, and sufficient wine also. The particulars of our commemorations will take place as my majesty prescribed in the other more secret document.⁶⁷

However I wish the holy icon of my most pure Lady and Mother of God *Hodegetria* [p. 83] to be taken into the monastery on the days of our commemorations—that is, those for the most beloved wife of my majesty, for my majesty itself, for my most beloved son and *basileus*, Lord Alexios, if he will want to be buried with me—and while her holy icon is brought in, an *ektenes* should be made for us by all those who are following it and the *kyrie eleison* repeated thirty times. Then this holy icon should be set in the church of the Incorporeal near our tombs and on those nights vigils should be held by the monks and the clergy, and on the next day the divine liturgy should be celebrated while the holy icon is present, and after the dismissal an *ektenes* should again be made for us in the presence of all the assembled people, and they should receive when they leave fifty *hyperpyra nomismata* at each visit of the Mother of God. The division of the money should be as follows: six *hyperpyra nomismata* for the holy icon, twenty-four *hyperpyra nomismata* for the twelve *koudai*, two similar *nomismata* for the bearers and the other servants of the holy icon. The rest should be changed into *hagiogeorgata nomismata* and distributed to the banners.

However the superior and those who with him administer matters concerning the monas-

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tery and the church will take care in every way that those who are going to be appointed to the church are worthy clergy.

[36. Establishment of a Hospital]

Since my majesty also prescribed a hospital which should shelter fifty bedridden sick people, I wish and decree that there should be that number of beds for the comfort of these sick people. Of these fifty beds, ten will be for those suffering from wounds or those with fractures, eight others for those afflicted with ophthalmia and those with sickness of the stomach and any other very acute and painful illnesses; twelve beds will be set aside for sick women and the remainder will be left for those who are moderately ill. But if from time to time there is a lack of people ill either from wounds or from ophthalmia and other very acute illnesses, the number will be made up from other [p. 85] sick people afflicted with simply any disease whatever. Each bed should have a mat, a mattress with a pillow and a coverlet, and in the winter also two blankets made of goat's hair.⁶⁸ So since these fifty beds have been divided into five wards, there will be an extra bed also in each ward in which will be placed any patient whose condition of emergency requires that he lie down but who because the beds are full cannot find an appointed place to lie down. Apart from these beds, six more extra beds will be set aside with mattresses pierced through the middle for those who cannot move at all, either because of the severity of their illnesses or their utter weakness or sometimes even the pain of the wounds they may suffer.

[37. Bedding and Clothes for the Sick]

They must maintain a continuous supply of as many as fifteen or even twenty shirts and cloaks for the poorer invalids or those suffering from more acute illnesses so that whenever they go to bed they can change into these and their own clothes can be washed and kept for them to put on whenever they had got rid of their illness and are about to leave. Each year they should change any of these bedclothes and other clothes that are completely unserviceable, unsew the mattresses and pillows and pull apart the wool, and change the torn linen or sew it up again for the comfort of those in the beds. However any of the old clothes and bedclothes that have been changed and are of use for the invalids will be kept by the infirmarian, but the rest will be distributed to the poor.

[38. Medical Personnel]

When these fifty beds have been divided up into five wards, each ward will be served by two doctors, three certified assistants, two auxiliary assistants, and two orderlies. However, each evening four male and one female assistant from the assistants will remain with the patients, that is one to each ward, and they are called watchers. There will be two doctors for the women's ward, and they will be accompanied by one female doctor, four certified female assistants, two auxiliary female assistants, and two female orderlies. Of these doctors appointed to the wards the two chief ones will be called *protomenitai*, and there will be two in addition to the doctors on the wards called *primikerioi*, one teacher to teach medical skill, and two attendants. For the sick who visit from outside [p. 87] there will be four extra doctors of whom two will be physicians and two surgeons. These two surgeons will serve the women's ward also whenever any of the women has an illness caused by an open wound. These four doctors who have been assigned to the sick who

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visit from outside will be accompanied by four certified assistants and four other auxiliary ones, two of whom will also serve the monastery for a month alternately.

[39. The Doctors]

Then all these doctors will be divided into two groups and half of them will minister for one month, the other half the next month. The same will apply to the two *primikerioi*. They will visit the hospital each day without fail. But from the beginning of May to the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross they will also visit in the late afternoon and after the customary singing of a psalm they will examine the sick carefully and scrutinize each person's illness in accurate detail, treating each person with appropriate remedies, making suitable arrangements for all, and showing great devotion and a careful concern for all as they are going to render an account of these actions to the Pantokrator.

[40. *Primikerioi*]

So also, each of the *primikerioi* will go round all the beds independently each day for a month alternately and will ask each of the patients how he is being treated and whether he is being tended by those appointed to this task with proper care and attention, and he will actively correct what is not right, reprove the negligent, and firmly put an end to anything being done improperly. He will also supervise the bread that is given to the patients and anything else laid down to be given to them on a daily basis. He will watch over everything with care and will properly attend to and straighten out each matter. For this reason he should not be in charge of a ward, since supervision only has been laid upon him and no other task. If any of the sick who visit the hospital from outside is found to be seriously ill, the doctor assigned to them will explain to the *primikerios* about them and on his instruction another doctor, the most experienced of the rest, will go and examine the invalid and take appropriate measures to bring him healing.

[41. The Infirmarian and the Superintendent]

Besides the doctors described above, there will also be an infirmarian and a superintendent who will receive all that is necessary in sufficient quantities and will supply it plentifully not only for those lying in bed inside but also for the sick coming from outside, as has been stated. These men will pay no heed to the expense of these things in maintaining an unfailing supply of everything.

[42. Exhortation to the Hospital Staff]

We give this instruction jointly to all, to the doctors, the supervisors, assistants, and the rest, [p. 89] that they all turn their gaze on him, the Pantokrator, and not neglect their careful examination of the sick, knowing what a great reward this work has when it is properly carried out and again what danger it brings when it is neglected and falls short of what is fitting. For Our Master accepts as his own what is done for each of the least of our brothers (cf. Matt. 25:40) and measures out rewards in proportion to our good deeds. So then with regard to these our brothers we will all behave as people unable to escape the unsleeping eye of God and view with apprehension and great fear the time when we shall fall into his hands.

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[43. Service Personnel]

To the aforementioned group of doctors, assistants, and others these also will be added—one chief pharmacist, three certified druggists, and two auxiliaries, one doorkeeper, five washerwomen, one man to heat water, two cooks, one groom who is going to work with the horses at the mill and will also receive and keep an eye on the horses of the doctors during the time that they are treating the patients, a gatekeeper, another to act as a caterer, two priests for the churches, two readers—one of the priests, however, will also have episcopal *sphragis* to hear the confessions of very sick patients, lest they should die a spiritual and ruinous death should they depart from this life without making their confession—two bakers, four undertakers, one priest for funerals, one cleaner of drains, and one miller.

[44. Commemorations]

On the occasions of the commemorations of the sovereign and father of my majesty of blessed memory, and of the lady of blessed memory, my very dear wife, and furthermore when commemorating my own majesty and my very dear son the *basileus* Lord Alexios (if he also wishes to be buried in the same tomb with me, as has often been mentioned), all these people will gather in the church of the most immaculate Lady and Mother of God with those of the sick who are able to move, carrying out a procession and singing “Remember, Lord, thy servants since thou art good,” and “Rest with the saints,” and “Ardent intercession.” Then they should make an *ektenes*, say *Kyrie eleison* forty times and “God will bless the founders,” and they should partake in a collation and depart. Four maritime *modioi* of eucharistic bread will be provided for the collation and four similar measures of wine.

On returning, the doctors along with the other servants of the hospital should receive four *hyperpyra nomismata* and the [p. 91] fifty sick people one *trachy nomisma* each, that is for each procession in these commemorations. Also, sixteen large torches should be provided for the processions of the whole year so that the *primikerioi* can have them to light at the time of the processions.

In addition to this we decree that seventy-two monastic *modioi* of wheat, that is six *modioi* each month, should be given for the offerings of bread and *kollyba* that take place on the first day of each month and are distributed to the doctors, assistants, and other servants of the hospital. Similarly, for the offerings of bread and *kollyba* that are going to take place on the Saturdays of Meatfare, Cheesefare, and Pentecost in memory of the brothers who die in this same hospital, fifteen similar *modioi* of wheat should be given and forty *folleis* for the decoration of each of these baskets, and the doctors and other servants should receive two hundred and fifty *folleis* on each of these three Saturdays.

[45. Allotments for the Sick and for Service Personnel]

We decree that the fifty patients along with the four assistants—those also called watchers—the four orderlies, the one female assistant, the female orderly, and the man to heat water should receive each day one white loaf weighing one-fifteenth of a maritime *modios* and as food they should all be provided together with a similar *modios* of beans and another *modios* of another kind of legumes—but if peas are being provided, instead of a *modios* a half *modios* will be pro-

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vided—and in addition to these two foods a hundred onion heads. But sometimes, instead of one of the legumes, fresh vegetables will be supplied, and sufficient oil will be provided by the superintendent for the preparation of these two courses. For wine and all other refreshment the fifty will receive one *trachy nomisma* each or it will be quite in order to distribute to the fifty each day the preferred gold *nomisma* of the day in *tetartera* or *noummia*, and each of them will receive three *folleis* for their soap each Sunday. There will also be a bakery in which bread will be made for our brothers in Christ—the residents of both the hospital and the old age home—and it should have two milling establishments and three horses.

[46. Bathing of the Sick]

Since those who are ill need to bathe, as many as the doctors prescribe this for will bathe twice a week in the hospital's bath in the company of sufficient assistants and orderlies. But if someone [p. 93] because of his condition needs more frequently the therapy that comes from bathing, the doctor who is attending this sick person will be able to take him into the bathhouse without anyone hindering him.

[47. Washing and Cooking Utensils]

There will be without fail in the hospital ten hand towels, the same number of towels, and the same number of hair wipers, three wash bowls, four copper buckets, and four ewers kept by the infirmarian for those who are going to have a bath. There will also be copper cooking pots and kettles for the kitchen kept in store and other small vessels, pestles and mortars for the needs of the hospital, one large cauldron, and another small one.

[48. Doctors Assigned to the Monastery]

We decree that there should be a further two extra doctors to serve the monastery month by month and tend in every way to those in it who are sick, receiving from the hospital the appropriate remedies for the invalids, both medicines, plasters, and other necessary articles. The people who should be assigned to the monastery should be from among the more established of the hospital's auxiliaries, since they are going to receive advancement from there to the hospital. First they will take the place of those who are missing in the women's ward, then also with promotion in the other wards in succession, as has been mentioned. In place of the auxiliaries who are promoted and gain appointed status, we decree that of necessity other auxiliaries should be brought in who should carry out their service to the hospital and the monastery, as has been stated previously.

[49. Allotment of Supplies for the Infirmarian]

So that the infirmarian may not have any excuse for providing the monastery with what it needs in a niggardly fashion, he also will be receiving annually twenty *hyperpyra nomismata* for the things which should be provided for the monastery besides what has been prescribed for the hospital. Since four orderlies and one female orderly were included in the distribution of the daily bread and food of the patients in the hospital, and since there are two orderlies for each ward, the

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orderlies will receive this daily allocation, half of them on one day and half on the next. The same applies to the female orderlies so that they will carry out their task eagerly.

Sixty-six maritime measures of olive oil will be supplied to the infirmarian for the preparation of all the ointments and for the making up of plasters, and furthermore for the two lamps that burn continuously in the churches of the hospital, for eight other lamps that must burn in the churches during matins, the liturgy, and vespers, for the five lamps in the wards of the patients that will burn together with the one lamp in the portico, for the two lamps in the lavatories, for the triple lamp which should burn at the doctors' office, and for every other outlay of olive oil that he will make. Of this oil two measures will be of old oil and two others of unripe oil. [p. 95]

Similarly fifty maritime measures of honey will be supplied to the infirmarian for medicines, rose-water, oxymel, the liquid of Diospolis, sour grape juice with honey,⁶⁹ and for every other outlay of honey made by him, including the juices that will be distributed at the feast of the Savior and at the feast of the Holy *Anargyroi* celebrated on the first of November. He will also be supplied with forty measures of vinegar for all the different outlays made by him, as has been described, and twenty *peisai* of firewood for the cooking of the medications and the cooking of the juices and the *kollyba* offering. He will also receive a hundred *litrai* of pure wax weighed out on the steelyard⁷⁰ and two *hyperpyra nomismata* for incense for the churches along with what is distributed for the mulled wine, and for the candles in the churches along with what is also distributed, three *theotokia* for vine-oil,⁷¹ ten *trachea nomismata* for the purchase of cups and plates,⁷² two *theotokia* for cold cauterizers,⁷³ and one *theotokion* for the purchase of lamps.

Each month he will receive five monastic *modioi* of fine wheat flour, one hundred weighed *litrai* of sugar for the whole year, three barrels of grapes, two barrels of pomegranates, four barrels of wild grapejuice for must, four maritime *modioi* of barley for juice for each of the two feasts, and one loaf each day for poultice⁷⁴ and leavened bread. He will receive two *hyperpyra nomismata* for the purchase of candles for the patients, the doctors, the assistants, the orderlies, etc. during the festival of Palms and Holy Week, and two *hyperpyroi litrai* at the beginning of spring for the purchase of medical supplies, medicines, plasters, and the other preparations for the hospital excluding the antidote theriac and the *Mithridate*.⁷⁵ Similarly he will also receive [p. 97] ten maritime *modioi* of wheat and ten similar measures of wine yearly for the two churches of the hospital, that of the men and that of the women, for the offerings of bread and wine.

[50. Allotment of Supplies for the Superintendent]

The superintendent, since he must carry out the work of the cellarer, will himself also receive thirty-six maritime measures of oil for the seasoning of the two meals that are going to be distributed daily to the patients of the hospital, also for hot poultices⁷⁶ and enemas and all other outlay in olive oil that is going to be made by him; for juices, plasters, lozenges,⁷⁷ etc. fifty maritime measures of honey, forty-eight similar measures of must concentrate,⁷⁸ and thirty similar measures of vinegar; for wine syrup,⁷⁹ hot poultices, and plasters thirty-six measures of wine, thirty *modioi* of linseed, thirty *modioi* of salt, eight *modioi* of rice, eight *modioi* of spelt, eighteen *modioi* of almonds, and all of these in the monastic *modios* and measure. For the purchase of mastic, myrrh, incense, gum-ammoniac, and other simply medical articles, also for dates, plums,

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eggs, tow, etc. he will receive three *hyperpyra nomismata* each month, for starch⁸⁰ and jelly⁸¹ three *modioi* yearly; for the purchase of beet and the proper seasoning for *almaia* one *hyperpyron nomisma*; for the two cauldrons, one big one and one small one, which are going to be heated continuously in the hospital, also for the kitchen forty maritime *peisai* of firewood will be provided each month.

The superintendent will also receive each month one length of pine torch and twelve monastic *modioi* of barley each month for barley water, dry poultices, barley-meal, husked barley, etc., one similar *modios* of wheat-flour, half a *modios* of bean-flour, half a *modios* of lentils, half a *modios* of millet, half a *modios* of chickpeas, and a quarter of a *modios* of vetches: for the purchase of goat-fat, pig-fat, and goose-fat, deer marrow, and other such things yearly one *hyperpyron nomisma*, two *modioi* yearly for pickled and crushed olives, four *modioi* of raisins a year, twelve *modioi* of dried figs, and fifty *litrai* a year of rose water: four *hyperpyra nomismata* a year for chamber pots, cooking pots, [p. 99] aprons, pots, wooden seats, sponges, sawdust, bran, cloths, combs, and other things; and for the purchase of brooms (?)⁸² and for the washing out of the dining room which must be done twice a month by the orderlies half a *hyperpyron nomisma* yearly.

[51. Miscellaneous Dispositions for the Hospital]

There will be one large brazier in the hospital, one small one in the surgery, and another similar one in the women's ward, and they will be supplied yearly with twenty wagons of coal. Each week four liturgies will be celebrated in the hospital, on Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday for the glorification of Our Lord and in our memory, excluding the feasts of Our Lord and other significant ones which occur during the week. For on those days also the divine mystery will be specially celebrated. Commemorations of the sick who die should take place three times a year, as has been stated above, that is during [the Saturdays of] Meatfare, Cheesefare, and at Pentecost. Two *aspra trachea nomismata*, or a twenty-fourth part of the preferred gold *nomisma* of the day, will be given to the priest taking funerals for incense and candles for each of the sick who die. The washing of the feet of the sick by the superior will take place on Holy Thursday and the fifty sick will receive one *trikephalon nomisma* each; for the purchase of candles on that same day for the washing of the feet, three *hyperpyra nomismata* will be provided to be distributed to the whole medical establishment. No assistant or servant of the monastery or of any of those carrying out any task in the monastery or of those acting under its authority will occupy a bed in the hospital. For the fifty beds will be kept free for our brothers in Christ, and the care of the sick of the monastery will take place in the monastery, as has been made clear above. Those who drink a purgative will also lie down with those with ophthalmia and those suffering from a bowel disease so that they may not interrupt the sleep and rest of the other sick people by their continual getting up and the pains which come on them from this.

[52. Salaries of the Hospital Staff]

We prescribe that all staff in the hospital who have been appointed to look after the sick are to receive the following:

The two *primikerioi* as their allowance should receive seven and a half golden *nomismata* each of the most preferred type of the day, for their food half a similar *nomisma* each, and for their

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grain allowance forty-five *annonikoi modioi* of grain each. [p. 101]

The two chief doctors, those whom we have decreed should be called *protomenitai*, should receive seven similar *nomismata* each, for their food half a *nomisma* each, and for their grain allowance thirty-eight *modioi* of grain each.

The two chief surgeons should receive precisely the same.

The other four after them should receive six and a half similar *nomismata* each, for their food a third of a *nomisma* each, and thirty-six *modioi* of grain each.

The two doctors of the monastery should receive four similar *nomismata* each, for their food a quarter of a similar *nomisma* each, and thirty *modioi* of grain each.

The two physicians for the sick who come from outside and the two surgeons appointed as assistants should receive four similar *nomismata* each, for their food a quarter of a *nomisma* each, and thirty *modioi* of grain each.

The infirmarian should receive eight similar *nomismata*, for his food two-thirds of a similar *nomisma*, fifty *modioi* of grain, sixty *modioi* of barley, and a thousand bundles of hay.

The female doctor should receive three similar *nomismata* including her food allowance, and twenty-six *modioi* of grain.

The two attendants should receive three similar *nomismata* each, for their food a sixth of a *nomisma* each, and twenty-eight *modioi* of grain each.

The superintendent who is also going to carry out the job of the cellarer should receive four similar *nomismata*, for his food a third of a *nomisma*, and thirty-six *modioi* of grain.

The chief pharmacist should receive three and a sixth similar *nomismata*, for his food a third of a similar *nomisma*, for the wine and food of the druggists when they make their preparations twenty-five *trachea nomismata*, forty-two *annonikoi modioi* of grain, for sieves one *theotokion nomisma*, and in the month of May for the gathering of herbs six old *hyperpyra nomismata*, and nine similar *modioi* of grain.

The sixteen certified assistants and the four female assistants should each receive two and a half of the new preferred *nomismata* of the day, for their food a sixth of a *nomisma* each, and twenty-four *modioi* of grain each. [p. 103]

The eight auxiliary assistants and female assistants should receive two similar *nomismata* each, for their food a twelfth of a *nomisma* each, and twenty *modioi* of grain each.

The three certified druggists should receive three and a third similar *nomismata* each, for their food a sixth of a *nomisma* each, and twenty-four *modioi* of grain each.

The two auxiliary druggists should receive two and a half similar *nomismata* each, for their food a twelfth of a *nomisma* each, and twenty *modioi* of grain each.

The four auxiliary assistants who have been allocated to those from outside and to the monastery should also receive the same.

The eight orderlies together with the three female orderlies should receive four similar *nomismata* each, for their food a quarter of a *nomisma* each, thirty *modioi* of grain each, and for their monthly allowance each of them should receive four similar *trachea nomismata* every month.

The two readers should receive including their food allowance three similar new *hyperpyra nomismata* each, twelve maritime *modioi* of grain each, nine measures of wine each, and for their monthly allowance four *nomismata* each every month.

The doorkeeper should receive as his allowance including that for his food three similar

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new *nomismata*, twenty-four *annonikoi modioi* of grain, and for his monthly allowance four *trachea nomismata* every month.

The man who heats the water should receive as his allowance three similar *nomismata*, for his food a quarter of a *nomisma*, thirty similar *modioi* of grain, and a monthly allowance of four *trachea nomismata* every month.

The two cooks along with the caterer should receive including their food allowance three similar *nomismata* each, thirty similar *modioi* of grain each, and four *trachea nomismata* each every month.

The five washerwomen should receive one and a half similar *nomismata* each, twelve similar *modioi* of grain each, for their monthly allowance four *nomismata* each every month, and each Sunday twelve *folleis* each for soap to wash the clothes of the sick who are confined to bed.

The priest to take funerals should receive including his food allowance three new *nomismata*, twenty *modioi* of grain, and four *trachea nomismata* every month.

The four undertakers should receive two similar *nomismata* each, and twelve *modioi* of grain each.

The gatekeeper should receive two and a third new *hyperpyra nomismata*, for his food a sixth of a *nomisma*, and fifteen *annonikoi modioi* of grain.

The two bakers should receive as an allowance four similar *hyperpyra nomismata* each, for their food one similar *nomisma* each, and for their grain allowance thirty similar *modioi* of grain each.

The groom who is going to work with the horses of the mill and must keep the horses of the doctors during the time that they are on duty should receive four similar *hyperpyra nomismata*, and twenty-four similar *modioi* of grain; for the upkeep of these three milling horses five hundred and forty-seven *annonikoi modioi* of barley will be provided, three thousand bundles of hay, and sufficient straw; for baking the bread for the sick in the hospital and the brothers in the old age homes one hundred and eighty maritime *peisai* of firewood each year, for sieves for the bakery two *theotokia nomismata* each year, and for kneading troughs [p. 105] and linen covers and all the rest that goes with them three more *theotokia nomismata*.

There will also be a miller who must receive, if there are two milling establishments, two *hyperpyra nomismata* and sixteen *annonikoi modioi* of grain, but if there is one, half of this, and a drain cleaner who will receive two new *hyperpyra nomismata* as his allowance, for his food a sixth of a similar *nomisma*, and fifteen monastic *modioi* of grain.

In addition to these there will be a sharpener who must clean up the medical instruments which are going to be kept in the hospital and used to bleed the sick. For in the hospital itself there will be stored at all times lancets, cauterizing irons, a catheter, forceps for drawing teeth, instruments for the stomach and head—simply whatever is necessary for them all. There will also always be copper washbasins and ewers, one for each ward, for the doctors to wash after they have finished tending the sick with whatever is beneficial for the curing of each one, and the sharpener will receive one and a half new *hyperpyra nomismata*, and twelve *annonikoi modioi* of grain.

The hospital will also be sure to have the services of a hernia surgeon who will also receive as his allowance three and a third similar new *hyperpyra nomismata*, for his food a third of a

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nomisma, and for his grain allowance thirty similar *modioi* of grain.

The coppersmith who must also be the cooper will receive two similar *hyperpyra nomismata*, and twenty *modioi* of grain.

As a monthly allowance the doctors and the assistants will receive five *trikephala nomismata* each month, in the same way the *protomenites* will receive one similar *trikephalon nomisma* for distribution to the sick who come from outside, and the watchers will be given as their monthly allowance thirty-six *trachea nomismata* each month.

[53. Allocation of Other Sums]

In addition to the other things we also decree as follows. On the glorious day of the Transfiguration of Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ one *annonikon* measure of olive oil will be given for brightening the two churches in the hospital and elsewhere, and two *annonikoi modioi* of grain for the bread of the offerings and the *kollyba*; one *trachy nomisma* each will be given to the fifty patients and fifty *trachea nomismata* and nine hundred and twenty *tetartera* to the doctors and the other servants of the hospital. In the same way also at the feast celebrated on the first of November, the feast of the miracle-working saints the *Anargyroi*, for brightening these two churches and elsewhere one *annonikon* measure of olive oil will be given, one *annonikos modios* of grain for the bread of the offerings and the *kollyba*, and fifteen *trachea nomismata* will be given to the doctors and other servants of the hospital. At the feast of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple three hundred [p. 107] and nine *tetartera nomismata* will be given to the same people. On Holy Thursday when the washing of feet usually takes place, forty-two *trachea nomismata* will be given to the doctors, assistants, and the other servants of the hospital.

[54. Doctors Not to Undertake Outside Work]

However the doctors will not be allowed to go out of the city to tend any of the ruling class, even if they are very important and related to the emperor. In general we forbid any of the doctors to carry out additional work. So we forbid even more these doctors to perform unpaid service by imperial command on occasional secular excursions, and furthermore we forbid the taking of any medical articles from the hospital for these excursions, making this present document of ours a request to those who will be emperors after us.

[55. Teacher of Medicine]

We also prescribe that there should be a teacher to teach the principles of medical knowledge, who will also receive exactly the same allowances as the infirmarian. The aforementioned food allowances have been prescribed for him for this reason, that he may attend to the task of teaching and teach the student doctors of the hospital the knowledge of medicine in a consistent and zealous manner. For the teaching post is not being set up by us as an office so that the man thought fit for this responsibility receives his food allowance but neglects his teaching, since the man who is discovered not to be performing this service will be deprived of the receipt of his food allowance and someone else will be appointed instead who will carry out in full the teaching of medical knowledge according to our instructions.

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[56. Cemetery of Medikariou]

Since it is necessary to bury the brothers who die in the hospital and in the old age home, and it is a troublesome imposition to convey them either to the common burial ground of the dead which are taken to the church of the holy apostle Luke,⁸³ or elsewhere to the cemeteries throughout the city and those beyond it, we consecrate a place for their burial in our monastery of Medikariou across the water consisting of about two *modioi* of its own land, in which there will also be a chapel, and an enclosing wall will be built completely mud-blind surrounding the same place and at one point providing an entrance for visitors by means of a gate.

In the same chapel a priest, one of the monks in the monastery of Medikariou, should celebrate the sacrament once a week, that is on the prescribed day of Saturday for all the brothers who have previously died; on the day before, that is Friday, he should sing vespers with a night office. For this chapel there should be provided each year from the controlling monastery of the *Pantokrator* for its lighting twelve *litrai* of wax, one and a half *annonika* measures of olive oil, six *litrai* of incense, and for the bread and wine of the offering six monastic *modioi* of grain and six similar measures of wine. [p. 109] The same priest, who is also a monk, should not be criticized by the rest of the brotherhood for whatever donations he perhaps receives for this his service to those who die and are buried there.

[57. Standards of Measurement]

Of course the monastic *modioi* and measures must equal four-fifths of the maritime ones and the *annonika* measures two-thirds of the maritime ones.

[58. Establishment of an Old Age Home]

Since I also wish there to be an old age home in this monastery, in it will be twenty-four old men being looked after, all of them crippled, lame, infirm, and suffering in other ways. Six orderlies will give them assistance. It will not be possible for the superior or anyone else to enroll in this number of old men any who are healthy and strong either from the monastery or from any of the ruling class or even from clergy, whether they are slaves or others able to provide from their own work the means of their livelihood. For we threaten the superior himself and anyone else with great condemnation if they try to transgress this order in any way.

[59. Allowances of Old Age Home Residents]

Each of the old people in the old age home will receive each year twenty maritime *modioi* of bread, eighteen maritime measures of wine, two maritime *modioi* of legumes, fifty *litrai* of cheese, one maritime measure of olive oil, three maritime *peisai* of firewood, and two *hyperpyra nomismata* for their allowance and clothing allowance. In the distributions at the feasts and commemorations, they will also receive from what is distributed as alms from the monastery whatever the brothers at the gate receive. These men moreover will also attend our commemorations and make supplication for us, as has been specified above. For the chapel in which they are going to attend divine service they will be given annually two maritime measures of olive oil, six similar measures of wine for the wine of the sacrament, six similar *modioi* of grain for the offering, twenty-four *litrai* of wax, and six *litrai* of incense. For the priest of this chapel including his food

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allowance there will be six *hyperpyra nomismata*, twenty-four maritime *modioi* of grain, eighteen similar measures of wine, and for the reader there will be half of this. [p. 111]

[60. Transfer of the Sick to the Hospital]

If any of the old men in this old age home are afflicted with any other sickness besides the one for which they were thought fit to enter the old age home, the priest of the old age home will notify the infirmarian of the hospital and information will be supplied to the medical team and they will command one of the doctors or assistants to take care of the sick man, as has been stated, so that he finds relief from this disease. But if the illness is judged to be too serious he will be put to bed in the hospital and will be entitled to the necessary care and medical attention, and when he has regained his strength once more, he will return to the old age home. Each of the old men in the old age home will be washed twice a month in the bath of the hospital.

[61. Appointment of an Infirmarian]

From time to time an infirmarian will be appointed from the monks in the monastery, the most reverent of them all, who will devote all his concern and zeal to ministering well to the old men in his care. Also the superior himself will pay careful attention to these brothers. On Holy Thursday he will take care to wash these also as he does the sick in the hospital and after the washing he will give them three *hyperpyra nomismata*, that is one *nomisma* among eight.

[62. Allowances for the Orderlies]

Their six orderlies will each receive as an allowance two *hyperpyra nomismata* each, twenty maritime *modioi* of grain each, sixteen similar measures of wine each, and for their food two maritime *modioi* of legumes and fifty *litrai* of cheese.

[63. Establishment of a Lepers' Sanatorium]

Though we wished to set apart in a certain place separately some brothers afflicted with leprosy⁸⁴ and establish from certain revenues their relief, consolation of every kind, and care to be maintained for them undisturbed, yet the establishment in the city of such a place for their residence and way of life seemed an annoyance to those living in the neighborhood because of the concentration of buildings and it being difficult to approach, on the other hand to establish [a facility] for the special care of these seriously afflicted people selected by us in the same area which we had originally dedicated to that entire group of brothers appeared difficult for such a group.

For this reason we have turned our attention to this scheme, namely to build a special house near the other rooms in which the brothers now live being especially near to the old age home of the emperor Lord Romanos⁸⁵ [p. 113] for those afflicted brothers selected by us, and then to dedicate and set up a revenue that is going to be spent on their behalf in addition to the other revenues which these our brothers in Christ now have, so that the management of these also can be carried on jointly by the one managing the care and administration of all these afflicted brothers.

If then because of this we are thought worthy of special remembrance by this holy and

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divine community as having ourselves also expended concern and toil on the resources for their livelihood along with the others who showed care about their prosperity, I am grateful for their gratitude towards me. But if perhaps they wish to be in some way neglectful of their special entreaty on our behalf, then in that case we are confident of not being deprived of the reward for this concern by God the Good Rewarder.

[64. Responsibilities of the Stewards]

Since the multitude of cares for things both inside and outside the monastery and for matters both spiritual and secular arising from what has been decreed here by us gives rise to the reasonable thought that the superior in daily control of the monastery could not by himself superintend all matters and keep a watch on everything equally, since he could not divide his attention among so many things, we therefore decree that there be several stewards, one of necessity appointed in the controlling monastery dealing carefully with the spheres and concerns that apply to him, another one to be in charge of the other monasteries attached to this monastery and manage things in them, watching all their several stewards with much similar care and earnest zeal and effecting the appropriate improvements in all matters, another one to manage the business of the church of the *Eleousa*, and another the business of the hospital and the old age home. All of them with the permission and knowledge of the superior should deal with the matters that ought to be dealt with by them.

Furthermore I decree that the superior himself in all the most important matters should not do anything without meeting these men, neither appoint agents or suppliers, nor grant leases or immovable property or contracts or other hirings, also in the sanctioning of the most important expenditure and in the case of the other most essential procedures he should carry out whatever seems possible in the presence of these stewards, just as in the appointing of each of these stewards. For in the meeting together and advice of a greater number, the management of these matters will be carried out better.

All these stewards will be required necessarily to reside in the controlling monastery, since they should also be monks, and never on any pretext take up residence outside it, unless [p. 115] one of them has to go out to one of the properties outside for some necessary and unavoidable cause. If however the superior from time to time finds any monk among those in the associated monasteries worthy of being appointed to one of these stewardships, and if it is decided that this should be done, this also will be carried out after a joint gathering and decision of the aforementioned monks. However the successive stewards of the monasteries will each live in the monastery of which he is the steward.

[65. Inventory of Properties]

Since various properties have been assigned to this monastery both by my own majesty and by the lady my dearly beloved wife of blessed memory, those from my majesty are:⁸⁶

In the village of Diabenetoi the estate of Anthemiotes and the estate of Kostomyres, the estate Kottabos together with its hostel

In the village of Ta Mintou an estate called that of Kiboulios and the other estate called that of

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Kyklobios or of Kamytzes

The property of Monomachatos in Daonion, his estate called that of Tornikios and his other estate called Auzizin

The house of Seth in Rhaidestos with its rental property also

The house of Nestongos with its two hostels and fields, also the vineyards which he possessed outside this town

The estate of Agelastos

The village of Melandros

The estate Kryon Neron

The estate of Morochartzanes bought from the monastery of Kanchres

The village Achnistai [p. 117]

The estate of the eparch in the district⁸⁷ of Pamphilon and the estate St. Theodore

The two *aulai* of Triakontaphyllos inside the fort of Panion, of which one is at the gate of Polydrion and the other at the shore

The village Psychron Pegadin

The estate Zapechonion

The village Madytos which the Alakasseis occupied

The estate St. Blasios in the district of Apros

The village of Marmaras

The village Leuke

The *pronoia* of the late Synadenos situated in Hexamilion in the market of Brachionion

The maritime rights of the market of Brachionion with the fishing grounds

The village Thrymbakin with the dependent peasants subject to *strateia* settled there and the estate in it

The estate Limnin

The estate Platanin

The village Boupi

The village of Gregoras

The estate Kinsterna

The village Armoukomis

All the salt works in the Chersonesos [p. 119]

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The whole Jewish quarter in the market of Koila in the Chersonesos and the tithes on the wines

The whole market of Madytos apart from the *strateiai*

The whole property of Alousianos which is in this market, that is his house, his rental property, his gardens and bathhouse with the cultivated areas there and vineyards, his estate St. George of Melos, the estate St. Demetrios, his other estate Kochlakea, his estate Kareon, the estate Sthlaboi, the two villages subject to the *strateia*—that is the village Daphne and the village Damon together with the dependent peasants of Alousianos settled there

The *episkepsis* of Dadouna and that of Tzoubakos just as they were transferred to the treasury by sequestration⁸⁸

The *episkepsis* of the Kaminia which passed to the treasury as a result of an obligation to the state and was transferred from it by exchange and gift to the monastery

The village Loxadi

The village of Kanikleion which is near it

The village of Megalebos

The village Mixis with its ford

The village of Dabroboulos

The village Poumoud...

The *episkepsis* of Kypsella and the fort of Kypsella itself

The *episkepsis* of Ialoukos along with the ford of the river Maritza

The *episkepsis* of Pareuria just as it came to my majesty by gift of *sebastos* Botaneiates and by the purchase of the daughters of the *sebastos* cousin of my majesty, the monk Lord John,⁸⁹ the son of the late *sebastokrator* [p. 121]

The property St. John of Chalkeus bought from Antzas

The property of Ma..... and Malon along with the hostels in Kypsella, bought from the monastery of Psychosostes

The property Itea bought from Kourtikios

The estate of Lykos bought from Synadenos

The village of Koxes..... in the district of Popolia

The village Ta Adriana

The village Tzerkoubitzianes

The village upper and lower Blaktista with Neochorion

The estate of Theodoritzes, *sthlabopolos* of my majesty, called Kodoneianes along with the mills on it

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The village Orniales

The house of the same Theodoritzes which is in Christoupolis and its vineyards

The *praitorion*⁹⁰ in Christoupolis near the shore along with the rental property around it

The village P..... that is Neobolianes bought by the treasury through the agency of the bureau *epi ton oikeiakon* from the grandson of the late *sebastos* Eumathios along with the mills in it

The fort Panakas

The new *episkepsis* at Thessalonike as it was handed over by Galaton with the rest of its rights

The ownership of the water running down from Chortaites with the conduit and the mills operating in Thessalonike

The building-site (?)⁹¹ inside the city of Thessalonike bought from Kakodikos and Karbeas

The confraternity⁹² of Krambeas with its two bathhouses, rental property, and other rights

The estate called St. Galaktere which passed to the monastery by gift from some people of Thessalonike [p. 123]

The *episkepsis* in Berroia which passed to my majesty by gift from *sebastos* Lord Manuel Botaneiates with its pastures and other rights

The property of Machetarios in Mytilene

The property of Kapsex in Kos with the *episkepsis* of Drosos and that of the monk Christodoulos

The taxes from the metropolis of Patras

The taxes from the episcopate of Methone

Four *hyperpyroi litrai* from the taxes of the monastery of Molibotos

The house of Oumbertopolos

The house of Sarantenos

The monastery of Nossiai⁹³

The monastery of Monokastanon

The monastery of Anthemiou

The monastery of Medikariou

The monastery of Satyros together with all conditional and unconditional rights belonging to them⁹⁴

From my wife of a most blessed memory:

The *episkepsis* of Kodoneianes

The property of Skleraina in Diabenetoi with her rights in the village of Phlorios, the wharves, the maritime rights, and the fishing grounds.

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The monastery of Bordai in Opsikion⁹⁵

The monastery of Galakrenai and the monastery of St. Horaiozele⁹⁶ which came to [the former] by *epidosis* together with all conditional and unconditional rights belonging to them

The house of Raoul [p. 125]

The house 1 of the metropolitan of Athens

The building-site (?) of Radenos

The building-site (?) of Ergodotes

The building-site (?) of Kamachon

The houses in Salibaria

And the whole territory of the monastery of Savior *Pantokrator* thus brought together from different acquisitions. I also wish that all these possessions be preserved in the keeping of the monastery forever inalienable.

However as for the cells⁹⁷ built close by this monastery for our dwelling and rest or those that will be built, after my death I wish . . .⁹⁸

[66. Rights to Unlisted Properties]

Since perhaps it is likely that either some of the possessions which have already passed to the monastery have by some chance been omitted in the present document or that the possessions which will pass to it later have not been mentioned here, this will not prejudice the right of the monastery to have secure possession of what rightly and truly belongs to it. So if in accordance with the intention of my majesty the possessions of the monastery are managed fittingly and irreproachably, thanks are due to the Pantokrator my Savior who showed his favor in increasing the possessions of the monastery and helping them gain a fitting improvement.

But if the contrary results in their case, which I pray does not happen, then my majesty will invoke the Pantokrator himself to put right what has been wrongly done and will apply itself with his help to bring about an improvement, because while my majesty still lives it will not bear seeing before its eyes our enterprise thus neglected and endangered. These plans and decisions have been made in accordance with what seemed to be for the benefit of the monastery and the places connected with it, and I wish that what has been decreed should, with God's help, be observed for ever unchanged.

[67. *Typikon* Subject to Emendation by the Founder]

If after this I were ever able to alter any of my present decisions because of a change in circumstances, it will be possible to do this in accordance with my wishes and the later regulations and alterations will have force once they are set down in writing. [p. 127] For permission has been granted to me by the divine Fathers, the ordinances of the church, and the requirements of the law to make regulations and act in the case of my own possessions just as I wish.

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[68. Secret Testament of the Founder]

Since another document was drawn up by my majesty containing some of my wishes, which I wished to be sealed and deposited in the sacristy of the monastery, it will be kept there as long as I wish it to be protected in that way. But if at any time I should happen to die before my return, such being the chances of mortal life, then the document will be brought out from the sacristy and unsealed in the presence of the superior himself, the steward, the ecclesiarch, the archivist, the *megas droungarios* Nikephoros,⁹⁹ the *protonotarios* Constantine, the nephew of the metropolitan of Nikomedia when notice has been given to the most holy patriarch.¹⁰⁰ After this document has been unsealed and read, those who are mentioned in it will take care to act in every way according to its contents.

[69. Independent Status of the Monastery]

The monastery will be completely free and under no subjection, being subject to no authority, with no one having control over it, independent and self-governing, master and controller of itself, placed under no ecclesiastical control, or princely authority or any other governmental power, with sole claim on its own possessions and enjoying all of them with complete power and authority and with the regulation of inalienability observed in respect of all the things dedicated to it, whether properties or monasteries or any rights both secular and spiritual.

[70. Defender of the Monastery]

I wish this monastery to be respected, defended and supported first by my very dear son the *basileus* Lord Alexios and then in turn by the leading member of our family, not only that they should not take anything at all from the monastery but should drive away those who harass it from outside, enriching the Savior who generously repays such actions not only guiding their steps well in this life [p. 129] but also reimbursing them many times over in the judgment to come.

[71. Supplication to the Pantokrator]

But, O Savior, most high Pantokrator, Lord of mercy, Reflection of the Father's glory (Heb. 1:3), equal in honor with the Father and equal in power with the Spirit, Word of God, Wisdom and Might, who for our sakes wore our flesh and emptied thyself even as far as death on a cross for us (Phil. 2:7–8), bestowing salvation on us through thy precious blood (I Pet. 1:19; Eph. 1:7) accept this my small offering, if not like the sacrifice of Abel and the burnt offering of Abraham and the widow's money and whatever sacrifices there are pure and blameless before and after the law, yet as the repentance of the publican and the repayment by the chief tax-gatherer of what was defrauded many times over and the confession with contrition of Manasses.¹⁰¹ Bend thine ear with compassion to the anguished entreaties of our brothers and grant pardon to our transgressions. Accept those who are the living dead, half-separated from their bodies and half-dead, as suppliants of thy goodness begging for thy compassion on our behalf. Thou who waitest for our reform and repentance do not wish for the death of sinners (Ezek. 18:23). Furthermore I offer thee an acceptable advocate, that cannot be put to shame, the very fount of pity, the pure expiation, the refuge of mortals (Phil. 4:18; Rom. 3:25). For I am completing this holy habitation for the spotless and divine house of thy majesty. I pray thee, the compassionate one, accepting its confidently

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spoken entreaties, to grant us redemption from our sins, to keep the enterprise of our hands intact, to guide the souls of the monks towards thy saving will, strengthening the failings of their spirits and treating as an acceptable incense before thy goodness their penitent intercessions on their own behalf and ours (Phil. 4:18).

[72. Final Exhortation to the Monks]

What about you, my fathers and brothers? For now I shall address a few words to you also. You yourselves remember your own undertakings entered into in the presence of God and the angels, reckon up the promises made to God, shudder at the penalty laid down for their denial, bear in mind the rewards that are stored up for your labor, and taking to heart the mortification of human life that each one of you promised, desire to be rid of every earthly passion, setting aside all shouting, blaspheming, strife, and jealousy and acquiring the fruit of the Spirit, joy, [p. 131] love, peace, patience (Gal. 5:22), obedience, accepting as your master himself the one who receives from him your leadership and, like sheep their shepherd, following the leader of your souls to the life-giving pastures of salvation, being eager to obtain the inheritance of the chosen ones.

Remember also our wretchedness and, as you are able, beseech God for us. Pray also for the rulers now dead, for the parents of my majesty, for my very dear son the *basileus* Lord Alexios, for the most fortunate *sebastokratores*,¹⁰² for the rest of my very dear children,¹⁰³ and the whole world. May you keep the small flock of the Savior safe for me and may we all be kept safe by the gracious will of the Pantokrator.

The present rule of my own monastery of Christ *Pantokrator* was signed by my majesty in the month of October, of the fifteenth indiction, and of the six thousand six hundred and forty-fifth year [= 1136 A.D.].

John Komnenos in Christ our God a faithful emperor Born-in-the-Purple, and Emperor of the Romans.

Notes on the Translation

1. The title is not original, but the work of the eighteenth-century copyist of the manuscript from the Halki Theological School; the beginning of the document is missing, as it was also in the original *typikon* destroyed in 1934; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 26, n. 1.
2. August 15, 1118, upon the death of his father Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118).
3. Archaic references to the contemporary Turks, Patzinaks, Serbians, Hungarians and Bulgarians; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 27, n. 5.
4. An allusion to the opposition to his accession to the throne staged by his sister Anna Komnene on behalf of her husband Nikephoros Bryennios.
5. The clergy assigned to services in the church of the *Eleousa*; see [30, [31] below.
6. The anticipated beneficiaries of the hospital [36] ff., and lepers' sanatorium [63] below.
7. Presumably the main church of the *Pantokrator*.
8. Michael the Archangel; for his chapel see [34], [35] below.
9. Psalms 3, 37 [38], 63 [64], 87 [88], 102 [103], and 142 [143].
10. The main entranceway to the naos of the church of the *Pantokrator*.

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11. *kathiste*; cf. Laskarina Bouras, "Byzantine Lighting Devices," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982), p. 479.
12. Feast of the Transfiguration, August 6.
13. Feast of the Epiphany, January 6; feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, September 14.
14. Feast of the Annunciation, March 25.
15. Feast of the Presentation of the Lord, February 2; feast of the Birth of the Mother of God, September 8; feast of the Entry into the Temple, November 21.
16. Possibly January 30; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 40, n. 38.
17. Feast of the Holy Apostles, June 29.
18. Feast of St. Philip, November 14.
19. Feast of the Dormition, August 15.
20. Alexios I Komnenos; see the additional commemorative provisions in [32], [44] below and in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
21. Anna Dalassena; see the additional commemorative provisions in [32] below and in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
22. Irene Doukaina Komnene, author of (27) *Kecharitomene*; see the additional commemorative provision in [32] below.
23. Irene of Hungary († August 13, 1134); see the additional commemorative provisions in [32], [35], [44] below and in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
24. John Komnenos († July 12, 1067), John's paternal grandfather, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 248, and Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 49–57; he is also commemorated in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
25. Maria of Bulgaria, John's maternal grandmother, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 248; she is also commemorated in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
26. Andronikos Doukas († October 14, 1077), John's maternal grandfather, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," pp. 248–49, and Polemis, *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London, 1968), pp. 55–59; he is also commemorated in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
27. Isaac Komnenos, Alexios I Komnenos' brother, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 249, B. Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade* (Louvain, 1980), pp. 124–30, and Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 67–79.
28. Eudokia (Dobrodeja Mstislavna), for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 249, and "Pantocrator," p. 42, n. 5.
29. Andronikos Komnenos, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," pp. 249–50, and Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 229–37; he is also commemorated in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
30. Eudokia Komnene; for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 251, and Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 254–59; she is also commemorated in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
31. Nikephoros Bryennios, husband of John's sister Anna Komnene; for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," pp. 251–52; he is also commemorated in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
32. Nikephoros Katakalon Euphorbenos, husband of John's sister Maria Komnene, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," pp. 252–53; he is also commemorated in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
33. Adrian Komnenos (+ April 19, 1105), younger brother of Alexios I Komnenos, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 253, and Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 114–18.
34. Zoe Doukaina, daughter of Constantine X Doukas, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 253, and Polemis, *Doukai*, pp. 54–55.
35. Manuel Komnenos, brother of Alexios I Komnenos, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 253, and Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 62–64.
36. Nikephoros Melissenos (+ November 17, 1104), husband of Eudokia Komnene, sister of Alexios I Komnenos, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 253.
37. These three sisters of Alexios I Komnenos are: Eudokia Komnene, wife of Nikephoros Melissenos, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 253, and Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 80–84; Maria Komnene, wife of Michael Taronites, for whom see Gautier, p. 253, and Varzos, pp. 64–67; and Theodora Komnene,

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- wife of Constantine Diogenes, for whom see Gautier, p. 254, and Varzos, pp. 85–86.
38. Michael Doukas, oldest brother of John's mother Irene Doukaina, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 254, and Polemis, *Doukai*, pp. 63–66; he is also commemorated in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
 39. Husband of Anna Doukaina (see below) and a supporter of the reform leader Leo of Chalcedon, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 254, and (38) *Kellibara I* [12].
 40. Theodora Doukaina, youngest sister of John's mother Irene Doukaina, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 255, and Polemis, *Doukai*, p. 75; she is also commemorated in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71].
 41. Anna Doukaina, a younger sister of John's mother Irene Doukaina, for whom see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 255, and Polemis, *Doukai*, pp. 74–75.
 42. Second week before the beginning of the Great Lent.
 43. The week immediately preceding the Great Lent.
 44. Kamytzes, Stypeiotes, and perhaps also Dekanos were courtiers of Alexios I Komnenos; the others mentioned here are otherwise unknown; see Gautier, "Obituaire," pp. 255–57, and "Pantocrator," p. 44, nn. 24–28.
 45. The monastery's designated protector [70], who died in 1142; see the additional commemorative provisions in [32], [35], [44] and [72] below.
 46. John's youngest son, the future emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80); see also [72] below.
 47. Their dates of birth are unknown; see Gautier, "Obituaire," p. 260. There is an additional provision for their commemoration in [72] below.
 48. For this individual, see Gautier, "Obituaire," pp. 260–62.
 49. Fast of the Holy Apostles, from Monday after the feast of All Saints (Sunday after Pentecost) through the vigil of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 28.
 50. Fast of St. Philip, from November 15 until Christmas.
 51. The meaning of the obscure term *neura* is provided by Eustathios of Thessalonike, who identifies them with *ktenia*; see Ph. Koukoules, ed., *Thessalonikes Eustathiou ta laographika*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1950), p. 254. On the word *ktenion*, the demotic form of *kteis*, i.e., "scallop," see Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v. *ktenion*.
 52. Feast of the Forty Martyrs, March 9.
 53. One of the many absentee bishops nominally assigned to dioceses overrun by the Turks who were resident in Constantinople.
 54. *diaita* refers to a daily allowance for food and drink, which in the case of the superior differs from that of the monks.
 55. An imperial monastery founded by Leo VI (886–912) located in a port on the Asiatic coast of the Sea of Marmora; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 68, n. 18.
 56. A monastery located somewhere on the Asiatic coast used as a place of imprisonment by Romanus I Lekapenos (920–944); see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 68, n. 19.
 57. A monastery in the Asiatic suburbs, probably south of Anadolu Hisar, that was founded by Alexios Mousele, son-in-law of the emperor Theophilos (829–842); see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 70, n. 20.
 58. Probably near Chalcedon. See Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 70, n. 21.
 59. Monastery of uncertain identification in the vicinity of Chalcedon; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 70, n. 22.
 60. Monastery on the Asiatic shore opposite the Princes' Islands founded by Patriarch Ignatios in 873–774; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 71, n. 23.
 61. *esomonitai*, resident recipients of support from a monastic foundation; sometimes these are lay appointees—see Alexios I Komnenos, *De jure patriarchae circa monasteria* (JGR 3.409).
 62. *exomonitai*, non-resident recipients of support from a monastic foundation; they could also be laymen in some situations.
 63. Andrew, archbishop of Crete; see Beck, *KTL*, pp. 500–502, and Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 76, n. 10.

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64. Obscure reference; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 77, n. 12.
65. For this and other numismatic terms in the *typikon*, see Frolow, "Noms de monnaies" and especially Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 26–38.
66. Those described in [31] above.
67. See discussion of this document in [68] below.
68. *losnikion*; a word of Slavic origin denoting a blanket made of goat's hair or skin. See Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 84, n. 2.
69. For the preparation and medicinal purposes of rose-water, oxymel, the liquid of Diospolis, and sour grape juice with honey, see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 94, nn. 27–30.
70. *kampanos*: a balance for gross weighing; see G. Vikan, "Steelyard," *ODB*, p. 1947.
71. *oinanthion*; aromatic oil made from the flower of the wild vine. See Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v. *oinanthe*.
72. *kaukopinakia*; see Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v. *kaukion*, and Kriaras, *Lexiko*, s.v. *kaukin*.
73. *psychrokauter*; for this surgical instrument, see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 95, n. 36.
74. *artomeli*; see Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v.
75. The theriac was an antidote to poison; the *Mithridate* was a medication attributed to Mithridates VI King of Pontus and transmitted by Galen; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 95, n. 40.
76. *pyria*; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 96, n. 43.
77. *eligma (ekleigma)*; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 96, n. 44.
78. *hepsema*; see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 96, n. 45.
79. Tentative translation of the otherwise unattested *oinokolle*.
80. *katastaton*.
81. Tentative translation of the otherwise unattested *tremousa* (lit. "shaking," "wiggling").
82. *chouspe (or chouspa?)*; the meaning of this otherwise unknown term is surmised from the context.
83. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 311. It was used as a place of burial for indigents.
84. *hiera nosos*; as already noted by Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 110, n. 5, starting with the patristic age, this phrase no longer applied to epilepsy but to leprosy.
85. Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 112, n. 6, proposed Romanos I Lekapenos as the founder of this philanthropic institution.
86. For a prosopographical and topographical commentary on this chapter, see Gautier, "Pantocrator," pp. 114–25.
87. *petiton*; on this territorial unit, see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 116, n. 9.
88. *schideumos*: "seizure for debts." See Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 119, n. 20.
89. According to Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 119, n. 22, this is the monastic name of Adrian Komnenos, son of Alexios I Komnenos' brother Isaac the *sebastokrator*, who had been named archbishop of Bulgaria ca. 1140.
90. The reference may be to an "inn." For this meaning of *praitorion*, see C. G. Pitsakes, *Konstantinou Armenopoulou Procheiron Nomon e Hexabiblos* (Athens, 1971), p. 32.
91. *oikostasion*; not in the dictionaries.
92. *diakonia*; for which see M. C. Bartusis-A. Cutler, "Confraternity," *ODB*, p. 494.
93. For these dependencies, see [27] above.
94. *somatika kai asomata dikaia*; see H. Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, "La concession des droits incorporels. Donations conditionnelles," *Actes du 12^e Congrès international d'Études byzantines*, vol. 2 (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 103–14.
95. This is evidently an additional dependency contributing to *Pantokrator*'s endowment; the monastery is attested in the late eighth century when its superior Theophylact attended the Second Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (787); see Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 123, n. 38.
96. Not otherwise known, but evidently a dependency of the monastery of Galakrenai, which was itself now a dependency of *Pantokrator*; see [27] above.
97. Presumably a reference to a private residence for the founder; cf. (13) *Ath. Typikon* [6], (27)

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- Kecharitomene* [4], [79] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [115]. Given the author's dislike of kelliotic monasticism (see [28] above), he may have intended for these cells to be torn down after his death, as his uncle Isaac Komnenos foresaw being necessary for his own private residence in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [115] if it should cause "some harm or disturbance to the monastery."
98. A lacuna occurs here in all of the surviving manuscript witnesses; Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 124, n. 42, reckoned that there was at least one folio missing here from the original manuscript.
99. As Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 126, n. 46, suggested, possibly Nikephoros Komnenos, John's uncle and Alexios I Komnenos's youngest brother, for whom see Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, p. 119.
100. At the time this *typikon* was issued, the patriarch would have been Leo Styppes (1134–43); John II Komnenos died on April 8, 1143, in the midst of a patriarchal interregnum.
101. Cf. Gen. 4:8 and 22:13; Mark 12:42; Luke 18:13 and 19:2; II Chron. 33:12.
102. John's other sons Andronikos, Isaac, and Manuel; see [8] above.
103. John's daughters Maria, Anna, Theodora, and Eudokia; see [8] above.

Document Notes

- [1] Performance of the canonical hours. See comparable provisions for the performance of matins and the midnight office in (4) *Stoudios* [2], [A4], [11], [12], [18], [A36]; (20) *Black Mountain* [15], [16], [17], [18]; (22) *Evergetis* [6] and related documents.
- [2] Incenses. See comparable provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [A2] and in (22) *Evergetis* [6] and related documents.
- [3] Chants and prayers in honor of the emperors. There are analogous provisions in honor of the Norman rulers of Sicily in (25) *Fragala* [C3], [C4].
- [4] Order of precedence. Note that the honor of the priesthood outranks even high office in the monastery.
- [5] Other instructions. See the role assigned to choir organizers in (4) *Stoudios* [18]; according to [19] below, the specialist singers were not allowed to perform outside the monastery.
- [6] Illumination of the main church on ordinary days. See comparable provisions in [29] and [34] below for the foundation's other two churches, in [53] below for the chapels in the hospital, and in (27) *Kecharitomene* [66], [68], (34) *Machairas* [26], and (48) *Prodromos* [10]. (23) *Pakourianos* [33B] has a list of lighting devices.
- [7] Illumination of the main church on feast days. See comparable provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [59], [61], [63].
- [8] Liturgical offerings and commemorations. See also [32], [44], [72] below and comparable provisions for members of the imperial family in (27) *Kecharitomene* [34], [71] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [54].
- [9] Regulations for dinner. For the requirement of a common table, see also (10) *Eleousa* [13] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [44]. For the ban on secret eating, see also (20) *Black Mountain* [24], [72]; (22) *Evergetis* [9], [22]; (23) *Pakourianos* [4]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [49]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [23], [47]; (30) *Phoberos* [23], [41]; (31) *Areia* [T3], (32) *Mamas* [20]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [20]. For deference in seating precedence, see the generally stronger provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [9], (27) *Kecharitomene* [42], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [22], (30) *Phoberos* [22], (31) *Areia* [T3], (32) *Mamas* [36], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [36], and (34) *Machairas* [64]. For the second sitting for food servers, see also (27) *Kecharitomene* [45], (32) *Mamas* [17], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17].
- [10] Care of sick monks. See comparable provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [41], (23) *Pakourianos* [28], (27) *Kecharitomene* [57], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [61], (30) *Phoberos* [56], (32) *Mamas* [34], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33], and (34) *Machairas* [108].
- [11] Regulations for supper. See comparable provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [29], (22) *Evergetis* [9], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [24], (30) *Phoberos* [24], and (34) *Machairas* [66].
- [12] Dietary regulations. See comparable provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [10] and related documents, (20) *Black Mountain* [34] ff., (23) *Pakourianos* [10], and (43) *Kasoulon* [2], [3], [5], [9].

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- [13] Clausturation and abstention from bathing during Lent. See also [15] below and provisions in (7) *Latros* [6] and (31) *Areia* [T3].
- [14] Honor and respect due to the superior. See the very similar provisions in (32) *Mamas* [24] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [24]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [16] and related documents.
- [15] Bathing permitted except during fasts. See also [13] above and (22) *Evergetis* [28], (27) *Kecharitomene* [58], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [97], (31) *Areia* [T3], (32) *Mamas* [28], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28].
- [16] Reception of postulants. See the generally more detailed provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [37] and related documents; (23) *Pakourianos* [25]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A6]; (25) *Fragala* [A8], [B8]; and (27) *Kecharitomene* [30], [54].
- [17] Entrance gifts not required. See similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [37] and related documents, and in (27) *Kecharitomene* [7].
- [18] Entry forbidden to women. See similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [39], (23) *Pakourianos* [23], (24) *Christodoulos* [A10], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [84], (30) *Phoberos* [55], (32) *Mamas* [27], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [27], and (34) *Machairas* [115]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [84]. Moreover, (26) *Luke of Messina* [3] implies a ban on women.
- [19] Number and responsibilities of the monks. For regulations of numbers, see also provisions in (23) *Pakourianos* [6], (27) *Kecharitomene* [5], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [48], (30) *Phoberos* [42], (31) *Areia* [M4], (32) *Mamas* [5], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [23], which declines to set a fixed number.
- [20] Confession to the superior. See similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [7], [15]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [16], [17]; (30) *Phoberos* [14], [35]; (32) *Mamas* [29], [30]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [29], [30]; and (34) *Machairas* [50], [141].
- [21] No overnight absences. A strict provision not found in other regulations for male monasteries.
- [22] Communal provision of clothing. See similar provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [75], (22) *Evergetis* (25), (23) *Pakourianos* [9], (27) *Kecharitomene*, (29) *Kosmosoteira* [52], (30) *Phoberos* [44], (31) *Areia* [T4], and (34) *Machairas* [102], [103].
- [23] Superior's discretionary authority. (22) *Evergetis* [26] and related documents concede discretionary authority to the superior in dietary regulations.
- [24] Election of the superior. See different provisions in (10) *Eleousa* [15], [16]; (22) *Evergetis* [13]; (23) *Pakourianos* [5]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A18]; (26) *Luke of Messina* [11], [12], [13]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [1]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [12], [32]; (30) *Phoberos* [35]; (31) *Areia* [M7], [T10]; (32) *Mamas* [1]; and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1].
- [25] Installation of the superior. See also provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [13], (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [33], (32) *Mamas* [1], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1].
- [26] Privileges of the superior. This is a rejection of the principle of equal food and drink for all monks found in (22) *Evergetis* [26] and related documents.
- [27] Revenues of the dependent monasteries. For identifications of these institutions, see Gautier, "Pantokrator," p. 68, nn. 18, 19, p. 69, nn. 20–22, and p. 70, n. 23. They are also listed in the inventory in [65] below, along with an additional dependency of Bordai in the theme of Opsikion.
- [28] Constitutions of the dependent monasteries. Cf. the less tolerant treatment of a kelliotic dependency in (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26].
- [29] Church of the Mother of God *Eleousa* and its lighting. See comparable provisions above in [6] for the main church, [34] below for the church of St. Michael, and [53] below for the hospital chapels.
- [30] Clergy stationed in the Church of the *Eleousa*. This facility is staffed with a corps of imperial clergy such as had existed in Byzantium since the late ninth century, when one such group staffed Basil I's (867–886) *Nea Basilike*; see my *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987), pp. 136–37, cf. 225.
- [31] Duties of the clergy in the Church of the *Eleousa*. Cf. the provision in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [7]. The commemorations are in addition to those provided for in [8] above and [44] below.

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- [32] Remunerations of the clergy of the *Eleousa*. See also provisions in (19) *Attaleiates* [33], 35.
- [33] Liturgical ritual of the church of the *Eleousa*. See comparable provisions for the church of St. Michael in [35] below.
- [34] The Church of St. Michael and its lighting. See comparable provisions above in [6] for the main church and in [29] for the church of the *Eleousa*.
- [35] Liturgical ritual of the Church of St. Michael. See comparable provisions for the church of the *Eleousa* in [33] above.
- [36] Establishment of a hospital. See a similar provision for a public hospital in (39) *Lips* [50], [51]. The chapter headings employed in our translation are listed below to facilitate reference:
- [37] Bedding and clothes for the sick.
- [38] Medical personnel.
- [39] Doctors.
- [40] *Primikerioi*.
- [41] The infirmarian and the superintendent.
- [42] Exhortation to the hospital staff.
- [43] Service personnel.
- [44] Commemorations.
- [45] Allotments for the sick and for service personnel.
- [46] Bathing of the sick.
- [47] Washing and cooking utensils.
- [48] Doctors assigned to the monastery.
- [49] Allotment of supplies for the infirmarian.
- [50] Allotment of supplies for the superintendent.
- [51] Miscellaneous dispositions for the hospital.
- [52] Salaries of hospital staff.
- [53] Allocation of other sums.
- [54] Doctors not to undertake outside work.
- [55] Teacher of medicine.
- [56] Cemetery of Medikariou.
- [57] Standards of measurement.
- [58] Establishment of an old age home. See a similar provision for old age homes in (16) *Mount Tmolos* [1] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [70]. The chapter headings employed in our translation are listed below to facilitate reference:
- [59] Allowances of residents of the old age home.
- [60] Transfer of the sick to the hospital.
- [61] Appointment of an infirmarian.
- [62] Allowances for the orderlies.
- [63] Establishment of a lepers' sanatorium. See the special study of this unit of the foundation by Philipsborn, "*Hiera nosos*."
- [64] Responsibilities of the stewards. Separate stewards to administer monastic dependencies are also found in (9) *Galesios* [221], [244]; In (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [11] and (34) *Machairas* [86] there are two stewards.
- [65] Inventory of properties. See other inventories of immovable properties in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 9] and (27) *Kecharitomene*, Appendix A, (35) *Skoteine* [31] ff., (37) *Auxentios* [17] (missing), (39) *Lips* [44] ff., and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [121] ff.
- [66] Secure possession of unlisted properties. See Gautier, "Pantocrator," p. 22, for a possible example of one such property.
- [67] *typon* subject to emendation by the founder. See similar provision in (27) *Kecharitomene* [3]; cf. (23) *Pakourianos* [5], in which this authority is denied to the superior.

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- [68] Secret testament of the founder. For other secret testaments, see (14) *Ath. Testament* [3]; (24) *Christodoulos* [B]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [1], [96], [116]; (51) *Koutloumousi* [C11]; and (52) *Choumnos* [A3].
- [69] Independent status of the monastery. See similar provisions in (10) *Eleousa* [18]; (22) *Evergetis* [12] and related documents; (23) *Pakourianos* [18]; (24) *Christodoulos*; and (31) *Areia* [M11], [T12].
- [70] Defender of the monastery. See similar provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [3], (32) *Mamas* [3], (33) *Heliou Bomon*, and (34) *Machairas* [160].
- [71] Supplication to the Pantokrator. See similar requests for heavenly assistance in (10) *Eleousa* [14], (19) *Attaleiates* [7], [15], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [119].
- [72] Final exhortation to the monks. See similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [42] and related documents.

29. *Kosmosoteira: Typikon of the Sebastokrator Isaac Komnenos for the Monastery of the Mother of God Kosmosoteira near Bera*

Date: 1152

Translator: Nancy Patterson Ševčenko

Edition employed: L. Petit, “Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d’Aenos (1152),” *IRAIK* 13 (1908), 17–75, with text at 19–75.¹

Manuscript: Copy executed by Elias Tsitelis (before 1904) from a codex of the late sixteenth century

Other translations: None

Institutional History

*A. Career of the Founder*²

Isaac Komnenos was born in 1093, the sixth child of Alexios I Komnenos and Irene Doukaina Komnene. In 1118 he supported his eldest brother in securing the throne as John II Komnenos (1118–43) against the opposition of their sister Anna Komnene. He became patron of the Chora monastery in Constantinople and was responsible for a substantial reconstruction of the church.³ According to his account in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [89], he originally intended to be buried there, and a suitably elaborate tomb was prepared for the purpose. He was also a patron of the arts at this time, having commissioned a deluxe octateuch now in the library of the Seraglio in Istanbul.⁴ Isaac quarreled with the new emperor in 1122 or early 1123, and went into voluntary exile for the next fourteen years.⁵ During this period he visited the Holy Land, where he paid for the construction of an aqueduct for the benefit of a monastery of St. John the Forerunner near the Jordan River.⁶ Isaac’s repeated attempts to gain support from neighboring rulers for an alliance against his brother met with no success. He was reconciled with John II in 1136.⁷

After a brief period of good relations, Isaac began to intrigue against John II again, and was banished to Herakleia in Pontos, where he was to be found at the emperor’s sudden death in a hunting accident in 1143.⁸ After John II’s son Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) was able to secure the throne, he recalled his uncle from exile. Isaac next appears at his patrimonial estate at Thracian Bera when he began the composition of his *typikon* in 1152. As he indicates below in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [5], it was Isaac’s intention to donate virtually his entire estate to the monastery. According to the author, his role was as “restorer” of this foundation [5], implying that there was once an earlier facility on the site, but the foundations of the monastery church that is preserved on the site are of the twelfth century. At the time when the *typikon* was concluded, there were still auxiliary facilities that had not yet been completed, including the burial chapel for the monks [118] and possibly also the cistern [73], cf. [113]. The date of Isaac’s death is unknown, but a large, broken marble slab, now in the Episcopal Museum in Alexandroupolis, preserves an epigraphical inscription that may have been composed for his tomb.⁹

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B. Subsequent History of the Foundation in Byzantine Times

Thirty years after the date of the *typikon*, Isaac's son became emperor as Andronikos I (1183–85). This talented but brutal ruler visited the monastery of *Kosmosoteira* in 1183 to pay his respects at his father's grave.¹⁰ The monastery may well have been confiscated by the government of Isaac II Angelos (1185–95), who led a successful revolt against Andronikos I, but who was arrested and blinded at the monastery in 1195 at the orders of his own brother Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203).¹¹

After the conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade, the monastery was awarded to Geoffrey Villehardouin, author of the famous history of that crusade.¹² The locality did not long remain in Latin hands, but was conquered by the Bulgarian ruler Kalojan (1197–1207) in 1205. It was back under Greek rule by the time the Nicaean Emperor John III Vatatzes (1221–54) stopped at the monastery in 1246.¹³

In the later Palaiologan era, the monastery had become a fortified site and, like many imperial monasteries, an occasional place of imprisonment.¹⁴ In 1341, the then rebel and future emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–54) found the monastery defended by its monks and a group of peasants.¹⁵ The monastery had been abandoned by its monks by the time of Kantakouzenos's abdication in 1354.¹⁶

C. Conversion of the Church to a Mosque in Ottoman Times

The Turks conquered Bera in the second half of the fourteenth century, either in 1357 or (more likely) in 1371/72.¹⁷ The old monastery is mentioned again in 1433, when Bertrandon de la Broquière visited the site.¹⁸ A Turkish town of some size had already grown up around the fortified citadel that stood on the site of the former religious foundation, the church of which had already been converted into a mosque. Another traveler, Robert de Dreux, who visited Bera in 1699, was also aware of the mosque's origins as a Christian church.¹⁹

D. Identification of the Site and Publication of the Typikon

Manuel Gedeon published the first excerpts from (29) *Kosmosoteira* in 1898.²⁰ The Russian scholar Theodore Uspensky's study of Isaac Komnenos' *Seraglio Octateuch*, published in 1907 for the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople, interested him in identifying the location of Isaac's monastery. He identified the large mosque at the Turkish village of Feredjik, evidently once a Byzantine church, as the likely site of the foundation.

Feredjik was renamed Pherrai when this area of Thrace was assigned to Greece after the Balkan Wars of 1912–13. Earlier, during a brief period of Bulgarian rule over this area, the mosque was reconverted into a church, and the minaret was demolished along with most of the other structures dating from the Turkish era.²¹ The Greek Archaeological Service undertook structural repairs to keep the building from collapsing in 1926, and Anastasios Orlandos undertook a survey published in 1933.²² An inscription over the main door records the reconsecration of the church by Ioakeim, metropolitan of Alexandroupolis, in 1940.²³ Aside from the monastery church, certain fortifications, likely of the Palaiologan era or later, and some aqueducts survive on the site.²⁴

Gedeon left the production of the complete edition of (29) *Kosmosoteira* to Louis Petit, to whom he sent his working manuscript, a recent copy made by a journalist, Elias Tsitselis of the

island of Kephallenia, of an older manuscript, once thought to be of the fifteenth century, which Tsitselis had found in the collection of Nicolas Pollanis, a local priest.²⁵ Petit was unable to obtain access to the older manuscript for his edition of (29) *Kosmosoteira* published by the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople in 1908.

Analysis

This remarkable document takes its place among the reform *typika* of the Evergetian tradition even though the author, like his mother Irene Doukaina Komnene, found some of the egalitarian features of the reform movement not to his liking. Generally speaking, Isaac Komnenos assimilated the ideology and structure of the Byzantine reform monastery of the twelfth century to more familiar norms of traditional private patronage, which provided far fewer constraints on a founder's patronal prerogatives.

A. Use of the Model Typikon

Like (27) *Kecharitomene*, this is an Evergetian *typikon*. While it is necessary to sort the chapters of (27) *Kecharitomene* into entirely new analytic groups in order to appreciate the nature of its relationship to other Evergetian texts, (29) *Kosmosoteira* lends itself to a more straightforward division into five sections marked by differing degrees of originality and dependence on the model *typikon*.

1. Section One: Original Prefatory Materials

From the start, the author intended to employ the Evergetian model for his foundation. His identification [8] of his intended source, (22) *Evergetis*, is remarkably straightforward. His own regulations, chapters [1] through [12], in the first section of the *typikon* were intended only as a supplement to the Evergetian transcriptions that were to follow.

2. Section Two: Evergetian Transcriptions

The next section of the *typikon*, chapters [13] through [29], are, as the author himself declares, essentially transcriptions from (22) *Evergetis*, meant to serve as a guide for his own foundation in liturgical and dietary matters. These transcriptions are usually verbatim or nearly so; only at the end of [27] is there a significant addition by the author.

3. Section Three: Mixed Original and Evergetian Materials

The author indicates the conclusion of his quotations in [30] and claims that "what follows now are my own wishes." In actual fact, the author continues to rely heavily on (22) *Evergetis* through extensive quotations or paraphrases in this third section, chapters [30] through [61], which are intermixed with some of his own materials and another Evergetian *typikon* as well. This is an unusual technique; the authors of the two earlier documents dependent on (22) *Evergetis*, (30) *Phoberos* and (27) *Kecharitomene*, were considerably more deferential to the actual text of the model *typikon*, just as our author himself was in the previous section of his *typikon*. In this third section Isaac also seems to echo (though he does not actually quote from) his mother's *typikon*.²⁶ Our author uses this *typikon*, or perhaps some other Evergetian document such as the lost *typikon* of the *Philanthropos* monastery, to update the ideology of his own *typikon*. Thus we find a provision [45] for the emergency sale of movable property to other churches, an injunction [57] to

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preserve the cenobitic constitution even *in extremis*, a prohibition [58] of even profitable sales or exchanges of property, and a description [60] of procedures for safeguarding the treasury that are all to be found in (27) *Kecharitomene* but not in the earlier (22) *Evergetis*.

4. Section Four: Idiosyncratic Original Materials

This section, from chapters [62] through [116], contains a large number of often quite brief chapters, apparently of the author's own composition. Only [81], in rejecting the right of monks to question their superior, seems to owe inspiration to (22) *Evergetis* [18], yet there is a great deal of repetition and clarification in this section, much of it resulting from the author's rethinking of certain provisions he copied out of or paraphrased from (22) *Evergetis* earlier in the document. In a more smoothly edited document like (30) *Phoberos* or his mother's (27) *Kecharitomene*, the author's personal preferences are folded into the appropriate places in the transcriptions from (22) *Evergetis*. Perhaps it was the author's illness [70] if not his approaching death that made a more orderly, conventional approach to the composition of an Evergetian *typikon* impossible.

5. Section Five: Justifications of Earlier Provisions

This last section, chapters [117] through [119], was apparently composed in response to a critique of the rest of the document, perhaps by the foundation's superior or even the entire community of monks. It has a noticeably defensive tone as the author defends his provision [117] of privileges for certain of his lay associates and his plans [118] for the burial of deceased monks.

6. The Immediate Model for the Document

Like John, the author of (30) *Phoberos*, Isaac Komnenos was a close copier of (22) *Evergetis*, certainly much more so than his mother in her (27) *Kecharitomene*, not to mention the authors of later documents in the Evergetian tradition. (30) *Phoberos* and (29) *Kosmosoteira* are frequently the only surviving *typika* to adopt some of (22) *Evergetis*' more archaic institutions, such as the latter's three treasurers. They frequently break down (22) *Evergetis*'s long, unwieldy chapters in the same way, they draw upon their model in the same order, and in a few cases they even share the same chapter numeration (see Appendix C).

That (30) *Phoberos*, written either a little after or perhaps even before the final edition of (22) *Evergetis*, should be such a close copy of its model is hardly remarkable. What is surprising is that (29) *Kosmosoteira* should be such a close copy of (22) *Evergetis* too, and have so few detectable links (except those few chapters in Section Three) to (27) *Kecharitomene*. This curious set of relationships among these four documents suggests that there was a "vulgate" version of (22) *Evergetis* circulating during the twelfth century that was somewhat different from our present text of that important document. Hypothetically, it could be identified with either the "Lost *Typikon*" postulated earlier as the source of the post-Evergetian content of (27) *Kecharitomene* or perhaps some other link in the chain of reform *typika* stemming from the original (22) *Evergetis*.²⁷ Whatever its precise identity, it appears to have been the most likely model first for (30) *Phoberos*, and then later in a slightly updated version, for (29) *Kosmosoteira*.

B. Stages of Composition

Except perhaps for (19) *Attaleiates*, (29) *Kosmosoteira* claims honors for the worst job of editorship by its medieval author. Therefore, there are more traces than usual of the document's stages of

composition. Repetitive treatments provide some important clues. There are at least twenty-five multiple treatments of regulatory topics: twenty doublets, seven triplets, and a quintuplet.²⁸

The chapters in Section One, the author's original prefatory materials, surely were composed first. These include a notice [8] of his intent to use (22) *Evergetis* and a chapter [10] that echoes that source. The composition of the chapters in Section Two, the Evergetian transcriptions, likely followed shortly thereafter. Much as the author promises in [8], there is little overlap of materials in these two sections.²⁹

The chapters in Section Three, those of mixed original and Evergetian derivation, were composed after some reflection on the provisions contained in the earlier sections. In this section the author returns to five topics he had addressed earlier in Section One.³⁰ A doublet of a topic addressed in this section for the first time³¹ indicates that the section was composed in at least two sittings, with a break someplace between [45] and [58]. Most likely the author broke off work on this section after the Evergetian quotation in [53] and resumed work on this section with [54], an original chapter .

Section Four is home to the largest number of repetitive treatments. Most of these are reconsiderations or reiterations of positions on topics first discussed in the previous sections of the *typikon*.³² Others show the author taking up new topics and then returning to them again in this same section.³³ These latter repetitions help to demonstrate that this section, like the previous one, was not composed in one sitting either. Rather, it appears that the author added chapters as he saw a need for them.

Three double treatments occurring in this section suggest a break in composition after [68] but before [72].³⁴ The wordings of the first sentences of [70] and [71] suggest that these chapters were products of individual work sessions. A doublet confirms a break between [71] and [76].³⁵ Perhaps the author resumed work with [72], with three more double treatments suggesting a break again sometime after [86] but before [91].³⁶ Judging from two later double treatments, there was apparently a final compositional break in this section after [97] but before [113].³⁷ The reading of the text suggests [100] as the most likely place for the author to have resumed work. Lastly, the author states in [115] that a regulation he provided in [113] was written "some time ago," indicating another compositional break. Thus the Fourth Section may well have taken seven sessions or more of writing to complete.

The Fifth Section of the *typikon* consists of three chapters, two of them justifications of earlier provisions.³⁸ These suggest that before the author composed this section, an earlier version of the *typikon* (or at least knowledge of its contents) had begun to circulate among the monastery's officials and perhaps also the monks, provoking the criticism that led to this response.

The evidence adduced above then indicates that Isaac Komnenos worked on (29) *Kosmosoteira* in no less than twelve work sessions, which supports Nancy Ševčenko's hypothesis of the incremental composition of this document.³⁹

C. *Lives of the Monks*

1. Number of Monks

Isaac Komnenos evidently changed his mind several times on the number of monks who should

be supported at the monastery. Originally, he sets the [3] the number at fifty; they were to be assisted by another twenty-four servants. All were to be over thirty years of age, but later he lowers [49] the minimum age to twenty-four or to twenty-six (so [50]) for relatives and acquaintances of monks previously admitted. Eunuchs were banned, except [55] for donors of valuable property. The superior is told [3] to select monks “adorned with virtue, not ones vulgar and undisciplined and thoroughly without learning,” which may mean that the author expected that they be of upper-class origins. Subsequently, the author declares [48] his anticipation of a future increase in the number of monks, circumstances permitting; but under the influence of (22) *Evergetis* [23] he also endorses the idea of not exceeding the number of pious monks that happened to be available. Towards the end of the *typikon*, the author simply urges [88] the superior to “make haste to further increase” the number of monks in so far as the income of the foundation permits.

2. Liturgical Duties

All of the fifty monks were to be assigned [3] to the performance of hymnody in the church. The treatment of the canonical offices [13], [14], [15] follows the pattern established in (22) *Evergetis* [4], [5], [6] from which the author quotes with only minor changes. The author had heard reports of monks in other monasteries who neglected their hymnody, and not wanting that to happen here, provides [68] set hours for their awakening in winter and summer. Later, he makes [80] the superior responsible for seeing to it that the monks meet their responsibilities to the choir; only sickness could excuse an assigned monk from attendance.

There were processions on the most important feasts, at Easter [103] and on the patronal feast day of the Dormition of the Mother of God [65], cf. [10]. The other feasts of the Mother of God were also celebrated [9] with special solemnity.

3. Manual Labor

The servants’ performance of their duties was to be considered [81] “as a hymn to the Mother of God,” that is to say, of equivalent worth to the choir duties of the monks. The only specific responsibility mentioned is the obligation of some to serve [61], [70] as orderlies in the hospital. Although the author instructs [97] the superior to establish craftsmen inside the enclosure of the monastery to work on construction projects, these were likely a separate group of lay workers at the disposal of the monastery.

4. Length of the Novitiate

Isaac Komnenos provides [55] that there should be a novitiate of six months’ duration. Unlike the authors of other documents in the reform tradition, even (22) *Evergetis* [37], he chose not to make any distinction between distinguished (i.e., noble) applicants and others in the term of probationary service required. Relatives and acquaintances of monks already at the foundation were especially welcome; the author instructs [50] the superior to admit them “without hesitation or hindrance” provided they were at least twenty-six years old.

5. Sacramental Life

The monks’ sacramental life was patterned closely on the provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [13], including a “first and great confession” [18] at tonsure, daily confession [16] to the superior thereafter, and reception of the eucharist [14] at the superior’s discretion.

6. Cenobitic Lifestyle

The founder endorses [6] the cenobitic lifestyle, which he understood to mean in the first instance a common partaking of meals. Later in the *typikon*, paraphrasing (22) *Evergetis* [25], he also provides [52] for a communal supply of clothes (with specific items listed in [62]); an endorsement of the key provision of (22) *Evergetis* [26] providing for equality in food, drink and clothing for all follows [53] immediately afterward, backed up as in the model *typikon* by monthly visitations by the superior to the monks' cells to seize unauthorized belongings. In typical fashion for this author, there is a repetition [57] of the exhortation to the common life, which paraphrases a chapter of (22) *Evergetis* [42]. Substantial donors, however, may have been exempt (cf. [55]) from the requirement of communal residence.

7. Cohabitation of Older and Younger Monks

The author chooses [51] to revive the idea of (22) *Evergetis* [24] of placing monks two to a cell. After having been advanced by his model *typikon*, this idea had fallen out of favor in the twelfth century; (30) *Phoberos* [43], for example, suggested putting three monks in a cell. Perhaps the pairing facilitated the author's eagerness [50] to admit relatives and acquaintances of the monks (as their servants?). To avoid problems, the author declares [49] that no young men less than twenty-four years of age (twenty-six in [50]) should be admitted, even if they are relatives or friends. Doing the opposite he notes has been the cause of "many scandals and physical harm, antithetical to laws and canons." This had also been the opinion of the author of (30) *Phoberos* [58].

8. Servants

The author's use of (22) *Evergetis* [24] for placement of two monks in a cell pointedly omits the Evergetian ban on servants for the obvious reason that they are in fact permitted [3] in this foundation. Ten of the servants were assigned [61] to the foundation's infirmary.

9. Diet

Although he incorporates ([24] through [29]) the dietary regulations of (22) *Evergetis* [9], [10], [11], Isaac Komnenos also declares [6] that there will be a "bounteous supply" of food. Later in the *typikon*, he returns [63] to the subject to discuss the ordinary diet during non-fast days, thereby filling a gap in the model *typikon*, which was more concerned about special provisions for fasts and feasts. The founder also urges the superior to make cheap seasonal purchases of bulk quantities of oil and wine for use throughout the year.

10. Bathing

Originally it seems that Isaac Komnenos intended that the monks should use [97] the same bathhouse as was placed at the disposal of the general public for the monthly baths he allowed them to take. The superior could allow the sick unlimited access. Later, the founder evidently thought better of this arrangement. Towards the end of the *typikon* he announces [113] that, after his death, the monks should use another bathhouse that he had erected for his own "seasonal use and enjoyment." But like his own private residence, the founder provides that it should be torn down "if it should appear to be a liability to the monastery and [lead] to the monks being disturbed by powerful individuals" admitted to the monastery to worship the Mother of God.

11. Care of Sick Monks

Isaac Komnenos provides [61] that a “competent and proven” doctor be given “appropriate recompense and a salary” for caring for sick monks and other “ailing brethren” he has arranged to be hospitalized in the foundation’s old age infirmary (*gerokomeion*, for which see [70]). Eight [70] or perhaps ten [61] of the monastery’s servants would help the doctor care for the patients.

12. Burial

When Isaac Komnenos began his *typikon*, he had not yet completed the cemetery in which he proposes [54] to bury the foundation’s departed monks. There would be a funeral procession and proper burial for each. The founder trusted to the superior to know how to perform the funerary hymn (*epitaphios*). Except for certain favorites and a possible future benefactor willing to pay handsomely for the privilege of an exception, the author wished [86] to keep all burials outside the enclosure wall of the monastery. This proved to be an unpopular decision with the monks (they had been promised burial within the enclosure), and subsequently the author thought he had to explain [118] his change of plans. By that time, he had laid the foundations of a small chapel at his own preferred site near the bathhouse, and of a stone wall meant to enclose it. The superior was to finish the work if necessary, adding a mausoleum. Two monks would be stationed at the chapel for performing commemorative services.

D. Constitutional Matters

1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

Isaac Komnenos declares [12] that *Kosmosoteira* should be an independent monastery, never “subject to imperial, private or patriarchal authority” nor to any of his own heirs. In a damaged part of this text there appears to be an allusion to the *charistike* or perhaps some more recent scheme of institutional exploitation; the founder instructs the superior to avoid “this sort of damaging administration conducive to destruction.”

Later in the *typikon*, the author returns to the subject in a more legalistic chapter [31] that reflects some of the terminology in (22) *Evergetis* [12] but is actually closer to the longer, post-Evergetian formulation (cf. (30) *Phoberos* [33], (27) *Kecharitomene* [1], (28) *Pantokrator* [69], and (32) *Mamas* [4]) which explicitly bans future participation in the *charistike*, *epidosis*, and *ephoreia* among other schemes for institutional exploitation.

Isaac also notes that he has obtained [108] by patriarchal grant the ruined church of St. Stephen of the Aurelian at Constantinople, which, after having been restored by him, was now to serve as *Kosmosoteira*’s dependency, to be used as a temporary residence by monks visiting the capital city.

2. Leadership

The author appeals [31] to the emperor to assist the monks should they find themselves in difficulty in the future, but he refrains from designating him as the institution’s protector. In this important respect then the author was truer to Evergetian reform principles than either his mother Empress Irene Doukaina, the author of (27) *Kecharitomene*, or his brother, Emperor John II, the author of (28) *Pantokrator*.

Instead, in a pietistic gesture, Isaac designates [12] the Mother of God herself as protectress; guardian and ally for the protection (*ephoreia*) and assistance (*epikouria*) of the monastery. This meant in effect that the superior, in keeping with Evergetian principles, would be the real master of the foundation: “he has free rein over the administration of the monastery in all things.” Later, Isaac defines [31] this to include the enrollment and removal of monks in the foundation and the control of income and expenditure. Moreover, the superior was to have the right (if in full possession of his faculties at his death) to choose [12], by convocation and consultation of all the monks, his successor. Even if the superior were to resign, he would still have the right, with the help of the rest of the monks, to designate his successor.

As he does with many other topics, the author returns [32] to this one to expand on his earlier treatment. Here he takes his lead from (22) *Evergetis* [14], providing for a new superior to be chosen “without the influence of bribery or any heated voting,” preferably unanimously or at least by a vote of the “more important and eminent monks.” This second treatment of the issue represents the author’s attempt to reconcile the Evergetian tradition with his own ideas, which envisioned a more important role for the superior in choosing his own successor.

Later on in the *typikon*, Isaac Komnenos adds [78] the restriction that no outsider is to be chosen superior, but should be selected instead from among the monks of the brotherhood.

The superior’s installation ceremony was designed to emphasize [33] that the superior derived his authority ultimately from the *typikon*, which was placed with the pastoral staff on the altar.

3. Selection of Other Officials

The superior, in conjunction with “some distinguished” monks of the brotherhood, was to select [34] the steward by vote. He would then be installed in a ceremony cribbed from (22) *Evergetis* [13]. The monastery’s other officials were to be chosen [35] in the same way, then installed in office as in (22) *Evergetis* [29]. In the description of the other officials of the monastery, Isaac limits himself to those featured in the comparable chapters of (22) *Evergetis*, [30], [31], [34], namely the three treasurers [36], the disciplinarian and the refectorian [37], and the property administrators [40]. He does not draw on the more developed list of officials and duties found in his mother’s *typikon*, (27) *Kecharitomene* [19] through [29]. As in (22) *Evergetis* [38], the officials were to have lifetime tenure [38] unless they proved to be unfit.

4. Consultative Rule by the Superior

By sticking so closely to the example of (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14], [19], the author deliberately or otherwise revives the importance of the preeminent monks in such matters as the choice of the steward [34] and, if necessary, his deposition [41], and the witnessing of permitted alienations [45]. They were also to be responsible [78], along with the superior, for the security of the foundation’s inventory. There is no provision for removal of the superior. Following the lead of (22) *Evergetis* [18] which freed the superior from any financial accountability to his monks, Isaac was unwilling to allow [81] the monks to question the superior about anything, with the notable exceptions of his “desiring things that [could lead] to the ruin of the monastery” or if he should “think or act in secret” (i.e., fail to govern consultatively).

5. Patronal Privileges

Patronal privileges made for a subject dear to the author’s heart. During his own lifetime, Isaac

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Kommenos reserves for himself the right to appoint the superior [12] and, apparently, the steward [5]. Isaac lived at the foundation in his own residence, which he instructs [115] the superior to tear down after his death if it should become a nuisance because of travelers camping inside of it. Isaac also expected [89] to be buried in the monastery church, after his tomb had been packed up from its original site at the Chora church in Constantinople and shipped to the foundation at *Kosmosoteira*. The monks were to conduct [90] a daily service of propitiation at the tomb in the narthex. Isaac reminds the superior and monks no less than five times of their responsibility not to neglect his commemoration.⁴⁰ After all, he declares [11], “I did assign my own possessions and properties to the monastery and to them,” thereby reminding the superior and the monks of the essential patronal *quid pro quo* of the twelfth century. He was unwilling to allow [77] the monks to create a portrait of himself, however, since “to do so would be a condemnation of my wretched soul.” The icons at his tomb, however, were to be maintained [109] and restored if necessary.

Even the monastery’s independence is made conditional [12] on its employment of the founder’s secretary Michael and the retainer Leo Kastamonites. The former, said to have played an important role in the design of the foundation, was to be housed [107] by it within the enclosure of the monastery “as [though he were] an internal monk⁴¹ and a ward (*thremma*) of the monastery.”

Both Michael and Leo Kastamonites were to be buried in the church [107] cf. [54] and receive posthumous commemoration. Leo was to be reckoned as “an integral part” of the monastery which may mean that he too, like Michael, was to be considered as an internal monk.

The third special beneficiary was to be [107] the founder’s foster child Konstitzes. He too was to be a ward of the monastery. The founder also provides [110] him and Michael with the income from several villages for their maintenance. Like the latter, Konstitzes would eventually be buried [107], cf. [86] “in a special place of honor” in the monastery.

The founder attempts to clarify [117] these privileges towards the end of the *typikon*. The tone adopted suggests that the founder was trying to respond to objections raised (perhaps by the superior or some other representative of the foundation) to his indulgent provisions for his associates in [107]. To this end, he emphasizes the reciprocal nature of the relationship between his associates Michael and Leo on the one hand and the monastery on the other. The former are to “be of assistance and every support” to the latter “and look upon it and reckon it as something that lives in place of me.” As far as Konstitzes was concerned, the monastery was to pay maintenance to him until he reached the age of twenty-four and married.

So the answer to the question “Who would dare to send an imposed guest (*katapemptos*) to an independent monastery?” posed by the authors of (27) *Kecharitomene* [53] and (32) *Mamas* [26], is here “the founder” himself. Isaac Komnenos is careful, however, to exclude [107] Leo Kastamonites’ relatives from claiming his associate’s properties and possessions after his death. Presumably these were to be inherited by the monastery. Inheritance claims such as those foreclosed here may have been among the reasons founders more committed to reform principles than our author were anxious to eradicate the use of “imposed guests” (cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [79]).

The founder’s parents, Alexios Komnenos and Irene Doukaina, were to be commemorated on the days of their deaths [54], cf. [95]. Two Jewish converts, Irene and an unnamed husband, were to continue to receive [93] from the foundation the cash and in-kind annuities originally provided to them by the founder in a promissory note. He also instructs the superior to honor other promissory notes that might be presented to him.

6. Reading of the *Typikon* and Security of Documents

Following (22) *Evergetis* [43], the founder provides [59] for a monthly reading of his *typikon* at mealtimes. The physical security of the *typikon* and other important documents was also a concern for the founder, as it was for other founders of the twelfth century. He clearly foresees [69] how an institution might lose valuable property titles by surrendering them to officials making inquiries into the monastery's rights and privileges. The *typikon*, the inventory, and property titles were to be kept [99] in a secure storehouse ([78] says in the sacristy); working copies authenticated by the local archbishop were to be used for ordinary purposes in their stead. Officials conducting investigations were to be supplied [69] with transcriptions of the relevant passages. The documents relating to the foundation's dependency of St. Stephen at Constantinople were also to be kept [108] in the sacristy at *Kosmosoteira*. Isaac Komnenos instructs [92] the superior to retrieve certain property titles from his counterpart at the Chora monastery, which suggests that the former had originally intended to donate the properties represented by these deeds to that monastery. The sacristy was also where Isaac expected to place [116] the sealed *Gift and Grant Ordinance* meant to serve as the final conveyance of his personal properties to the monastery.

E. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

Isaac Komnenos borrows from (22) *Evergetis* [13], [30], [34] to set up the financial administration for his foundation. The officials are the steward [34], the three treasurers [36], and the property administrators [40]. After his own death, he expected the superior, along with "some of the distinguished [monks] of the foundation," to select [34] a steward. The preeminent monks could join together to remove [41] an unfit steward, even one being protected by the superior. In keeping with the sentiments of his age, Isaac orders [46], cf. [36] that officials keep accurate records of the foundation's income and expenditures. He declines [57] to follow (22) *Evergetis* [42] in the latter's assertion that losses to the monastery through the carelessness of its officials were morally equivalent to outright theft or profiteering. His provisions [60] for a cash box jointly administered by the superior and certain of his financial administrators are shared with other post-Evergetian institutions in the reform movement. He likewise adopts another practice of twelfth-century founders (e.g., his mother the author of (27) *Kecharitomene* [24]) in providing [94] for a special reserve treasury to be used in the event of some calamity befalling the monastery.

2. Inalienability of Property

Isaac Komnenos makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [19] in asserting [45] the inalienability of his foundation's properties except under the usual calamitous circumstances such as a fire, earthquake, or destruction resulting from an enemy raid. He returns to this topic later in the *typikon* in order to prohibit [58] alienations again, even if "the price or equivalent value offered should be double, triple, or even ten times as much" as the property offered for sale or exchange (cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [9]). The books donated by the founder and listed in the inventory were also to be included [106] in this ban on the alienation of property. Evidently a certain vineyard, then in dispute with a monastery dedicated to the Pantokrator, was considered a special case, for he provides [106] that the superior was to agree to a cash settlement and use the money to buy another useful property if *Kosmosoteira*'s claim to the vineyard could not be vindicated.

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3. Entrance Gifts Not Mandatory

As in other reform monasteries, applicants for admission to *Kosmosoteira* were not to be obliged to make [55] a contribution (*apotage*) or offering (*prosenexis*) to secure entrance. As elsewhere, however, free-will gifts were acceptable, and such gifts, once made, could not be reclaimed by donors who subsequently chose to leave the monastery.

4. Other Sources of Income

The *typikon* contains [69] a list of consecrated immovable properties, including some atypical ones such as rights over annual fairs, a marketplace, and twelve ships exempt from cargo tax. Isaac Komnenos shows himself keenly alert to other possible sources of income for his foundation. He was willing to bend [86] his rule against burials within the monastery's enclosure to allow the burial of someone "who is very rich" in exchange for a sizable donation of movable and immovable property. Likewise, a very wealthy individual seeking tonsure was to receive [55] preferential admission and "dwellings suitable for his own habitation" in exchange for substantial donations. Isaac Komnenos foresees [103] the possibility of adding to the foundation's endowment of landed properties through subsequent purchases of neighboring villages. The public bathhouse [97] and the fisheries on the river Maritza [66] were certainly additional sources of income for the monastery; the bridges [67] the founder built for the convenience of travelers may have been too.

5. Provisions for Building Maintenance

Isaac Komnenos shared the concern of his mother, Irene Doukaina, the author of (27) *Kecharitomene* [73], for building maintenance. His foremost concern in this regard was the structural integrity of the monastery's church. The roof was to be retiled [79] as needed to avoid water damage to the adornment of the church. The monks were also to clean [82] the marble floor of the church daily. Should the building be destroyed by an earthquake or other calamity, the superior was to rebuild [102] it without delay, preserving the existing quality in color and material. The founder also provides for the maintenance or repair of the monks' dormitory and the old age infirmary [70], the cistern [73], cf. [113], the bridges [67], the peasants' church of St. Prokopios [104], and the dependency of St. Stephen [108] in Constantinople.

F. Overall Philosophy

1. Moral Integrity of the Foundation's Assets

The founder declares [2] that he has built this foundation in order to seek pardon for "innumerable sins," and that this was done "not out of the profits of injustice," but "at private expense." He also asserts [5] that the resources he has donated to the foundation are the result of lifetime labors and his "patrimonial inheritance, not "some unjust way of life." Later, he repeats this assertion, asserting [70] that "not one stone did I bring to the church without paying for it."

2. Acceptance of Privileges

To be sure, the author reproduces some of the egalitarian sentiments of his model, (22) *Evergetis* [9], [17], that can properly be seen as hostile to aristocratic privilege within the monastery. Among these are the condemnation [22] of quarrels about seating at meals which includes the violent language of its Evergetian equivalent, and the disclaimer [42] of noble birth or largess as qualifi-

cations for the superiorship. These bows to the rhetoric of the Evergetian tradition must be discounted in view of the founder's willingness to make [55] disciplinary concessions in return for substantial donations of landed or movable property. The extensive special privileges conceded by the founder to his lay associates Michael and Leo Kastamonites as well as to his foster-son Konstitzes (see especially [107]), while not necessarily compromising the cenobitic life of the monastery, still must be seen as counter-Evergetian revivals of the mores of traditional private patronage before the monastic reform.

G. External Relations

1. Canon Law and Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

Isaac Komnenos continues the trend observable among founders of the twelfth century of showing increasing knowledge of and a certain amount of respect for the requirements of canon law. For example, he justifies [49] his exclusion of youths from the monastery by claiming that their admission is "antithetical to the laws and canons." Our author's willingness to establish cooperative relations with the ecclesiastical hierarchy was where the claims of canon law evidently had the greatest impact on him. As noted above, he recognizes [4], [32] the right of the archbishop of Traianoupolis to install the monastery's superior. This official is also charged [4] with preparing an official report on disputes between the superior and the monks that cannot be resolved internally. This was to serve to frame the dispute for resolution by the patriarch of Constantinople "in accordance with the canons." The same metropolitan was also to assist [41] the preeminent monks in counseling the superior to dismiss an unfit steward.

After some further reflection, the founder returns [111] to this subject late in the *typikon*. By then he thought it prudent to limit patriarchal authority explicitly to the mediation of disputes, "for I have not given to the patriarch any other authority or supervision over the monastery." Evidently Isaac had become worried that even partial recognitions of the perquisites of the ecclesiastical hierarchy might compromise his foundation's independence.

2. Institutional Philanthropy

Isaac Komnenos, claiming that he would "happily throw thrift to the wind when it comes to distributing to those in need," warns [87] the monks not to cite a lack of income as an excuse for not practicing almsgiving. Indeed, this document may be the first of our *typika* to take almsgiving so seriously as an institutional obligation, going considerably beyond the perfunctory charity found in earlier documents, even those in the reform tradition. Edible leftovers from the monks' "bounteous supply" of food were to be distributed [6] daily at the gate. Additional charitable distributions at the gate were to take place [9] on all feasts of the Mother of God; on the feast of the Dormition, some one hundred "brothers" were to be invited [10] into the monastery to partake in a special feast for which the founder provides detailed prescriptions. As usual in the Evergetian tradition, women were excluded [56] from the regular distributions but not from those on feast days. They were allowed [84] access to the church to worship and pray for the founder's soul three times a year.

There was also to be an old age home (*gerokomeion*) established [70] at the monastery, located inside the outer periphery wall. Isaac Komnenos provides [61] that a "competent and proven"

doctor paid by the monastery was to be stationed there here to care not only for sick monks but also lay people, up to the institution's capacity of thirty-six patients. Ten ([70] says eight) of the monastery's servants would assist the doctor; an ordained monk assigned to a church established there would provide [70] religious services. Those patients who died at the infirmary would receive proper funerals and burials.

Isaac Komnenos also was proud of his abolition [114] of highway tolls along a road running near the monastery that belonged to him as a "paternal inheritance."

More than most of his contemporaries, Isaac Komnenos realized the necessary link between the financial resources dedicated to his foundation and the performance of the prescribed philanthropic activities. He asserts [96], however, that the former are "adequate for a reasonable reinforcement of my injunctions."

3. Relations with the Peasantry and Other Dependents

Isaac Komnenos' solicitude for the dependent peasantry, like his commitment to institutional philanthropy, goes considerably beyond the typical admonitions of his contemporaries that the institution's cultivators should not be treated unfairly. Claiming that the latter have "not been accustomed to unjust collections," he asserts [71] further that "it is senseless and unreasonable for a holy monastery such as this to be awarded to the Mother of God yet have the inhabitants who furnish its income be harmed or made miserable, in so far as this is unnecessary." This demonstrates a fairly keen social conscience for the times. He repeats [76] this line of argument later as justification for his admonition to the superior and the monks not to impose any new burdens or unreasonable exactions on the peasants.

Later still, the founder provides [103] that the peasants' villages are not to be dislocated. He also establishes [104] a ministry for them based in a church of St. Prokopios he has restored for this purpose. They were also permitted to worship in the monastery's church. The founder charges the superior personally with their spiritual supervision.

Clearly, though, the founder placed the welfare of his monks above that of the peasants. The latter were not allowed [86] to bury their dead in their own villages, but were to do so far away so that "no unhealthy pollution enters the atmosphere." Beasts were also prohibited [101] from the monastery's enclosure, also for hygienic reasons.

A curious set of provisions which attempt to adjudicate [98] cases of arson among the villagers, while displaying the author's good sense and compassion, do not oblige the monastery to provide financial assistance to the victims. Soldiers (*stratiotai*) were stationed [110] in two of the monastery's villages; they were notorious for behaving badly towards their neighbors and they refused to pay taxes. The superior was nevertheless to treat them as potential allies, useful for defending the monastery's villages from unnamed predators. Another group of privileged, armed dependents, the *vestiaritai*, were left over [112] from the construction of the monastery. They were to be allowed to settle near the monastery's fortress (*kastron*), from which base they would provide dispatch services for the superior and, like the tributary soldiers, protection for the monastery's possessions.

TWELFTH CENTURY

Notes on the Introduction

1. After this volume had gone to press, a new edition of the *typikon* of Kosmosoteira was published by G. K. Papazoglou based on a late 16th-century manuscript recently discovered in the library of the monastery of Saint Gerasimos on Kephallenia (*Typikon Isaakiou Alexiou Komnenou tes mones Theotokou tes Kosmosoteiras* [Komotene, 1994]). This is the manuscript thought to have been lost at the turn of the century (see below, Institutional History, D: Identification of the Site and Publication of the *Typikon*, and Petit, “Kosmosotira,” pp. 17–18). We wish to thank Dr. Nancy P. Ševčenko for bringing this edition to our attention and regret that it appeared too late for us to benefit from it.
2. For Isaac Komnenos, see Ferjančić, “Sevastokratori,” pp. 156–57; Jurewicz, *Andronikos I*, pp. 28–35; Kazhdan, “Isaac Komnenos,” p. 1146; Varzos, *Genealogia*, vol. 1, pp. 238–54.
3. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 531–38; Ousterhout, *Kariye Camii*; and Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, vol. 1, pp. 3–23.
4. Uspensky, “Seralskii kodeks.”
5. Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J. A. Van Dieten (Berlin, 1975), p. 32; for dating, see Sinos, *Kosmosoteira*, p. 9, n. 24.
6. Kurtz, “Unedierte Texte,” p. 102.
7. Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, p. 32; for dating, see Sinos, *Kosmosoteira*, p. 10, n. 29.
8. John Kinnamos, *Historia*, ed. A. Meineke, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1836), p. 32.
9. Ed. Uspensky, “Seralskii kodeks,” p. 26, and Patterson (Ševčenko), “Frescoes,” p. 47 (with English translation); see also discussion in Ousterhout, rev. Sinos, *Kosmosoteira*, p. 230.
10. Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, p. 280.
11. Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, p. 452.
12. Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Edmond Faral, 2 vols. (Paris, 1938–39), vol. 2, p. 190.
13. George Akropolites, *Chronike Syngraphe*, ed. A. Heisenberg, *Georgii Acropolitae opera* (Leipzig, 1903), corr. P. Wirth, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1978), p. 72.
14. John Kantakouzenos, *Historiarum libri IV*, ed. L. Schopen, *CSHB*, vol. 2 (Bonn, 1828–32), pp. 111, 348; see also Sinos, *Kosmosoteira*, pp. 22–23.
15. Kantakouzenos, *Historiarum libri IV*, *CSHB*, vol. 2, p. 196.
16. Kantakouzenos, *Historiarum libri IV*, *CSHB*, vol. 3, p. 310.
17. See discussion of the Turkish sources in Sinos, *Kosmosoteira*, pp. 26–27.
18. C. H. A. Schefer, *Le voyage d’Outremer de Bértrandon de la Broquière* (Paris, 1892), pp. 179–80.
19. Robert de Dreux, *Voyage en Turquie et en Grèce*, ed. H. Pernot (Paris, 1925), p. 85; quoted in Sinos, *Kosmosoteira*, p. 29, n. 102.
20. Gedeon, “Typikon.”
21. Sinos, *Kosmosoteira*, p. 33.
22. Orlandos, “Mnemeia.”
23. Ed. Patterson (Ševčenko), “Frescoes,” p. 19, n. 5.
24. Orlandos, “Mnemeia,” pp. 29–34; Ousterhout, rev. Sinos, *Kosmosoteira*, p. 229.
25. Petit, “Kosmosotira,” p. 18.
26. (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], [9], [10], [24], [55]; cf. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [57], [58], [45], [60], [57], respectively.
27. For these proposed intermediaries, see the discussion above in (27) *Kecharitomene*, Analysis, B. Model *Typikon*.
28. Repetitive treatments, by section (roman numerals) and chapter (in brackets):
 - Secret Testament*: I [1]; IV [96], [116]
 - Honest endowment: I [2]; IV [70]
 - Number of monks: I [3]; III [48]; IV [88]
 - Installation of the superior: I [4]; III [32]

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- Patriarchal mediation: I [4]; IV [111]
Diet: I [6]; II [24] through [29]; IV [63]
Maintenance of cenobiticism: I [6]; III [57]
Founder's commemoration: I [7]; [11]; IV [64], [72], [91]
Feast of the Dormition: I [10]; II [29]; IV [65]
Institutional independence: I [12]; III [31]
Election of the superior: I [12]; III [32]
Performance of the hours: II [13] through [15]; IV [68], [80]
Financial officials: III [36]; IV [60]
Inalienability of property: III [45], [58]
Bookkeeping requirements: III [46]; IV [100]
Communal provision of clothing: III [52]; IV [62]
Parents' commemoration: III [54]; IV [95]
Special privileges for associates: III [54]; IV [107]; V [117]
Burial of the monks: III [54]; IV [86]; V [118]
Women's access: III [56]; IV [84]
Old age home: III [61]; IV [70]
Relations with the peasantry: IV [71], [76]
Care of the cistern: IV [73], [113]
Storage of the inventory: IV [78], [99]
Burial of Konstitzes: IV [86], [107]
Founder's icons: IV [90], [109]
Monks' bath: IV [97], [113]
Demolition of the founder's personal facilities: IV [113], [115]
29. But see discussions of diet in I [6] and in II [24] through [29], and of the feast of the Dormition in I [10] and in II [29].
30. Installation of the superior: III [32], cf. I [4]; institutional independence: III [31], cf. I [12]; election of the superior: III [32], cf. I [12]; number of monks: III [48], cf. I [3]; and maintenance of cenobiticism: III [57], cf. I [6].
31. Inalienability of property: III [45], [58].
32. Financial officials: IV [60], cf. III [36]; communal provision of clothing: IV [62], cf. III [52]; diet: IV [63], cf. I [6] and II [24] through [29]; founder's commemoration: IV [64], [72], [91], cf. I [7], [11]; feast of the Dormition: IV [65], cf. I [10], II [29]; performance of the hours: IV [68], [80], cf. II [13] through [15]; honest endowment: IV [70], cf. I [2]; old age home: IV [70], cf. III [61]; women's access: IV [84], cf. III [56]; burial of the monks: IV [86], cf. III [54]; number of monks: IV [88], cf. I [3], III [48]; parents' commemoration: IV [95], cf. III [54]; *Secret Testament*: IV [96], [116], cf. I [1]; bookkeeping requirements: IV [100], cf. III [46]; special privileges for associates: IV [107], cf. III [54]; patriarchal mediation: IV [111], cf. I [4].
33. Relations with the peasantry: IV [71], [76]; care of the cistern: [73], [113]; storage of the inventory: [78], [99]; burial of Konstitzes: [86], [107]; monks' bath: [97], [113]; demolition of the founder's personal facilities: [113], [115].
34. Founder's commemoration: IV [64], [72]; performance of the hours: IV [68], [80].
35. Relations with the peasantry: IV [71], [76].
36. Founder's commemoration: IV [72], [91]; storage of the inventory: IV [78], [99]; burial of Konstitzes: [86], [107].
37. *Secret Testament*: IV [96], [116]; monks' bath: [97], [113].
38. Special privileges for associates: V [117], cf. III [54], IV [107]; burial of the monks: V [118], cf. III [54].
39. N. Ševčenko, "The Tomb of Isaak Komnenos at Pherrai," *GOTR* 29.2 (1984), p. 135, n. 2.
40. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [7], [11], [64], [72], [91].
41. An *esomonites*; cf. (28) *Pantokrator* [28].

TWELFTH CENTURY

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As noted above, this document shares substantial portions of the text of (22) *Evergetis*. In our translation, the borrowings are indicated in boldface type.

Translation

1. [This is the] *typikon* which I, Isaac [the *Sebastokrator*], son of the great Emperor Lord Alexios Komnenos, have composed for the monastery which I restored and newly established in the fifteenth indiction of the year 6660 [= 1152 A.D.]. Herein is placed the mosaic image¹ of the *Kosmosoteira* and Mother of God, in many a thing my Benefactress. The region in which this monastery lies was altogether devoid of men and houses, [the haunt] only of snakes and scorpions . . . [lacuna in the text] wild in every way, and encircled by wide-spreading branches. This *typikon*

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of mine here sets forth in detail my decrees for the administration with the aid of God of this monastery, and commands (these decrees which I now set forth in it being in fact [contained] in my *Last and Secret Testament* as well, if not in their entirety) that my orders remain immutable and undisturbed throughout all time.

The preface and full text of the *typikon* have been issued by me while in a condition of grave illness. This is the preface to the full text of [p. 20] this present work which I, the restorer of the holy monastery, as has been said, have set forth in burning faith for my Benefactress, the Mother of God and *Kosmosoteira*. A flawless ally in every way, I now invoke thee, since it is with thine aid, O all-seeing universal Queen, that I would express the wishes nourished in this at present so wretched mind of mine.

2. Many men, O Mother of God, have piously accomplished in this life many projects pleasing to God, in praise of him, the Lord of all. The works successfully completed proclaim him—though in silence—as with songs of praise, by their very perfection, in the upright faith of the doers. Such men have been allotted everlasting fame after their departure from here. Some of them, by the distribution of monetary wealth to the poor (whom the Lord our Creator called his brothers) (Matt. 25:40), drew his gracious mercy on to themselves and arrived at an end of life befitting their efforts. Others in grand style founded magnificent churches at private expense, and established holy monasteries throughout cities and towns. Still others, those who lacked worldly substance, contributed—according to Gregory, great among theologians—the intensity of their zeal as a graciously accepted offering to the Lord of all.² Those who successfully accomplished [their projects] and those who did not, received the Lord and Master of all things as the immediate protector of their individual works.

As for me, the unfortunate, I am a latecomer to the works of good men, one who never once gave thought to, nor was cognizant of these things—nor hitherto reflected on the potential advantage for my soul in some form of good works. I was finishing the course of my life as a barren and senseless shoot, when at long last I emerged, feebly, barely, from my terrible and long-standing habits as from the deep grave of ignorance, and calculated in my mind the punishment for sin lying in store for me in the next life. Woe is me! So, for some remission and pardon for my innumerable recurring sins, I emerged by God's inclination from the darkness of ignorance, as I have said, and, exiled from my own country for what crimes God knows, and afflicted with grave illness, I restored this holy monastery of the Mother of God, with the help of God, not out of the profits of injustice (far be it from me, O God!) but at private expense, and in a fashion I believe not unpleasing to God.

From its very foundations, then, I restored the said monastery, in a deserted area, formerly nothing but thickets, commonly called Bera, for the salvation of many [lacuna in the text] and as atonement and ransom for my countless errors. I awarded it to the *Kosmosoteira*, Mother of God and Benefactress. I encircled it round with a strong enclosure [wall], and the other necessary dwellings around it, including the wine cellars and granaries, and—to be brief—all the rest of the things required by the monks. I tightly enclosed everything within a double wall. I then realized it was necessary to draw up a well-ordered system, in burning faith for the Mother of God, for this holy monastery and the monks who abide therein with God. [p. 21]

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3. First of all, then, for the sake of [singing] the praise of her and of God whom she bore, fifty adult monks living in the monastery [should] be appointed as cantors, seemly in their godly lives and conduct, to attend constantly upon God and to pray for my wretched soul. Moreover, [there should be] another twenty-four adult monks to serve these and to tend to their needs. I do not wish that any one in either group be less than thirty years of age, nor indeed do I want any eunuch to be included among the monks, for I want the monks to live far from this cause of turmoil to natural habits and to morals. For Gregory, the great Theologian, praised quiet in all things as being good for those who devote themselves to it, citing Elijah's Carmel and John's desert as testimonies to this truth.³

I want the most honorable superior of this said holy monastery, [whoever he may be] at the time, to enlist monks such as these into it: monks [who are] adorned with virtue, not ones vulgar and undisciplined and thoroughly without learning. May the superior, in his impartial and incorruptible judgment, find [both] my *Kosmosoteira* and Benefactress the Mother of God, and his own godly zeal, ever-present allies indeed for the ready recruitment of such monks. For the Word of God has plainly declared: "Seek and you will find, knock and it will be opened to you" (Matt. 7:7; Luke 11:9).

4. I wish for the superior who is next in line for the succession to be installed in the office of superior by the most holy metropolitan of Traianoupolis—always being chosen for the succession by all the monks, as the metropolitan must not be involved in any other way in regulating the freedom of the monastery. Since it often happens that matters of dispute crop up between men, and even among monks themselves through the malice of the devil, I wish those insoluble and troublesome matters which crop up among the monks to be resolved by their coming together with each other and by the judgment of the most honorable superior. Thus they will achieve quiet and that state of peace with one another which the Lord Creator lovingly recommends at all times to all of us who believe in him. But if the matter is raised by the monks against the superior himself and is insoluble, let the monks raising the matter, along with the most honorable superior, [armed] with the official report of the metropolitan of Traianoupolis of the time, approach the most holy ecumenical patriarch, and submit the matter to him and let it receive the solution from him, in accordance with the canons.

No patriarchal [representative] should be sent by his Holiness for an investigation into this monastery of *Kosmosoteira*. Rather, let the inquiry and the judgment in the affair come to a valid conclusion before the patriarchal presence and authority. Which patriarch I beseech with tears not to deal lightly with such matters of the monastery and the judgments [concerning them], nor to allow any delay, on account of his Holiness' overcrowded [p. 22] schedule, in the monks' sojourn [in the capital], lest they stay away from the monastery for too long and occupy themselves in legal matters. I request that these things be carried out in this way in accordance with the pastoral dignity of my lord the ecumenical patriarch, for the eternal reward of his soul and a peaceful state of affairs among the monks.

5. Now since I have dedicated practically all my resources, both movable and immovable, to the Mother of God here, for my spiritual salvation—on account of which I, the unfortunate, eagerly

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await [her] intercession with her Son our God for my wretched soul—I want and wish the monks of the *Kosmosoteira* my Mother of God to be of one mind with each other with regard to these regulations of mine, and to offer their unwavering assistance. For we have learned that division is in every way a cause of ruin. “For love one another” (John 13:34), our Creator in his divine way has exhorted us. We should keep always the archetype of this exhortation ever present; we must look towards it, and strive [to perform] good works. For this very reason I have appointed an utterly flawless steward for the monastery and have established the Mother of God within it. For [it is] my long labors in life, and my patrimonial inheritance—and not some unjust way of life, so help me God!—which have rightfully furnished the things I have donated to the monastery. O Mother of God, receive graciously what has been offered to thee!

6. I wish the monastery to be a cenobitic institution, [this being] a way of life pleasing to God, and [I wish] the monks to submit to the superior. Their daily meals should be supplied to them all together at a common table, and, it being likely that, with the help of God, they will have a bounteous supply of food, I make this request to the most honorable superior of the time, and to those performing under him as monks: I earnestly recommend to them, although I am altogether unworthy to make recommendations, that whatever edible food is left over each day from their table be distributed by the superior to the poor at the entrance to the monastery enclosure. Let the superior of [the monastery] instruct some of the monks to carry this out without fail for the relief of my boundless errors, so that we may not hear the Lord saying bitterly, “When did you see me hungry and feed me, or thirsty and give me drink?” (cf. Matt. 25:37) and the following chapters of our salvation.

7. Hence, as [I] move along with the present discourse and [begin] to lay out before the monks point by point my whole account and my will, I make this slight request of the most honorable superior and all the monks under him: after the dismissal at vespers, they [should] all assemble before the icon of the Mother of God, and perform the *trisagion* every evening, [to bring] mercy on my wretched soul, and pronounce on its behalf a suitable *ektenes*, and stretch out their arms and recite this way the *kyrie eleison* forty times, with all their hearts. Then they [should] make this recitation: “O Lady Mother of God, deliver thy servant who approaches thee, the founder Isaac, [p. 23] from the punishment to come, by thy intercession with thy Son, enfolding him in thy immaculate arms.” Then they should say the “Fervent intercession” and what follows, while modifying in this way the phrase in the middle: “And deliver him from spiritual danger, as thou art the sole swift protectress,” and one further *theotokion*, suitable for [bringing] mercy on my soul. Thereupon they should each of them proceed to their cells to rest. I wish this to be done throughout the year, in perpetuity, and I beg with tears for loyalty [on the part] of the monks, that they do not set aside this godly undertaking—this being [but] a slight request.

8. Among those wise men who restored holy monasteries and assigned monks to them to sing praise to God, there were many who preferred the *Typikon* of the *Evergetis* to the [*typika*] used in other monasteries. I, too, following their [example], prefer this one, and I wish the monks to join in using it for all instructions, and not to overlook that which it stresses concerning the straight

spiritual path. They should hold to it with reference to the hymnody, and indeed with reference to all [matters of] conduct, as the best possible guide for the benefit of the soul, and [as it were] an *enkolpion* [in a setting] of pearls.

For this very reason I took particular care, with guidance from Heaven, in copying and transcribing, in this work, word-for-word what was written in the [other *typikon*]. I then entrusted it to the monks of my Lady the *Kosmosoteira* and Mother of God and to the most honorable superior, [having arranged things] with as much precision and close consideration as anyone could want, ordering the monks to keep it inviolate throughout all time. For through this work they will surely be guided toward what should be done piously and strictly with respect to hymns to God, and the distribution and use of appropriate food and diet for the body. I have avoided expounding on these things at great length in this work here, not wishing the mind to be trapped by empty repetition. So then let me pull together what I intend [to say] in this present *typikon*, invoking God and his forever-virgin Mother as defenders of this present exposition and its inalienable preservation. What these things are, and what is my intention regarding them, may this present exposition make entirely clear, and may thou, O God of all, and thy Mother, not overlook their content.

9. Therefore on every feast—I mean of the Mother of God throughout the year, so that [starting] with her I can make a suitable preface of my intent—I wish the monks to get ready to ring the two bells quite loudly with [their own] hands before the hymnody—I mean the two bells which I hung high up in the tower, in place of semantra. But the monks [should] make their way into the space of the church in a holy fashion and celebrate in a splendid fashion the whole hymnody proper to the feast. There should be four lamps lit in the very middle of the church, and two candelabra with eight candleholders should stand by the two icons set out for veneration, that is, in the two parts of the church where my Supremely-good Christ, and the Mother of God and *Kosmosoteira*, are respectively represented with great skill, so [p. 24] that the images appear alive to the beholder, and as though letting out a beautiful sound from their mouths toward him. For it is a marvel to behold these likenesses in painting, that is, alive and yet unmoving in space, and hence to praise the artist whom the First Creator and Lord endowed with the knowledge of how to paint in a novel fashion. For who would not congratulate him, after having traced the form of these likenesses onto his eye and his heart as though it were living.

At any rate, I wish that by both of these icons there be lit as well the triple lamps of silver, those which I hung up nicely before them. Moreover, let all the little candles be lit, along with these, as many as the bronze *lamna* is able to hold, the one extending above and across the entrance doors to the sanctuary. Furthermore, [one should light] every lamp suspended from the beams of the church, and from the objects designed to support the holders for the candles—I mean inside the narthex. This is the way I wish the splendid illumination to be arranged on the feasts of the Mother of God, who has given me hopes for intercession and for my salvation. Indeed I wish, in addition to those other things, for her to be honored with expensive oils and incense, and, as far as is possible, by charitable distributions to the poor by the gate—as the judgment and preference of the superior shall surely determine, having God as the ever-present beneficiary of this kind of charitable distribution.

10. I wish, however, for the honored vespers [preceding] the holy Dormition of the Mother of God,⁴ as well as the day after it, to be celebrated more splendidly than all her other feasts, by the lighting of all the lamps, and by the assemblage of a greater number of priests and deacons in the sanctuary, it being the feast of feasts and the festival of festivals. [I also wish it] to be celebrated with an all-night vigil by all the monks. I want the vigil to be interspersed with an intercessory canon on behalf of my soul, with readings coming twice in the night to [provide] a moderate respite for the monks and to [lead to] contrition. After the completion of the hymnody, let this song and salutation, so revered by us and by the heavenly powers, be proclaimed with one accord: “[Thou] more honored than the Cherubim,”⁵ then the *kyrie eleison* one hundred times for the salvation and liberation of my wretched soul, and thereafter the *ektenes* proper for the dismissal.

It is thus quite clear how, after the vespers, the monks must perform the morning hymnody and the liturgy in a brilliant fashion, and how, after the celebration of the holy rites, the superior and the steward of the monastery are to proceed with the distribution to the needy. For I wish one hundred [of our] brothers to assemble at the entrance, and for each of them to take one loaf of bread on her feast day (there being ten made from one local *modios*), plus six *trachea* [*nomismata*], and one measure of wine for [their] fresh food and drink. For if we fill the souls of those hungry ones, we may [ourselves] be filled without fail with more abundant food from on high, in the other world, by God, the rewarder [lacuna in the text] as far as possible, God eyeing from above the conscience of those who are [in charge of the feast’s] celebration: that they not only [see to it that] the monks are provided with enough to eat, but are able also to provide a bit more to some of the needy, out of the things which I furnished for them, with the help of God.

I pray [p. 25] over and over to the Lord of all, that after my death the monastery will be able to provide wider access to those who love Christ, and that it stretch out its right hand magnanimously to the needy. For this is my major aim, most aimed at. Let there be distributed, furthermore, to the one hundred poor [brothers enough] beans boiled over the fire to suffice as their food for that day. If, at the discretion of the superior, this legume is offered to them in a soup with seasoning, or some freshwater fish [is offered], which is cheap and fat (which the river situated nearest the monastery and flowing to the sea is often able to provide to the fisherman), this would be good, and the reward could be referred to God. If the superior should fail in obtaining such catch, let the poor be given cheese. They should be seated on the floor in a line or a circle, to partake of the food in a more dignified way. When they will be filled, I want them to rise all at once from their places, to raise their hands up high and to recite for my sake the *Kyrie eleison* forty times, and then to go on home. I wish that this particular action of the monks at the time of the feast never once cease, nor ever be altered, in the present age. For I myself have judged it necessary to discuss matters pertaining to the feast in this way, and may I not despair of the intercession of the Mother of God on this account.

11. On her other feasts in the year let a vigil be performed with comparable illumination—even if [it is] not an all-night one, so that the singers are not burdened with too much effort. Wherefore I did not wish to drag them, in the present *typikon*, to [shoulder], like some wage-earners, the unbearable load of great efforts on my behalf, or to require them to celebrate the vigil on my behalf

every Saturday, as is the custom in most monasteries. For what is [morally] good is fine above all when not forced upon those who practice it. Still, I want the monks to recite the *Kyrie eleison* forty times for my sake during every one of the said vigils, after the dismissal. I wish their prayers to be [performed] in good conscience and not unwillingly, inasmuch as I did assign my own possessions and properties to the monastery and to them, with the help of God—things which doubtless the text of the present *typikon* will partially elucidate.

Now on the feasts of the Mother of God that follow after the Dormition, whatever is proper at matins and the liturgy and at vespers should be carried out in splendor, the distribution to the poor on these [days] I entrust to the godly discretion of the most honorable superior. For it is God who presides over the recompense for my good works. I wish moreover for the feast of the Birth of Christ my God, and of his Passion—and along with these, that of the Transfiguration—to be celebrated magnificently. On Holy Thursday, [let there be] a distribution to the poor comparable and equivalent to [that on] the feast of the Dormition (that is, of the Mother of God)—of course in accordance with the monastery’s capabilities. Furthermore, I wish that [St. John] the Forerunner and my Saint Nicholas be celebrated.⁶

[I do not wish] the monks of the [monastery] to do anything divergent or deviant with regard to these and [other] such [matters], contrary to this my instruction. So on all the rest of the days of the year that are not feast days, let the small semantron [p. 26] be sounded first, to call together the monks for the hymnodies, then the large wooden one. On Sundays and on all the feast days [I] enumerated, particularly [on the day of] the holy Dormition of the Mother of God, I wish, as was said, for the two large bells hanging quite high up in the tower to be rung loudly, as long as necessary—these being the very bells that I had hung up in fervent faith and in my reverence toward the Mother of God.

12. I therefore order that this monastery that I have re-established be altogether and entirely independent, throughout all time, that no one encroach upon it, and that it never be subject to imperial, private or patriarchal authority, nor to any heir of my property. I do not wish it surrendered to the *ephoreia* of anyone, and as aides, there must be hired only my secretary Michael,⁷ for his long-lasting faith and friendship to me, since he has served me faithfully for many years with seemly and scrupulous attention, and my man Leo Kastamonites,⁸ unrivaled among my retainers. For his faithful service to me from the time of his youth, may God not deprive him of just rewards.

This requirement, that the monastery be subject to no one’s supervision, is its safeguard, next to God, that [guarantees its] preservation and removes it from the grasping reach of the unjust and [prevents] obvious damage to the monastery. For some superiors were deceived in their hopes, and let the holy monasteries under their control, and their possessions, fall into greedy hands perhaps [lacuna in the text] and for that reason willingly—although appearing unwilling—involved themselves more in innovation than in assistance to their monasteries.

Let us avoid then, O most honorable superior, whoever you may be, this sort of damaging administration conducive to destruction. Let us suffer this holy monastery of My Lady the *Kosmosoteira* and Mother of God to remain entirely independent of any *ephoreia*, lest we appear grasping, indeed sinful, in her eyes. I refer to the Mother of God, whom I, as the present *typikon* suggests, have proposed in place of all others as *ephoros*, guardian and ally for this monastery and

all the properties and possessions it governs. May she altogether suffice, then, without equal and in place of all others, for the *ephoreia* of the monastery and its invincible and unshakeable assistance. To substitute any other person for her I deem an [outright] act of want of faith, provoking a heavy curse on you. By fleeing this, we might certainly obtain the mercy of God and his Mother.

Therefore I wish for two large candles to be kept always burning the whole year [before] Christ the Absolute in Goodness, and [before] the Mother of God—that is, one at the [icon] of Christ set out for veneration, one at that of the Mother of God. As regards the lighting of the little candles during the daily office of hymnody, I refer the arrangements to the best judgment of the most honorable superior of the time.

As he has free rein over the administration of the monastery in all things, he is responsible, if in full possession of his faculties at the time of his death, by convocation and consultation of all the monks under him, for the choice from among them all of the superior who is to succeed him in the monastery. Perhaps at some time the superior may wish, for some reason, to resign his office. [p. 27] In that case, let him choose impartially, with the help of the rest of the monks of the monastery, one who is more notable than the others, and appoint him superior, although during my lifetime I wish to choose and install a superior at my own discretion.

13. Here then is what the *typikon* of the *Evergetis* (which [I] have already mentioned) decrees regarding the hymnodies of the monks, and other liturgical procedure, with the help of God. One must attend to what has already been stated, to wit:

[= (22) *Evergetis* [4]]: **So after the worship of matins, I say, the office of the first hour should be sung by you monks following on immediately, as is customary, and at the end of this the following prayer should next be recited, “Thou who at all times” and what follows. After the prayer the customary genuflections should be performed, by the able-bodied on the bare floor but the weak should have some small supports. Three of them should be completed in a more leisurely manner inasmuch as while you are standing you should say three times to yourselves with hands stretched out “God, be merciful to me the sinner” (Luke 18:13), then when you are kneeling down with your heads resting on the ground, you should say three times in the same way “I have sinned against thee, Lord, forgive me.” But the remaining twelve should be carried out more quickly so as to utter the aforementioned supplicatory phrases once at each genuflection and each time you stand, but yet in unison and with fitting good order, not with some getting ahead and others falling behind, but all following the lead of the ecclesiarch or the priest on duty that day as he stands near the holy screen and indicates the successive movements.**

That should take place when “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is not sung during matins; but if it is, the performing of these genuflections in the church should be omitted but three deep bows should be performed while at each of them, as has been mentioned, the aforesaid supplicatory phrases should be said to yourselves three times. Then after these genuflections or bows all should repeat the following prayer aloud with hands raised, “O eternal God, the Maker of all creation.” Immediately after the prayer the short catechesis from the words of the Fathers should take place, read by the superior, and this should never be omitted unless set aside by the *synaxarion*. At this point after the reading the *trisagion*

which is prescribed for us should take place and to it the following prayer should be joined, “Thou who sendest out the light and it proceeds.”⁹ That is to take place when the *catechesis* is read; otherwise the *trisagion* should be omitted and the prayer should be recited to follow the other prayer before the *catechesis*.

All the prayers should be said with hands held up in accordance with the following, “Lift up your hands in the sanctuaries and bless the Lord” (Ps. 133 [134]:2), and “The lifting of my hands as an evening sacrifice” (Ps. 140 [141]:2), and “In every place lifting holy hands without anger or quarreling” (I Tim. 2:8). When the aforementioned prayer and the others have been said by the priest and the priest has spoken his customary one as well, all of you should immediately fall on your faces and hearing the superior asking for your prayers like this, [p. 28] “Brothers, pray for me to the Lord that I may be delivered from passions and the snares of the Evil One,” you should answer, “May God save you, honored father, and you, pray for us, that we may be delivered from passions and the snares of the Evil One.” Then again the superior praying should say, “May God through the prayers of our fathers save you all.”

Then you should stand up and depart to your cells, avoiding all meeting together and foolish distraction, idle chatter, and disorderly laughter. For what comes of such things? Clearly, the lapsing into disgraceful talk, abuse, and condemnations because your mind is relaxed by this and you forget what is really good, and reaching your cells in a dilatory and lazy frame of mind you sink at once into a sleep of *akedia* and pass almost all the day in idleness without engaging in any beneficial activity whatever, as the great Basil also says, “To lapse from a fitting spiritual state is easy when the soul indulges in unrestrained laughter, and it is easier for a concern for goodness to be dissipated and lapse into disgraceful talk.”¹⁰

May this not be the case with my fathers and brothers, but let each go away to his cell in a sober frame of mind most vigilant, always doing what is pleasing to God. But if perhaps some are discovered to be at fault in this matter, whether they are young or old, advanced in the monastic life or novices, they are to be admonished with the laws of love by the disciplinary official, and if they do not mend their ways they are to be punished. For it is not fitting that novices alone who behave carelessly perhaps should be punished, but rather those who have spent many years in the monastic way of life but are careless and lazy, as [John Klimakos] the author of *The Ladder* says somewhere concerning this.¹¹ Going away to your cells you should carry out the whole obligatory canonical procedure, with the customary prayers and genuflections in the manner mentioned above, I mean the six psalms, the third hour and the sixth according to custom when the semantra are struck. For genuflections should not be carried out in the church only when “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is sung, as we have said. So when you pray in your cells you should always kneel down, but we will avoid this also in our cells whenever there is a vigil because of the weariness that comes from that, also during the twelve days of Christmas, during Easter week, and further, during the nine days after the feast for the Dormition of our most holy Lady, the Mother of God the *Kosmosoteira*. So the ritual of the first hour should be like that.

14. [= (22) *Evergetis* [5]]: It is necessary now also to speak about the divine mystery, which must be celebrated in the church each day, but you yourselves must be sure to take care in this, my brothers, because what is performed there is divine and fearful, and because there more than in anything else the fearful and very great mystery of our orthodox and holy faith is accomplished, I mean the most divine and supreme sacrifice of the completely undefiled body and blood of our God and Savior Jesus Christ. So during it, [p. 29] as has been said, you must pay strict attention, and as far as possible chase from you every thought that is impure, sown by the devil, and unworthy of that fearful celebration, and purify yourselves in every way. Then as many as have been allowed to partake of communion should partake of the divine elements. For it will not be possible for any of you to partake freely and in a thoughtless manner, nor yet each day. This we would indeed wish, for to partake often of the divine elements is often to share in life, as Christ himself says, “He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me,” (John 6:56) and again, “Unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood, you have no life in you” (John 6:53), and as the divine apostle says “He who is united to the Lord becomes one body” (I Cor. 6:17), and as the most gentle David says conversely “They that remove themselves far from thee shall perish” (Ps. 72 [73]:27).

Therefore we would indeed wish this, as has been said, but because of human weakness and the danger of the action we do not allow it, for “Whoever eats the body and drinks the blood of Jesus unworthily is guilty of his body and blood” (I Cor. 11:27) says the divine apostle. This statement is frightening, my brothers, and causes not sinners like me but also those who are very confident in themselves to fear partaking. So then as many as are sure that they are pure and free from disgraceful thoughts and submission to them, from anger and grumbling, grief and denigration, deceit and disorderly laughter, furthermore and more especially the bearing of a grudge and irritation, disgraceful talk and such things, should partake of communion only three times a week. But those who fall prey to the aforementioned passions and hasten to a renunciation of them through confession and repentance should partake of communion once a week or not at all at the discretion of the superior of course, for he should be in charge of such matters. But for someone to consider himself unworthy of communion without his knowledge cannot be approved. For he who does this will be condemned as someone fulfilling his own wish. However it is permitted that those who should partake of communion sing the office laid down for the partaking, make a common genuflection together to one another, to grant forgiveness, and thus joyfully partake of the life-giving elements. So let these things be carried out in this way.

15. [= (22) *Evergetis* [6]]: The ninth hour should be sung in the same way as the preceding hours, with the striking of the semantron calling you to it. The regulation in the *synaxarion* sets out very clearly how the office of vespers should be carried out, with the night office immediately next, as well as compline after the supper. During these you should genuflect in the way you do whenever you are not to celebrate a feast, and by feast we mean a day that includes “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) at matins. When compline has been sung and the priest has said his customary prayer also, you should fall on your knees just as at the end of

the first hour and incline your ear well to the superior as he says, "Forgive me in the Lord, brothers, for I have sinned in word, deed, and in thought," and [p. 30] you should grant him forgiveness saying, "May God forgive you." But you also should immediately beg this from him by adding, "Forgive us also yourself, honored father, for we have sinned in word, deed, and in thought," then again he should pray for you and say, "May God through the prayers of our fathers forgive you all."

Then standing up and according him the required obeisance, you should go away to your cells and carry out your night office in accordance with the regulation, and then full of gratitude and spiritual joy you should turn to sleep until the one who is in charge of the clock learns from it the appropriate hour and goes to the superior, and receiving from him the required blessing then shouts out with a loud voice in a rhythmic fashion, "Bless, O saints." Then when he has struck the *semantron* in the customary way and distributed lights to all, he will rouse you for the celebration of the midnight office which he himself will also sing all the time as he carries out the prescribed lighting of the church, and then when he has sounded the great *semantron* and the bronze one also, he will call you all for the dawn worship. The preliminary part of which you must carry out as follows.

For after the striking of the *semantron* praise should be ascribed to God by the priest who has the duty for the day, and as he praises God he should at once with the censer make the sign of the venerable cross in front of the holy table; and you replying "Amen," should immediately sing a *trisagion* together with the nineteenth and twentieth psalms and the usual *troparia* and the *Kyrie eleison*, taking care to keep together as far as is reasonable while these are being sung.

The priest himself should go round all the divine church and cense everyone, and then, standing before the holy screen, when he has once more made the sign of the venerable cross with the censer, with the censuring he should offer up praise to the Holy Trinity, speaking audibly as follows, "Glory to the holy and consubstantial and life-giving Trinity always, now and always and for ever and ever, amen." After replying "Amen" the ecclesiarch should at once begin the six psalms, saying the words of the psalms in a low voice slowly, quietly, and carefully so that all may then be able to recite them without error or stumbling. Then after the completion of the six psalms, the whole office of matins should next be celebrated as the *synaxarion* describes. That constitutes the pattern of your all-night office.

16. [= (22) *Evergetis* [7], ed. lines 241–61]: We must also speak about life-preserving confession and the discourse about the table must wait for a while. Well then, the superior must sit in a private place twice a day, and leaving aside all work whatsoever and all the trouble of managing and directing, must take most diligent care to hear those who wish to make confession and set for each one the appropriate healing. We specify that after the doxology at matins has begun should be one time when he will bring healing to those who live continuously in the monastery and are not employed in any ministries; and after compline he will bring healing to those ministering inside or outside who are present. He is to be allowed, if perhaps he does not have the time since the brotherhood is numerous, [p. 31] to authorize whichever priests and deacons he wishes, and even some of the more reverent brother monks,

to hear the thoughts of the more uneducated majority, the thoughts that trouble you day by day and hour by hour which must always be easy to absolve and not have caused more deep-seated trouble, and to remit them and grant forgiveness. But the thoughts that require some healing and care must be referred to the superior by those who hear them, and he is to bring about the appropriate healing. So then, those who confess will conceal nothing, though perhaps hesitant if they know their thoughts need care, but they will uncover everything completely to their confessor; also it is right that we should tell them what is expected of them.

17. [= (22) *Evergetis* [7], ed. lines 262–311]: So then you, my brothers, seeing the superior hurrying off to this good ministry which is very beneficial to your souls, you should run, and running reach with eagerness this very calm harbor that is safe for your souls, and reveal completely without any covering up every stirring of your mind and every thought that harms your soul, as though you are making your confession in the presence of God and not a man. Indeed the one who sets out to lie to God will get his punishment for lying along with everything else. For the psalmist says “Thou wilt destroy all that speak falsehood” (Ps. 5:6). So then, by confessing without deceit and ridding your minds of all wrangling, impurity, confusion and trouble, you may be happy and rejoice, having gained this good hope namely that you will not fail to gain salvation. But make your confession without accusing each other when perhaps a violent dispute or some other argument occurs. Do not make your confession if you consider yourselves blameless and you are looking really for condemnations, nor should you speak about the bodily needs which afflict you. For there is always a time for them but this is a time for making confession and obtaining healing for your souls. If you must speak of some violent dispute, be keen to ascribe and assign to yourselves all the blame and reason for the fault, whatever it is. But if you speak about some other passions, reveal these completely so that you can gain double benefit from this, by both attaining sound health of soul and clothing yourself in exalting humility, for possessing this we will be like God who says, “Learn from me that I am gentle and lowly in heart” (Matt. 11:29). What else would be a proof of gentleness and humility in heart than clearly to bear all affliction nobly and blame oneself? The true confession without which I do not think anyone gains salvation is such a good thing.

Then we order and decree that a person who does not make confession should be placed under the penalty of excommunication by the superior until, coming to his senses and thinking of higher things, he confesses all his faulty and harmful habits. Thus it would be necessary also to expel such a person from the monastery and cut him off like a rotten limb, and as a wound that is hard to heal or completely incurable to remove him and cast him away, but the uncertainty of the future and the expectation that perhaps one day he may come to his senses held us back from this purpose. However for him to be liable to the penalty of excommunication is very [p. 32] useful since it is very effective. Indeed, what benefit does he obtain from remaining at the monastery? What benefit comes from not making confession or rather does not harm and ruin follow and a continued practice of evil and everything whatsoever that brings destruction to the soul? So then, as it is difficult for someone who is sick or has wounds to return to health when he hides these from the doctor, so it is much more difficult for the

person who does not make confession ever to gain health of soul. The divine Basil is witness of this when he speaks as follows “If a monk is going to show proper progress and come into a state of life in accordance with the decree of the Lord’s command, he must keep no stirring of his soul hidden, but offer to his superior all that is hidden in his heart stripped bare.”¹² So then, by acting in this way, my brothers, we will not only be rescued from our own faults but we will possess later on something that is more sure; for [John Klimakos] the author of *The Ladder* says “Stripes that are exposed will not become worse, but will be healed” and again, “A soul that thinks about confession is held back by it from sinning as if by a rein.”¹³ So the revelation of one’s own faults is very useful. In future let us all run eagerly to it.

18. [= (22) *Evergetis* [7], ed. lines 312–17]: Therefore we prescribe that confession should be held like this every day, by the superior himself clearly and by as many as seem to him to be suitable people to hear thoughts; but the first and great confession which we should make when casting off the hair of this world must be offered to the superior alone and not to anyone else so that he can know everyone himself and mix the medicine suitable for each one. These things should be so.

19. [= (22) *Evergetis* [8]]: Concerning the procedure for the holy fasts the *synaxarion* will inform you most precisely, and you should carry them out always in accordance with it. Vigils should also take place following the prescribed rule for every feast of the Lord.

20. [= (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 325–36]: It should be the right time now to mention the table and food and the other things that supply nourishment to the body. For as we are made up of two parts, I mean soul and body, so also are the activities of the monastery. The whole daily divine office expressed in the singing of psalms could reasonably be thought of as the soul of the monastery, whereas the monastery itself and all the things that benefit your bodies could be considered its body. So then, since with God’s help we have said enough already about its soul, it is right that we should also speak about matters which concern its body, by prescribing the diet and setting out for you more precisely all the other things that secure a more lasting continuance of the monastery, as it is necessary for the one who wishes to increase his monastery to be no less concerned about these things. So then, these things also should be said and should of course be imparted to my dear fathers and brothers.

21. [= (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 337–63]: After the customary collation has taken place in the narthex, when the divine liturgy has already been completed, all the monks should gather and sit there waiting for the summons to the table which is given by the striking of the refectory semantron. When the semantron has been struck, going out at once with the priest who officiated [p. 33] at the liturgy, you should make obeisance to the superior and then beginning to recite audibly the customary psalm walk to the refectory, that is the superior and all those without exception who have been instructed to sit down at the table during the first sitting. Then entering the refectory and completing the aforementioned psalm and the prayer that accompanies it, you should sit down in the order laid down by the superior and

gratefully partake of what has been set before you. Then anyone who was late for the psalm and the thanksgiving should be reported by the refectorian to the superior, and he should enquire the reason for his lateness and grant him pardon if it seems reasonable, but if not, he is to perform as many genuflections as the superior wishes.

Moreover, the traditional reading must take place during the sittings in the customary way, with no one making a noise or causing a disturbance or destroying the benefit which comes from that with worldly conversations and idle chatter. The superior only may speak sparingly if he wishes and perhaps the one asked by him may answer similarly in a few brief phrases, if possible. But if someone causes a disturbance or is disturbed, is noisy or causes a noise, and ruins the reading by untimely and improper conversation, he is to be silenced by the refectorian. But if, something I hope does not happen, when he silences him the noisy person pays no attention, he is to be removed from the refectory even if he is unwilling and subjected to the penalty of going without his food or made to learn self-control in another way as the superior wishes.

22. [= (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 364–83]: So we completely refuse to speak about first seating. For how could this be acceptable, that men who are living according to God's will should quarrel at all about seating, like those who are keen to show themselves in a worldly way superior to everyone else in this, as those who are excited by glory that is vain and hated by God? For "Everyone that is proud in heart is an abomination to the Lord" (Prov. 16:5), says Holy Scripture, "The Lord resists the proud, but he gives grace to the humble" (Prov. 3:34). So this will not happen among you, it will not. For if you are in your right minds, you would not choose to present yourselves as an abomination to the Lord rather than to receive favor from him and have him near you, as those who "are of contrite heart" (Ps. 33 [34]:18), or, to speak truly, to be his dwelling and beloved of him. But if any of you is found, alas, causing annoyance in this matter, putting forward as an excuse perhaps age or sphere of work, and does not abide by the command of the superior nor is satisfied with the place allocated to him, I command in the Lord that he be allocated the last place and be taught to leave to the world the habits of the world. But if, something that is in every way detestable and disorderly, he still disagrees and objects, persisting after the second and third admonition in being incorrigible, he is to be driven out of the monastery, and like some cancer be thrown out somewhere far away from you, so that he may not also infect the rest of you with his filth. For, as some wise man said, taking part in evil is much easier than in virtue.

23. [= (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 384–417]: When you are eating a meal you must not share with each other any food or drink, even as much as a small drop to cool the wine [mixed with water], but the person who at the time is in need of [p. 34] any of these things should raise himself very respectfully and ask the superior reverently, speaking as follows, "Bless me, father, I need this." So if the superior gives permission, he is to receive what he needs, but if not, he is to restrain himself and sit down again and sit thankfully in silence.

We do this not through any meanness and stinginess, as some people think—for we will not be so wrapped up in things that are transient as to prefer them to the comfort of our

brothers. For why should we, my brothers, be keen to possess these things if they do not contribute to your service, as has been said? But we do this securing for you reverence and orderliness in this also, that the laxity of the majority may not find an opportunity from this to ruin the whole orderliness of the table, and we become no better than those who are undisciplined and irreligious, who are indulgent and entertain each other by drinking toasts and replying to toasts. [Not only] are we curbing the inclination of the will but furthermore we are rooting out the lack of self-control of the majority and teaching them to be satisfied with a few necessities and at the same time plaiting for you crowns for self-restraint. Also we are keeping you away from committing unintentionally a secret deed of darkness, not to say one of stealth.

Well then, is not something done in secret a deed of darkness? This is of course very obvious and the divine gospel of John makes it clear as follows, “Everyone who does evil does not come towards the light, lest his evil deeds should be exposed by the light” (John 3:20). The apostle also says, “Anything that is exposed is light” (Eph. 5:13), the statement showing that what is not exposed is complete darkness. “So for what purpose do you reject the deed of light and do the deed of darkness, my brother?” “I am ashamed to ask,” he says. So while you do the opposite and something which God hates you are not ashamed and you hesitate about what is good. Do not, I beg you. However I know that many do this trampling their consciences underfoot, and think that they are not noticed, which touches me to the depths of my heart, and I do not cease from weeping over them because they neither realize that they are in that evil plight, alas, nor acknowledge their passion. May the Lord have pity on them and guide them for their good as he manages all things for our good. We must now return to the point from which we digressed.

24. [= (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 418–36]: So after you have eaten and said the customary grace and risen, you should sing the specified office with the prayer and then go away to your own cells. At supper also, if someone who wishes to have supper arrives after grace, he will incur the same penalty as he who was late at the midday meal, if of course he does not have a reasonable excuse when he is asked. The one, however, who because of abstinence does not come to the supper incurs no blame. Then when you are at supper, only bread will be set before you and that in small quantities; but if some small fruits are set out by the decision of the superior, you should gratefully partake of these also. Drink will be distributed to you with the larger wine measure as is prescribed. But if in fact a feast happens to be being celebrated by one of the brothers with the knowledge of the superior, this regulation should not be observed [p. 35] at supper but you should act in whatever way the one celebrating the feast wishes.

The disciplinary official should go in during the second sitting and, if there are some who should have eaten at the first but missed it, he should enquire the reason for their absence. If their excuse is reasonable, they are excused, but if it is unreasonable, we instruct him not to allow them to eat. For to be late for meals for no reasonable cause is not something to be approved of, and this practice must always be punished and discouraged as much as possible. So this is the procedure on the ordinary days of the year.

25. [= (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 438–52]: **But that is not the procedure during the holy fast days and especially during the first and greatest fast, on the first day of which, that is the Monday of the first week, the liturgy should not be celebrated nor should care be taken with the table or food. However on the subsequent days of the same week attention should be paid to the table, and whoever chooses should partake of food. This will be composed of legumes soaked in water and perhaps some raw vegetables and fruits, and the drink will be hot water seasoned with cumin. That is apart from Friday. On this day you should eat two dishes of food cooked without olive oil, and drink a better wine distributed in the larger measure because of the feast of the great martyr St. Theodore,¹⁴ which the superior must celebrate as a duty and give you a refreshment. But if someone else wishes to celebrate this feast, we give him permission to feed the brotherhood with some shellfish on the Saturday, but we will not eat fish. You should carry out the first week of the great and holy Lent in that way.**

26. [= (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 453–78]: **On all Saturdays and Sundays of the same holy fast two cooked dishes containing olive oil should be set out for you and for your drink the customary large measure of wine should be distributed. The same thing should take place also on Wednesday in the middle of Lent and on the Thursday of the great canon. But on Tuesdays and on the other Thursdays two cooked dishes will be set out for you, but only one not both of them will have olive oil; and wine will be measured out with the smaller measure, that is half of the larger one. Then on the rest of the days, I mean Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, you should not partake of anything cooked nor wine but only boiled beans and some small fruits, if there are any, and hot water flavored with cumin. But if the commemoration of the discovery of the precious head of [St. John] the Forerunner or the remembrance of the Forty Saints should happen to fall on one of these days,¹⁵ then the fast should be broken and you should eat two dishes with olive oil and take wine measured out with the larger measure.**

You are to eat fish if some are sent by devout people as a refreshment, however it is not to be procured by the monastery deliberately, and you should take care to celebrate one of these aforesaid days when it falls on one of the days of the first week, and you should have as refreshment not that of the aforementioned refreshments, but only wine of the larger measure and gruel. But then, on all the other days of the holy Lent you will not be allowed to eat fish at all, not even if [p. 36] perhaps some refreshment is sent you by someone. If however the person who is providing you with the refreshment should come himself to eat with you, then the fast should be broken on this occasion because of this special treat lest “We be seen by men to fast” (Matt. 6:16).

27. [= (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 480–502]: **When the feast of the Annunciation falls,¹⁶ you should celebrate it as splendidly as possible, partaking of fish provided by the monastery and drinking wine of the larger measure. Furthermore on the next day you should eat anything left from the table of the previous day, and in the same way drink the wine. If no fish has been left, then you will have two dishes with olive oil. The procedure of the feast should**

be carried out as for days free from fasting. We will eat fish during this holy feast, as has been said, if it does not fall during the great holy week. For at that time we will use only shellfish, rather we will receive a refreshment because of the feast since for three days of that week—that is Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday—as on the days of the first [week], it is right that we should live content with some legumes soaked in water, raw vegetables, fruits that happen to be at hand, and hot water flavored with cumin. If the aforementioned holy feast should fall on those days, we shall not partake of fish but of shell-fish, as we said, and we shall drink wine of the larger measure, and we will do everything appropriate for the feast even if it should fall on Holy Thursday, or Good Friday, or even Holy Saturday itself. We will keep the same rule also for the feast of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple¹⁷ which often falls in the first week [of Lent], as well as for the commemoration of the holy God-receiver Symeon¹⁸ as well, [which comes] one day later. **On Holy Thursday your eating will be as on the days of Lent that are free from fasting in the matter of both dishes and wine; but on Holy Friday no cooking is to be done at all, but you are to partake of some raw vegetables and fruits, and wine distributed with the larger measure because of your weariness from the vigil. On Holy Saturday all anxiety that produces distraction must be avoided and there should only be a collation, as is customary.**

28. [= (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 503–25]: **In this manner your diet for the great and holy period of Lent must be kept, though care should be shown to the sick at the discretion of the superior. The procedure for the fast of the Holy Apostles¹⁹ we will lay down immediately next. After the completion of the whole canonical office of the hours and the divine liturgy as the *synaxarion* prescribes in detail, you should be summoned to the refectory at the seventh hour in accordance with the rule laid down above, and there you should eat two dishes cooked with olive oil and drink wine of the larger measure. Also supper should be set out for you consisting of a small piece of bread and the same amount of wine, namely a larger [measure], because of the heat and dryness of the season. However we will not eat fish provided by the monastery; but if some were to come as a refreshment, then we should partake of it gratefully, for [p. 37] it is not right to forbid this during these two lesser fasts.**

The fast of the Holy Nativity²⁰ will be similar to that of the Holy Apostles in both food and drink, after the completion of course of the whole canonical office according to the *synaxarion*. It will differ from it in these two points only—in not performing the divine liturgy each day during the period of the fast, for the day being short does not provide enough time, and in eating once. For your food should be set out for you at the ninth hour during the period of a fast, as has been said; and it will always be a fast when “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is not sung at matins but “Alleluia.” So these rules should be kept in this way.

29. [= (22) *Evergetis* [11]: **All the divine feasts of our Lord, and those of our most holy Lady, the Mother of God and *Kosmosoteira*, shall be celebrated by you differently from the rest. I mean in the singing of psalms, and the lighting of lamps, and in your own meals. Let the feast of holy metastasis, which we also call the Dormition, be celebrated by you—in a splendid, splendid and sumptuous manner. For it is the feast of feasts, and the festival of festivals.**

During this feast, I decree that the previously mentioned distribution take place at the gate of the monastery.

30. Such then are the edifying injunctions and edicts excerpted, as has been said, from that *typikon*, and may they remain unchanged, and never be tampered with. What follows now are my wishes, and the decrees of my wretched mind for the said monastery, regarding the independence of the monastery (about which I previously set forth some few words);²¹ regarding the appointment of the superior and of the other officials, including the steward; [regarding] the tonsuring of the monks, and [their] entrance gift, and conduct, and regarding the government and management of affairs. [These] I wish to voice [on the basis of] my own conscience.

31. [cf. (22) *Evergetis* [12], ed. lines 538–43]: I desire, then, and decree, before **God the Ruler of All** and his all-immaculate Mother, **that this holy monastery**, as was stated previously, **is to be independent, free of everyone’s control, self-governing, and not subject to any rights, be they imperial, or ecclesiastic, or of a private person**, whether official or private. Nor should it be pledged or granted in the guise of a gift, by *epidosis*, *ephoreia* or management, or any other pretext to any person whatsoever, or to any monastery, any philanthropic institution, any government department or any hospital. Rather it should be **watched over**, managed, **governed** and **directed** by the Mother of God alone, **worthy of all praise**, the *Kosmosoteira*, **and the superior of the time**.

This superior, following his own discretion and inclination, will have sole charge of the introduction and removal of monks in the monastery, and all income and expenditures. To him, and to the monks under him, I entrust all these things with the help of God.

Since these words of mine here, and my orders have clearly excluded all those persons listed above from any authority over the monastery (except for the superior and the rest of the monks)—and although the gist of the present argument was outlined concisely and condensed in what was said before—I repeat: may he who [p. 38] wishes to invalidate a small or great part of my orders not escape the lot of the Jews and the anathema of those who crucified our Lord Jesus Christ. For with much sweat and struggle, and at well-nigh countless expense, I rebuilt this place from a ruin into a monastery, with the help of God. This much is clear to anyone.

It may happen that sometime or another, the monks might have need of the almighty emperor,²² he being truly the lover of Christ, on account of some threat that might perhaps arise to the monastery from people with malicious designs. If so, I fervently beseech his majesty to admit, graciously and courteously, those monks from the monastery who would come on account of that troublesome matter, and to hearken to their charges in the spirit of love for the Lord. He should, with the strong arm of his majesty, dispel those attempting to lay their greedy hands on the monastery and scatter them to the birds, as people who may have conceived designs, contrary to God and his righteous judgment, of obtaining gains for themselves at the expense of the monastery. For protecting it thus, the emperor may find the all-just eye of God merciful thereafter, and on the day of his fearful judgment.

32. I have now spoken enough already, therefore, about these things. I have given some instruc-

tions in advance,²³ and also made arrangements for the appointment of the superior—things that I myself have set forth—how, after my departure to the Lord, and when the superior himself is about to join him, the whole brotherhood should be called together in his presence, and with it the election be made of that pastor who will succeed him. The decision [should be reached] without the influence of bribery or any heated voting, but with either the unanimous consent of all the brothers, or a vote of the majority, [which should include] the more important and eminent of the monks in regard to rank and merit.

For it is necessary to elect a man renowned for his mind and his ways, in both active and contemplative life, and acknowledged by common consent to be the most spiritual, and, for the leadership and service of souls, wiser than the others and more experienced. Such is also the sort [of man] who should be elected steward. But if the superior dies before the election, [the election of his successor] will be the concern of the brotherhood, and he will be installed by the most holy metropolitan of Traianoupolis of the time, as I said before.²⁴

33. [cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. lines 633–39]: What follows now is a word about the installation of the superior. Whenever the brotherhood wishes to bring him before the said metropolitan, let them wait for a day on which there falls a feast of the Mother of God. On that particular day (and not on any other), let the *typikon* and the pastoral staff be placed on the Holy Table, [that] on which the sacrificial mysteries are celebrated. Then let him who has been chosen to lead be encouraged to enter **the holy sanctuary, once the prescribed *trisagion* and the following *troparia* have been said: “Have mercy on us, Lord, have mercy on us,” “Glory,” “Lord, Lord, turn to us from heaven and behold”** (Ps. 79 [80]:14), **“And now,” “Thou, the only begotten Son, of one substance with the Father and the Spirit,” and thirty repetitions of “*Kyrie eleison*.” He should make three full genuflections before the [holy] table, [p. 39] and, taking from it the *typikon* and the staff, with everyone proclaiming the “[He is] worthy,” he [should] go out and stand at the place assigned to the superior, and be kissed by everyone—kissed as [their] father. This is then enough about the election and installation of the superior. For I have made things sufficiently plain here, and earlier as well.**

34. [= (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. lines 610–24]: As I have just enjoined regarding the election and installation of the steward, I wish for him to be chosen impartially by the superior, along with some eminent [monks] of the brotherhood. Let a vote be taken, and let him surpass all the other monks; in [his] ways and intellect and character and discipline—as much as possible like the superior in all this—and be distinguished for his superiority in spiritual [matters]. His installation should take place **after the dismissal from matins and the customary prayer said by the priest, a *trisagion* should be said by all and the one chosen should make three full genuflections near the sacred screen of the holy sanctuary; then he should reverently kiss the holy, divine, and revered icons of God our Savior and of his most holy Mother. After that he should perform the proper obeisance to the superior and then bow his head to him uncovered and he making over it the sign of the venerable cross should say as follows, “The intercession of my most holy Mother of God through the prayers of our Holy Fathers is installing you steward of the monastery.” Then when he has given him the kiss in the name of the Lord, he is to set him in**

the place assigned to him. Next all without exception are to kiss him, and after the kiss glory should be given to God and the dismissal should follow the usual prayer of the priest.

35. [= (22) *Evergetis* [29]]: Thus it is necessary to proceed to the **installation of the other officials in the manner of the steward's installation. The keys should be placed before Christ and the Mother of God, and the *trisagion* recited. He who is being installed, after the three required genuflections, should take the keys from there with his own hands, then bow to the superior, and receive from him the blessing mentioned above. For those installations which do not involve keys, the kissing of the holy icon, and the *sphragis* of the superior will be sufficient for the installation.**

36. [cf. (22) *Evergetis* [30]]: **It is fitting, therefore, that there should be three treasurers. One must watch carefully over the vessels and sacred liturgical cloths of the monastery, and he should be called the sacristan. Another will deal with the money and revenue and expenses, under the full knowledge and control of the superior and under the eye of the other notably virtuous brothers, he will record all the income and expenditures in detail. The chest containing all the money should be opened with them watching, and sealed again with their seals. For, by this arrangement, no [p. 40] dirt will be sprinkled on the clean, but the light of their commission will be bright before the brotherhood, and shall disperse the cloud of suspicion and shall persuade our Father who is in heaven to glorify the brotherhood on account of this good work. The third [treasurer] will distribute to the brothers the necessities from the wardrobe, I mean clothing and footwear and so forth—and see to the comfort of visiting brothers in their bedrooms as far as he is able. The common table of course will minister to their need for food to meet the occasion and the person.**

37. [= (22) *Evergetis* [31]]: **It is necessary that there should be a disciplinary official observing the brothers both as they enter the church for the singing of psalms and as they gather for meals, and in the same way at every hour advising and correcting in a brotherly way any who sit down together without good reason or chatter idly or do nothing or do something improper and foolish, persuading them to go to their cells and devote themselves to prayer and handiwork.**

Furthermore there should also be a refectorian, attending to whatever the cellarer supplies him with, and going round the refectory at meal times reminding those brothers who are noisy perhaps or are whispering of the need for silence and that each of them should be reciting the fiftieth psalm in his mind. Also he should question visitors and sit them down at the table in a fitting position, and he should observe the entry of the brothers into the refectory and note which of them was absent during grace and which during the meal and report these to the superior. For if he does not do this, he will be punished as one who is not carrying out his office wholeheartedly.

38. [= (22) *Evergetis* [32]]: **Naturally it is just to leave unchanged those who have been appointed to each of the offices while they are performing them in a careful and devout**

manner, but those who neglect or despise them and perhaps even behave deceitfully in them should be removed and others appointed. If one of these people were to appropriate something, anything at all, he will be answerable to our Lord Jesus Christ and his all-pure mother and Mother of God, from whom in fact he received his keys, promising to carry out his office eagerly and without deceit.

39. [= (22) *Evergetis* [33], ed. lines 1021–36, 1058–60]:

So I entreat the cellarers, the bakers, the cooks, those who look after the mules, those responsible for the dependencies, those acting as stewards in the monastery’s properties, those sent to the City [of Constantinople], those going away elsewhere on the instruction of the superior, and in short all those carrying out offices, to apply themselves to their offices wholeheartedly since they expect no small recompense from them. As regards those among them who are unlettered, the diligence and care they show in their office will be totally sufficient as their defense before God and us, but we exhort those who are educated but are perhaps prevented by the busy nature of their office from carrying out the daily cycle of prayers and from meeting with the brothers in the services not to be neglectful [p. 41] or despairing, as if they had lost the benefit to themselves, but be more cheerful and joyful because the Lord has given them the strength, who says, “I came not to be served but to serve and to give my life as a ransom for many” (Matt. 20:28). Those with offices who have been sufficiently exhorted by this will be devoted to their office and will carry it out well. But I will add to my discourse that matter which has almost slipped by me.

40. [= (22) *Evergetis* [34]]: **Since then I have dedicated immovable properties to the monastery, the superior must have concern for them also, and he should be as careful as he can as to what sort of people are sent to have the oversight of them, that is they should always be reverent and discreet, and elderly if possible, unaffected by passions that are caused by the attacks of Belial (cf. 2 Cor. 6:15). This is all, at any rate, generally speaking.**

41. [= (22) *Evergetis* [14], ed. lines 661–73, 675–76, 701–7]: **So if the steward should continue unchanged, properly maintaining his virtue through which he was thought worthy of his dignity, he will not be removed from his office but remain firm. Furthermore he will rise to the office of superior, if, that is, he is trained and skillful in the tending of souls, and not unversed or inexperienced, and is judged as such as I previously described him. But if time proves him to be unqualified and unsuitable, either because he has carried out his office in a careless and indifferent manner or because he has been doing favors for his relatives or has been appropriating some of the monastery’s property or has shown himself to be a trouble maker and a dissident contradicting the reasonable regulations of the superior, or has been betraying or subjecting the monastery’s property to anyone’s control or has been totally disregarding any of the [instructions] in the rule and following his own wishes or clearly been involved in bodily passions or has become unreasonably attached to someone in preference to the rest of the community and therefore has been proved as unsuitable for the guiding of souls, and apparently unsuitable for the administration of affairs he will be removed from his rank and be**

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submissive and another will be chosen and installed in his place, just as I have already said and specified.

If the bad steward is shielded at the time by the superior's attachment [to him], and fortified, as with a strong wall, by his support, and is retained in office without being removed—[though] he has proved himself unworthy of it by his actions—then a select group of the most honorable monks may go before the superior, and take counsel with him once, twice or three times over this matter. If they find him adamant regarding the replacement of the steward, let them take counsel straightaway about him with the most holy metropolitan of Traianoupolis of the time, as a good advisor [regarding] the dismissal of the steward from office, [since] he was entirely responsible for the installation of the superior of our monastery, namely the *Kosmosoteira*. I know that he who is installed will not disregard the good advice of the one who installed him, but instead will be shamed before the man and before these spiritual regulations of mine. Thus, in place of that inefficient steward, let him substitute one who is manifestly good and virtuous—one such as I already described [p. 42] above. But if the superior, in his desire to dominate, chooses to persist in his bad judgment, unchanged, (as so often seems to happen among men), come all ye monks together with one single purpose, and dismiss the bad administrator who has charge of you. For God eyes from on high the conscience of those who are in charge. Then lead forward the one you have chosen as worthy of the office.

As for the one who is removed from office, if he wishes, let him reside in a cell of the monastery and be accorded the rank and seat of second to the superior, in the refectory I mean, and at the other gatherings, being content with the food and drink and all the rest of the community's way of life. However we do not allow him to leave the monastery and following his own inclinations go where he wishes, but this matter will be for the superior to consider.

42. [cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14], ed. lines 708–16]: But I beseech all of you monks, O heaven-guided gathering, before God the Ruler of All and his all-immaculate Mother who is the *ephoros* of the monastery, to banish all strife from your thinking soul, and, of course, the devil's envy, [the devil] who hung even the Lord our Creator up on the wood (what a sight!)—I mean at the time when the superior or the steward is to be chosen. I want the candidates to be chosen by an honest judgment, not on the basis of vain partiality or some irrational favoritism, nor out of any fraudulent conscience. For the unswerving judgment of the [man] who is selecting the candidates brings him forward, the judge, to be presented before God and men without blushing, in truth. With the Ruler of all on high, “searching the hearts and reins” (Ps. 7:9), they would henceforth bring constant destruction on themselves by any judgment that is not honest. Those who are responsible for the decisions in [these] matters must not make their choices on the basis of some disagreement or contention among the monks, or elect the candidate in this way, but the monks of the monastery must all make their selection and choice of candidates as joint counselors, in a spirit of cooperation that is free of factionalism, and in harmony, with respect to the good.

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [17], ed. lines 801–2]: Hark to my words, O all-spiritual, heaven-guided flock of monks, hark to me, thou [who art] devoted to spiritual salvation! An unworthy [candidate] must not invoke in his favor as a plausible claim to sacred office **either his sphere of work**

or noble birth or the offering of money or of some property. For these things quickly perish and are drawn down groveling as life goes on. For he who suffers in silence is to be preferred, he who excels in all the aforementioned [virtues], even if he was [but] recently successful in shaking off the tumult of the world and [his own worldly] hair, even if he is plain in his speech and without experience in matters of the outside [world], but wise in his thinking and richly endowed with godly virtues. For in no way will this bring harm to the monastery.

43. [cf. (22) *Evergetis* [16], ed. lines 764–65; 770–75]: Now I should probably direct the following words once again to you, holy fathers, and bring before you, O godly brethren, the following appeal: that you show the **superior all affection, all submission, all** [p. 43] **obedience**, [for] he will surely give an account of you to the Lord. But also **burn [with affection] toward each other, maintaining peace and harmony, supporting one another, “instructing, comforting, and forbearing one another.”**²⁵ “For God is Love” (I John 4:8). He commands it to be spread lavishly among men, and has called us his “disciples, if we have love for one another” (cf. John 13:35). Wherefore we must emulate the Teacher, and guide our life towards his actions, and not disregard a teacher such as [he], who endured an ignominious death on the cross for the sake of our salvation.

44. [cf. (22) *Evergetis* [17], ed. lines 785–99]: **You**, then, **spiritual shepherd and guide of this holy flock** toward more godly routes in the ascent toward our Creator, **be moderate with the brothers**. Display true spiritual good will, **care for them all**, patiently **concern yourself with them all**, as God for a long time has been moderate as a teacher with me. **Support them all, instruct, advise and teach**, encourage the sick yourself, healing [them] with the therapeutic remedies of [your] words. **Encourage the faint hearted**, skillfully turn sinners around toward ideal repentance for their sin, and do not delay, but lovingly, and following the voice of the Savior, spread out sympathy **seventy-fold** (cf. Matt. 18:22), for those who stumble. **For it is better that we, who are imitating the Lord himself, be considerate [even though] a little remiss in what we ought to do**, than that we be strict judges with regard to the inevitable chastening of the stumblers, as a certain wise man voiced [it] well, **and [as] the truly great Basil himself said: “The superior himself, as a father caring for true children, will watch over the needs of each one and will bring them suitable healing and care as far as he can, and will support with love and fatherly affection the member who is truly weak, whether spiritually or physically.”**²⁶ The superior, recognizing the power of all these [words] in theory, will not, I know, dispose of them lightly in practice.

45. [cf. (22) *Evergetis* [19]]: Since all **the sacred [vessels] and liturgical cloths** of the church and all the immovable properties assigned to it have been acquired with much toil and trouble from the straitened circumstances of my most unfortunate life, **I wish [them] to be absolutely inalienable**, to be kept **completely safe**, and as was said elsewhere, never to be given away. **For they were dedicated** by me **as offerings to My Lady and Mother of God, the Kosmosoteira**. For **whoever removes any of these objects will be liable to the charge of sacrilege**—unless the monks are able to cite some entirely **reasonable** and blameless **excuse** of the alienation, **resulting**

from a chance occurrence, perhaps one arising from a fire or a raid by some enemies, or an earthquake—[resulting in] the collapse of the monastery, which has been wrecked, perhaps, and requires the restoration of what collapsed during the disastrous calamity. For in this case alienation will have occurred **for a good reason**; these things will have been lawfully sold to other churches.²⁷ Some things can be disposed of, however, if money is at that time urgently needed, and is lacking. The disposal **should not be** [p. 44] **done by one** or two people, **but openly**, with **the superior, the steward, the ecclesiarch and other preeminent monks gathered together for this purpose. The removal of what is necessary should be done in the presence of all these people, with the inventory set in the middle of them and each of the removals signed by the superior. Furthermore, I instruct that there should be a detailed list to indicate the things that have been removed, signed by all those who gathered together and clearly setting out both the types of things removed and the reason for which they were removed; this should be deposited in the sacristy as a record.**

46. [cf. (22) *Evergetis* [20]]: I decree that those officials who collect and disburse the produce of the monastery, such as grain, barley, wine, olive oil and so forth, should write down with great care **from where and when come the incomes** and to where go **the expenditures**, collecting and disbursing so that the brotherhood be content and not shocked. I made decrees above concerning the money, and wish for the decrees to remain as true, unbroken throughout.

47. [cf. (22) *Evergetis* [21]]: Embrace silence at all times; avoid idle chatter. **For “by a multitude of words,” he says, “thou shalt not escape sin”** (Prov. 10:19). But [if some of them **amuse themselves with idle conversations or turn to vain chattering**], **let them not reject the admonishments of the superior.** Anyone who devotes himself to rebuking the brothers will be subject to excommunication and to [some] penalty, if he remains unrepentant. Those who form idle gatherings, or linger together and do not, at the request of the superior, rectify the [situation] by correcting the error, will be liable to punishment. [= (22) *Evergetis* [22]: So also will **those who acquire some possessions contrary to the rule of the monastery, even so much as an obol or a piece of fruit, without the knowledge of the superior. Similar to them is the person who eats and drinks in secret, unless he confesses, and the person who receives messages from friends and relatives, and replies to them. But the person who purloins something from the monastery and does not make amends will be expelled.**

48. Now I have already before this decreed²⁸ the number of monks [that are to be] in the monastery. For the absence of decrees generates confusion. In time I want the flock to be subjected to an increase, within the scope of its potential. The piety of the monks, the love and harmony, and the strength of the supply of food and drink, and particularly the revenue from the immovable [properties] will make it easier for the superior to determine at his discretion the number of monks. For it is better to have the monastery consist of a few who are in the highest degree adorned with a conduct pleasing to God, than of many monks leading disorderly lives and scornfully throwing the law of the good out to the birds. [= (22) *Evergetis* [23]]: **“For one doing the will of the Lord is better than ten thousand transgressors”** (cf. Sir. 16:3).

TWELFTH CENTURY

49. Young men less than twenty-four years old shall not dwell in the monastery, even if they happen to be relatives or [p. 45] friends or acquaintances of the superior or of [any of] the other monks, or in any way especially dear to them, on the pretext of [their] service or instruction or of some expertise or skill, whether theoretical or practical, or of [their] being reared and educated. I reject entirely this sort of wish and action, as the cause of many scandals and of spiritual harm, antithetical to the laws and spiritual canons—and of course suitable for laymen, but not indeed for monks. For he [the monk] must keep himself apart from every physical craving and fleshly desire, and deny himself such things joyfully, and follow orders without distress. For the Lord says: “Whoever does not renounce all that he has (Luke 14:33), and hate his parents (cf. Luke 14:26) for my sake, cannot be my disciple.” “For no one,” they say, “can serve two masters” (Matt. 6:24). But if someone attempts, in the way described above, to have any sort of child with him, let him, and the [child] as well, be straightaway expelled from the monastery, and be rejected as something corrupt, a limb that is festering and cannot be healed.

50. If the superior of the monastery, [whoever he may be] at that time, should discover some relative, or other [person] familiar to the monks in this monastery, to be deeply desirous of the monastic life, and capable of performing some service, he will admit him without hesitation or hindrance to the monastery, providing he has passed his twenty-sixth year. But in no way should he follow the will of his relative, or serve him exclusively, but abide by the canons, rules and regulations commonly [observed] in the monastery, and obey the will and stipulations of the superior, and never act contrary to his opinion and counsel.

51. [cf. (22) *Evergetis* [24]]: It is very useful and appropriate for the monks to live two in each cell, and to conduct themselves in it as brothers one in soul, in agreement with each other. But there are certain occasions, that the superior would recognize, when he might want perhaps to have certain monks alone in the cells.

52. [= (22) *Evergetis* [25]]: **I prescribe that garments be bought and deposited in the wardrobe so that when you need them you may receive them; and it is good to take care of your old garments as much as you can and use them. For only a use that is necessary should be sought, and a surplus should be hated as being of the devil. We give the same instruction also in the case of cloaks and vests and shoes, and in short, all necessities. So whenever anyone has a pressing need to receive a new item of these articles, he must bring the old one of course to the storehouse and hand this over and receive another one with the knowledge of the superior. For otherwise, if you do not bring the old garments, we order that you be not given another.**

53. [= (22) *Evergetis* [26]]: **In addition to these, we give you this instruction before God and our Lady herself Mother of God the *Kosmosoteira*, that each of you monks should all have the same food and drink, clothing and footwear, and that there should never be any difference in these things among you. But you will all use the same—I mean the superior, the steward, the ecclesiarch, those who are distinguished in age and virtue and in their exalted station in life,**

and those who are inferior to them in these matters. For you should only help and take care [p. 46] in every way of those who are clearly afflicted with illness, and for this reason perhaps need more abundant and better food and drink to sustain their unfortunate bodies. For I think that this shows discernment and preserves the conscience of every one else free of offense.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [27]]: Therefore it is necessary for **the superior to enter your cells once a month whenever he wishes, and if any have extra items, he should take them away and deposit them in the wardrobe or give them to those in need.**

54. I have now made enough decrees about the living—and I wish these to prevail unbroken under God. Now I would like to address myself a moment to my blessed late parents, and to the monks of the monastery here who have departed from this world. Concerning the thrice most blessed lords, the divine emperors my parents, the Emperor [Alexios Komnenos] my father who met his fate on August 15, and the holy lady my mother [Irene Doukaina] [who met hers] on February 19, I wish them to be commemorated daily, just as is done today, during the hymnodies, at the proper time, in the priests' prayers, [inasmuch as] they have been inscribed in the diptychs, for the sake of the Lord. When the day of their death comes around again, then let the commemorative services be performed by the monastery in a manner befitting them, according to the discretion of the superior. May I, the wretched, not fail [to be included] in their holy prayers!

Concerning the monks who depart in the Lord: even if I may have made provision elsewhere for them to be interred in different places, if within my lifetime I manage to complete for them the cemetery in the place where I ruled that it be restored, then I wish them to be buried in it, in a seemly fashion and with the proper funeral procession. Regarding the form, [namely] the *epitaphios* hymn, the long experience of the superior knows about such things.

Now I wish that my most faithful and dearest retainer, Leo Kastamonites, be also inscribed in the diptychs, and commemorated without fail. He was raised practically along with me from [our] early youth, and grew old with me. He devoted his whole self to many efforts and to many trials, by my wish and will. He always valued my life over his own both in dangers and in circumstances beyond human [endurance]. For not once—it is true!—did he let down his honor, working tirelessly, somehow, to serve me and to [assure] my complete repose. He surpasses, I am aware, all those in the hands of masters by as much, one might say, as the wide heaven is distant from the earth. This Leo, the hireling full of every spiritual beauty, may thou, O God, number among the souls of the saints, [for] he is reckoned as a steadfast canon of correct faith by all those who encounter him. However, wherever this man, who is still alive, should wish his body to be buried after his death, whether outside the church or in the common cemetery of the monks, I request for him to be buried in a stone coffin, in grand style, [under] a rubble vault with appropriate painting, and for a bread just for him to be offered on his behalf during the commemorations.

55. [cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37], ed. lines 1127–29; 1137–60]: The superior, therefore, being rich in understanding, should not shear for tonsure those coming from outside right away, but make them put on [novice's] rags and invest them with the [p. 47] **monastic headdress**, and then watch over them in the execution of their **tasks** assigned to them **according to their abilities**, to see whether they remain true to the ideal that had brought them here, and thus whether they should be ton-

sured. I decree that the period of their patient endurance should last six months.

Those then who have been judged worthy to be accepted should not be put under any compulsion concerning a renunciation and an entrance offering. For we know that one must not traffic in the grace of God or sell it for money—perish the thought—and may the superior never harbor the unseemly notion, born from such a custom, **that someone who makes an offering is more important than someone who does not.** Never until the end of all time be it for you to consider or practice such a thing. **If someone willingly offers something, let it be accepted. For that is freely chosen and not forced** to propitiate God.

If a certain man should wish at some point to retire from the monastery—**there are many such examples of fickleness—and would like to take his offering away with him,** it should not be given to him, no matter what it might be. **For what has once been consecrated to God must not be taken away, and he who takes it away is sacrilegious.**

If at some time someone very wealthy should come to the monastery for tonsure, and for the benefit of the monastery wish to contribute and assign to the monastery some of his movable and immovable possessions, and to join the monastic community and to occupy within the monastery dwellings suitable for his own habitation, such a man should obtain satisfaction and should be received by the superior for the strengthening and benefit of the holy monastery, as has been said, even if the individual joining it is a eunuch, prominent on account of his station in life, and his wealth.

56. [cf. (22) *Evergetis* [38]]: I do not wish for there to be any distribution to women at the gate of the monastery, not because I hate our kindred human beings—far from it!—but because I naturally want to avoid the harm that lies in wait for monks from the arrival of women. Indeed such a habit always represents [something] evil, not good, for the brotherhood. But it is not forbidden to give to women during the general distribution that occurs on the feast of the Mother of God, or at any commemorative rites. For what [occurs] rarely [will] do no harm.

57. [cf. (22) *Evergetis* [42]]: Moreover, if the monastery should be reduced to the solution of [having only] two or three monks, I wish that there be no change or alteration due to that, or to other circumstances, ever, in its communal organization.²⁹ I thus wish for all the monks in the monastery to be as one body and one breath together, and for all **to labor together with one another in everything, as limbs of one body, and not to stir up quarrels nor form improper friendships, [and] to refrain from claiming the seat of honor.**

You must **banish from yourselves the source of evil—I mean the love of money**—which you must renounce, for the sake of the Lord [you must not] make a profit **out of the monastery's possessions, nor in any other way at all to set aside and store up anything.** However reason has determined that the loss through carelessness of anything [belonging to] the monastery is not exactly the same thing as these aforementioned crimes. We should also avoid improper familiarity.

My brothers, the orders I have handed you are not so hard to accomplish. [p. 48] Everything is made easier by the value of virtue. **For we did not abandon the world for luxury and indulgence.** If we use a little force on ourselves, the Kingdom of Heaven having suffered violence

(cf. Matt. 11:12), we would gain it. **No one has ever gained a triumph by being careless; no one has triumphed over his enemy by sleeping. Crowns are for** those who toil, **and triumphs** for those who survive the labors [such] contests [require]. I hereby beseech you all to succeed in these things, in the name of the Lord, the Ruler of All.

58. In addition to these other things, there is something I wish that is of utmost importance to me. Never should all these things be alienated that were unconditionally assigned to the monastery by me or by someone else for all subsequent time. This holds true as well for those movable and immovable possessions that will in the future be so assigned. Never, through a deed, exchange, gift, or any other form of alienation, should any of these things be alienated, or the ownership of them changed, even if the price or equivalent value offered should be double, triple, or even ten times as much.³⁰

Whoever, therefore, should attempt to overthrow, destroy, alter, or transgress this my wish and decree concerning the question of alienation in any way, by some either convincing or devious argument—even though he be an emperor, or bishop, or high official, or private person, or anyone else, whether superior of the monastery or one of the monks in it—will be classed with the Apostate and the Devil, will be judged with the Betrayer and the crucifiers of the Lord, and will be delivered to the eternal fire. In this life he will have the Mother of God and *Kosmosoteira* as foe, since she is the mistress of what has been assigned [to the monastery].

59. [= (22) *Evergetis* [42], ed. lines 1309–11; [43], ed. lines 1313–15]: **Brothers, the “appointed time” of our life has grown very short.** (cf. I Cor. 7:29) Remember your souls, and **do not forget my insignificance in your prayers. You should also read the present *typikon* at the beginning of each month during your mealtimes, to remind you of your instruction, and for the benefit of your souls.**

60. I decree therefore that two treasurers and the steward should be entrusted with guarding the money, with the knowledge of the superior as well. The incoming and outgoing money should be carefully recorded, and the box for it opened and sealed by them. As for the money put aside, if there is on occasion any in the monastery, the superior must do the sealing, with the steward, the sacristan and the two treasurers. If the need arises, [he] should remove the seals again in their presence, so that there shall be no cause for blame or offense.

61. Let there be a competent and proven doctor assigned to the monastery at all times, receiving from it appropriate recompense and a salary. His duty, which he should perform attentively and unceasingly, is to care for the sick to the full extent of his art, and to heal them wholeheartedly—both the monks of the monastery, and those ailing brethren whom, for the appeasement of God, I arranged to be hospitalized in the old age infirmary of this monastery.

The superior is responsible for bringing in medical supplies and storing them [p. 49] every year in the monastery whenever the time is right, in addition to almonds, sugar, and other things benefiting the sick. The superior should not be sparing of money, even if the income of the monastery should be very low, nor should he delay for any reason [the performance of] my will and

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order concerning the sick. Rather he should devote ten servants to minister to the sick and bedridden, for the brethren who are served by them must always constitute thirty-six. He should display all solicitude always toward them, since those brethren in the monastery [who have been] hospitalized for the sake of the salvation of my soul are in need of—indeed owed—their service and the care and attention of the appointed doctor. If for some reason the superior is careless in the performance of this instruction of mine, he will answer for it to the judge of all on the day of judgment.

62. These then are the things which I have recommended, as an exhortation and a fitting appeal to the monks, and have decreed in the present *typikon*, before the Mother of God. Now I must set forth and define [what is to constitute] adequate clothing for these monks, so that here too my regulations will find support. So, for example, every monk in the monastery should receive, by way of clothing, one double tunic each year, two undergarments, and two pairs of shoes which are to be repaired with leather once. For the [winter] shoes, one wool fleece.³¹ Every three years they should receive two vests, one [made] of cotton, suitable for winter, the other without cotton, to be used during the summer, and similarly, two cloaks, a summer kind and a winter kind. Every month they should be given one *litra* of oil for lighting the lamp in their cell, and one *litra* of soap for washing what is needed.

Let the superior take back from the monks the tunics that have gotten old, and place them in the wardrobe, and give these to the monks who enter the monastery late and are not present when the distribution of the new garments takes place. Each man who tends to the monks' mules, each baker and each farmer should have one double tunic, two undergarments, one pair of shoes, and two pairs of boots, and one fleece to make [winter] shoes and enough goatskin (?)³² for one pair of leggings, and, every two years, two vests, a summer and a winter one. These items, then, which I have prescribed, should completely suffice for the assistants and for the monks.

63. They clearly also require food each day, to satisfy their physical needs. I order therefore that they receive on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays the soup called "Holy Broth,"³³ and legumes, and on the other days of the week two dishes each: whatever fish the day may bring, and sufficient cheese, and every day two monastic wine measures—except during Lent, when they should have but one wine measure each day. On the feast days of the Holy Apostles, and on Christmas, and on my commemoration days, let the meals be at the discretion of the superior, with the food set out and [p. 50] drink provided.

Care must be taken that the superior seek out just the right time for purchasing cheaply the oil that is sold at Ainos, and that he buy it [but] once, for the needs of the whole year—and not from any of the agents, but from off the ships that transport the oil and put in at Ainos. The intelligence of the superior will see to it that wine is bought when the time is right—unless the monks should start up vineyards on the monastery grounds, for the area is suitable for this kind of cultivation.

64. As for the commemorative services for my soul, there is no need for me to make any arrangements. Nor do I want to exalt my soul by the foolish illumination of gleaming [objects], nor by any other customs of this world. For it is difficult to conceive how my soul, benighted as it is by the

darkness of sin, would be illuminated by the lighting of wicks and lamps. But may God be gracious unto my soul, by the intercession of the Mother of God, and may the light of his ineffable love for mankind shine forth—which light we, unworthy of him, desire to reach. May the judgment of the superior execute in modest style the commemorative services for my soul—whatever is appropriate, according to long custom, for Christians who depart from this life.

65. But let us return a little to my intention concerning the above-mentioned feast of the holy Dormition of the Mother of God and the distribution to the poor that is to take place at the commemorative services for me, at the discretion of the superior. I failed to speak, however much I did say, about the feast of feasts of the holy Dormition of my benefactress the Mother of God. However, since I am never satiated in my longing for an honorable and comprehensive performance with regard to the feast of my benefactress, I wish, over and above all that has been said, for the following: after matins of that day on which we celebrate the Dormition, I wish for a number of priests and deacons to don the priestly vestments. The superior with them should carry in his hands the Gospel, another in line the icon of the Mother of God, and another the great cross which is set at the sanctuary. The appropriate *ektenes* having been celebrated therein, the priests should come out of the church bearing these objects, with appropriate illumination preceding them, and go out the gate of the enclosure in a procession. They should go down to the cemetery of the monks, and circle thus toward the other entrance [that is] opposite—I mean toward the western part. This progress which encircles the whole enclosure around the outside is for the sanctification and preservation of it and the whole area. Thus they should enter the church and return the sacred objects they have been carrying to their required holy places. The mosaic Dormition that is fixed over the door should, at the time of the feast, have illumination [that is] neither poor nor contemptible, but worthy of note—I mean suitable. Around this representation of the most holy Dormition I wish a sleepless lamp to be lit perpetually throughout the year with mastic oil. For I know it to be highly favored by the grace of divine inspiration.

66. Now the superior should have a boat in [the section of] the river Maritza that belongs to us, and catch fish and bring them back to the [p. 51] monks as food, and transport them frequently from Ainos, according to what is convenient at the time. There being many large fish, as I myself found out, in the river Samia, at the outskirts almost of Neokastron, the superior of the monastery should regulate with an alert mind the guarding of the river and its preservation so that the fish cannot be caught by just anyone happening by—for they are easily taken, and ideal for an easy catch, as I know well.

67. The site of the monastery being a naturally suitable one, and access to it easy and well-trodden, the superior will be sure to take care with such things, and in other ways as well. In his vigorous activity toward the good, he will make plans for maintaining [its] incomes and for adding to what I assigned to the monastery. Also it is necessary [to look after the bridge]—I have been deemed worthy to see, with the help of God, the construction of the bridge completed—this great and easily traversed bridge of massive stones that was constructed by me for my soul's sake, with much sweat and struggle and innovations, for the passage of strangers. This bridge I entrusted,

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along with my other possessions, to the hands of the Mother of God—stretched across for the passage of strangers, who previously encountered grave dangers, with respect to the marsh and the water spread about with the so-called flag stones, [there] where the bridge [now] stands. Also on it was set up that stone panel with the image of the Mother of God, as an object of worship for those who are passing across, and as the prayer of my wretched soul.

I wish the superior of the monastery to be ready and prepared, so that if perchance sometime or another some calamity befalls this bridge through all-subduing time, or befalls that other one that I established nearby in that place which is commonly called by most people Aeidaropniktes, he will re-erect it from the income of the monastery. He should lay down the expense for this calamity in the full knowledge of the rest of the monks, so that through the prayer of those who cross over it, I myself, I hope, may find easy and unmarshy that future bridge when I come to cross it to the eternal dwellings!

Whereupon, face to face in the presence of my all-immaculate Lady and Mother of God, I entreat and charge the superior of the time and all those with him never, for as long as this earth is in existence, to slacken in this spiritual work, nor to be careless, but to be serious, just as though I was still living and reminding the superior about this good work. For it was for the salvation of many that I established the bridge, with the help of God, in the place that I described above. Therefore, if my present order about the bridge should be overlooked by the superior and the rest of the monks, may they have to look into the face of God, the incorruptible judge, as people who perhaps neglected this work so beneficial to the public, and may they be reckoned by the Mother of God as destroyers of countless Christian people.

68. I have seen in various holy monasteries a considerable—and unbecoming—indifference with regard to the hymnody, on the part of the monks living there. Fearing from such stories lest the monks of this monastery disregard my orders in this present *typikon*, [p. 52] through laziness or negligence, I am already “taking the next best course”³⁴ out of necessity, and am ordering the monks to be roused from their pallets for the morning hymnodies at the hour called “Of the Third Cockcrow” and “Of the Cuckoo” on winter nights. In the summer [let them be roused] two hours before the break of day. This way the monks can complete the course of this hymnody more alertly and more vigorously.

69. Those of my immovable properties that came to me from family inheritance through imperial decrees and commands, and those that I have assigned to the monastery for its use and ownership from now on, so that it may have them entirely inalienable till the end of time, with all their territory safeguard and tenure, and with all rights and privileges over them, just as I declared above,³⁵ are as follows: Neokastron with its dependent peasants settled both inside and outside, and its houses, mine and those of others; also the rights over the fairs taking place there annually, and over the catch from the rivers Samia and Maritza for a good supply of fish. Also the estates Tou Kanikleiou, Lykochorion and Tou Drachou, and the promontory Banianous. The following estates: the village Sykea, and the estate before it that is called Tou Triphylliou are to be counted, by imperial ordinance, as belonging to Neokastron after the death—and from then on—of Aspeiotos, who at present holds it for his own use. I wish also for it to be relocated close to the monastery,

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where I also put Lykochorion and Tou Drachou—unless some difficulty arises, due to the length of the road between, for the inhabitants living in the village, in harvesting in summertime of the fruits of the farms, and the transportation of them to their relocated houses.

In addition, all those immovable [properties] belonging to me as their owner both inside and outside of Ainos, which have been disintegrating for such a long time—these I wish to be restored. The estate Neochorion, the estate Kourianis, the estate Tou Choirospaktou, the village Batzinea, the village Tou Chousderi, the estate Tou Sinale, the newly-built estate Beros, Soter ton Blachon, the estate Hagios Nikolaos, the two military villages Tou Dilianou and Dragabasta, the fort Aetos with the village Tzechoba, the estate Sukaragi, the village Branista, the estate Neboselous, the estate Delbotzianous, the estate Tzampe, the estate Raunianous, the village Sophous—if it is not sold in my lifetime—the market Sagoudaous, with the dependent peasants and residents settled in it, with its ships and the rights *tou basilikatou*³⁶ and its warehouse.³⁷ These things [the monastery will gain possession of] after my decease.

After the death of Kastamonites [it will obtain] the estate Tou Galatou, [and] the village Tou Tzernikou. After the death of the *pinkernes* Constantine, the village Radaboundos. After the death of Niketas Romanites, the village Kerkizos. After the death of Konstitzes my foster-child—if he dies childless—also the village Tou Chatesiou. If he has children, may he have the authority to bequeath it, if [p. 53] he wishes, to them.

Furthermore, I also assign [it] the ownership of the [following places] cited in the confirmation of the other villages of the monastery of *Kosmosoteira*, my Mother of God: the village Kalosera, the field Tou Tzitze which I bought, and those farms belonging to me in Traianoupolis that have not been given to my secretary Michael. Also the twelve ships that were granted to me with exemption through the imperial decree of the late Lord my father, and which have a capacity of four thousand *modioi*. The ownership of all these, therefore, I assign to the holy monastery of the *Kosmosoteira*, my Mother of God and benefactress, just as has been said.

In addition, I want the superior to take up the deeds to these, wherever they are being kept, and to store them away in the sacristy for safekeeping. Nevertheless, he should at the same time have copies of them on hand to exhibit to any of those officials who might appear one of these days and make inquiries into our rights, on behalf of the public treasury and authority—unless I manage [already] during my lifetime to entrust these deeds along with my properties to the superior of the monastery. If perhaps some other of my deeds should refer to several beneficiaries, let the relevant passages be transcribed and given to the owners of these properties, to whom I assigned these, and the rights to ownership, [the deeds having been] signed by a judge.

Moreover, in addition to these I present and assign to the monastery those farms that I own outside Traianoupolis. I pray therefore to all-seeing God to prolong the remainder of my life for the sure fulfillment of these orders, and for the erection [and reclamation] of those dwellings and cultivated areas in Ainos, which, through time and the indifference of superintendents, have already collapsed and gone to seed. If perchance I depart too soon, which I pray will not happen, may the activity of the superior carry through this project for the erection and reclamation of these spots according to my wishes. For they are very necessary and useful to the monastery, constituting as they do an excellent dependency.

70. Having, it seems, almost reached the end of orders concerning these matters, I would like to give some orders regarding one other work of benefit to [my] soul, something that I have [already] begun. I have already built for the sake of God a rest house for the ailing brethren, to receive them and to provide a bed and care for their illnesses. It is actually outside the large monastery enclosure, yet inside the outer periphery wall of the establishment. There ought to be thirty-six brethren from among those which I, the thorough sinner, summoned for the propitiation of God. If I should enjoy, by God's inclination, an extension to my life, I will take responsibility for this matter in the days to come. But if things should turn out differently for me, may this my wish regarding the brethren be [carried out] by the superior of the monastery.

The brethren should lie on beds along both sides of it, and, for the relief of their physical ailment, each of them should have for his bedding, a double Cretan woolen mat³⁸ in place of a mattress,³⁹ and a rush mat, and two small fleece blankets,⁴⁰ and a heavy woolen cover instead of a spread, and a cloth⁴¹ pillow [filled with] wool. All this bedding should be immediately changed by the superior when there is any mishap, so that the brethren [p. 54] may rest undisturbed.

I wish for each of these brethren to receive immediately as [his] daily portion one loaf of bread every day made with one-tenth of a local *modios*, the loaves being comparable in quality to those of my fathers the monks. Furthermore, to accompany their bread they should each have two dishes—which I have indicated the monks should also have, in the refectory—and in addition one monastic measure of wine. For a special dispensation, and to be used instead of a monthly [allowance], each [of them shall be given] six [*nomismata*] *trachea* every month. When, with the help of God and the care of the superior, the sick brethren regain their health, they will leave there voluntarily, and others will be brought in to replace them, so that the exact number of brethren is kept intact—even before those who are departing have gone, so that no bed is left empty and devoid of a brother for even one hour.

For this is my intention and [my] directive at present: that the superior hire a doctor [experienced with] fractures to give careful medical treatment to the brethren in need of treatment. The doctor must always stay in the monastery. The medical supplies will be purchased yearly out of the income of the monastery, and placed in the cabinet by the superior, so that what is needed will be close at hand.

For I set up this particular holy monastery with the help of God not out of some illusion of glory, wasting thereby what was at hand by spending my resources, nor for the sake of some physical need or frivolous pleasure, which has no stability in this [world], but, to get to the point, for the propitiation of God and of his mother. Let him, too, bear witness to the truth of these present words as he looks unflinchingly at the evidence of the events. For not one stone—this I mean was my policy—or sliver of wood, or trace of tile, did I bring to the church without paying for it, always preserving a clear conscience with the help of God. But “with my hands and feet and hair and the soles of my feet,” as the poet says,⁴² I pressed on with the building of the monastery, virtually all day and all night.

I am consumed by a grievous illness that drains away my eagerness, yet I lighten my ailing flesh with a cane, and look all about with an anxious glance, and roam around the construction work—that being completed, I mean—even if my body in its illness compels me to cut short many of the days. Thus the yearning for the Mother of God and the seething desire in my heart's blood

compels me toward such a project, whether I am willing or not. Quite naturally I held out as best as I could under the circumstances, remembering the infinite benefactions of the Mother of God in critical times. Wherefore I beseech the superior and all the brethren to hasten and rouse [themselves] to bring my orders to completion with all their hearts and minds, with God's help, and in humility toward the Lord. For it was humility that saved the publicans, and tears of repentance the harlots, while it was the arrogance of vainglory that condemned the Pharisee himself (cf. Matt. 21:31; Luke 18:10–15).

Each one should be provided, for use in his house, with one plate, and one bowl, and also one clay cup. Eight servants should be devoted to them because of the weakness of their condition. May this work never be interrupted, but continue for all time—[p. 55] unless the superior would be judged along with the brethren and with me, the sinner, on the day of the terrible judgment.

If one of these days the superior provides the brethren with a meal of fish as a special dispensation, may he receive from God an appropriate reward—for he should find no dearth of fish. Let the superior present himself once a week, on Sundays, to observe the brethren. [God] will reward him [for this] [lacuna in the text] our Creator crying forth to sinners such as me “When did you see me ailing and tend to me?” (Matt. 25: 43)

On the feasts of the absolutely holy Mother of God, let the superior provide the monks and the brethren with a meal of fish as a special dispensation, and, during the Great Forty [days of Lent], let him honor the monks my brethren who have fallen sick by attending to their human ailment with baths and food suitable to their ailment.

If, therefore, the doctor who will be caring for the bedridden brethren should require for some of them the use of a bath for the benefit of the body, let them bathe, and, to put it simply so as to be brief: the superior must regard the brethren as [though they were] God himself, and cherish them in all ways. However, if some of the brethren have to lie in bed for a long time, let the superior arrange for their bodies to be wrapped in garments [taken from] those old cloaks of the monks.

Since the physical ailments of those who are sick greatly require warmth, I order the superior to see to it that there is always enough kindling wood [gathered] from [sources] that are close at hand, nearby the monastery. Every night a very bright lamp must be lit in the home of the brethren, [for], there being an iconostasis, the lamp in it [must be] lit. If the superior should chance to provide the brethren with a special dispensation of food from the leftovers of the refectory, he would do right, and the reward will be dealt out to him by God.

There must be a church in a suitable place in the house of the [sick] brethren. The superior must arrange for it to have services by the appointment of some ordained monk, so that the brethren can listen to the divine hymnody from nearer by, on account of their ailments. Let the priest perform matins and vesper service, along with the liturgy.

As for the aforementioned brethren who may have to lie in bed for a long time, and do not get better quickly, I propose that they be clad in undershirts as well as in the old cloaks, as I said, of the monks. If they are utterly incurable, let them not be cast out of the home and its care (unless they are either cured by medical attention or die), but let them be clad in sufficient cloaks and undershirts [taken] from the aforementioned old cloaks of the monks. Whenever one of these brethren should die, he should be buried with the appropriate burial service, far from the monastery, at a spot of his own choosing.

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The superior is obliged to restore whatever calamities occur in the course of time to the home of the brethren and to their bedding, [to assure] their eternal conservation. Whence also [the roof of] the building must be frequently tiled. But if by complete accident the house totally collapses one of these days, either ignited by fire or demolished by an earthquake, it must be restored [p. 56] by the superior back to its former state and quality, for the eternal conservation and preservation of the enterprise.

Let fermented wine not be given to the brethren, for the Lord's sake, as it is not a therapeutic drink, but one that does harm to the body. For "God is not mocked" (Gal. 6:7). Hark to my words, O my most holy father superior, hark, and do not disregard them, for you have the Mother of God as champion of what is said and done. I, the wretched, have myself appointed her supervisor of the monastery, and ever-present adversary for him who transgresses my decrees concerning these matters.

71. In addition to those, I also decree these: let no representative of yours cause any hardship to the inhabitants of the villages of the monastery under your [control], through injustice caused by greed (which is hateful to God). For through God's help they are not accustomed to unjust collections by me, as he is their witness. In this he should find God gracious, he who said, "Plead for the orphan and obtain justice for the widow" (Is. 1:17). For I have long been in the habit of pitying the poor such as these, which leads me to voice such matters to you before the Mother of God. For it is senseless and unreasonable for a holy monastery such as this to be awarded to the Mother of God yet have the inhabitants who furnish its income be harmed or made miserable, insofar as this is unnecessary. For whatever is dedicated to God must welcome and strengthen the good on all sides, lest what is blessed be defiled, as the saying goes.⁴³

72. What more do I, the unfortunate, need to say to men who take [as much] pride in virtue as in [their] monastic habit? Here again, O Queen and *Kosmosoteira*, enter my mind and tell me what is best for the undisturbed preservation of the work. Since with thine assistance I have by now already readied this monastery, and, with the skill of workmen, the enclosure surrounding it, [despite my] altogether straitened circumstances, I am, yes, most anxious indeed that everything be brought to a happy conclusion. This [I do] not out of "unrighteous mammon" (Luke 16:9) (far be this from me!), but out of what God originally granted to me, and out of periods of long suffering, struggles of great misfortune, and the natural relationship, the mother of affection, with [my] thrice-fortunate parents—even if the devil, woe is me!, totally begrudged me my position as son from the very first moment of my miserable birth, and all the fame and glory of my parents brought me little enough—plenty, actually, but all of it ill fortune. [All of this] has conspired, up to now, to hurl me into the trap of Hades (cf. Prov. 9:18), so that in addition to all this my tongue is [too] numb to formulate and describe the inexpressible [extent] of thine assistance, and to offer guidance. For silence, rather than speech, will praise the charms of thy greatness, with the mouth keeping still for the telling.

Since, then, it is my honest and inviolable intention that the enterprise of the monastery survive and be preserved secure and indissoluble for all time, not subject to any persons, I enjoin the most holy superior of the day, and all the monks of the monastery, to care for it, and to cling to it

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as to a most beloved mother, [p. 57] and to take hold on the other buildings in it as grandchildren, and to embrace them piously, and to drink with enjoyment from the soul-benefiting springs of the soul-sustaining hymnodies of the church—and, in short, to restore whatever damage they incur over the course of time.

Now I beseech our bedridden brethren to address at each vesper service, for the mercy of my wretched soul, forty *Kyrie eleisons* to the Lord, particularly on the feast of the Holy Dormition of the Mother of God, this [being] the feast of feasts and festival, I say, of festivals, and on the day of my commemorative services. May God reward them for [this] work.

73. I have begun to build a cistern within the enclosure of the monastery. If it be finished within my lifetime, the superior and the monks must always care for its conservation and restore whatever damage occurs to it through time so that it may always [serve to] contain the water that I channeled to the monastery. Therefore from the hereditary owners of the source of this water a donation in writing was made to me of the right to it, signed by the metropolitan of Traianoupolis, and this document should be deposited in the sacristy for its eternal safekeeping. For it was only with much toil that I found the water through underground excavation, and for this I spent much of my early livelihood.

It is necessary then that the cistern be always filled with water and covered by a roof made of rubble masonry and tiles to protect it from the sun and dirt. To supply the cistern, the superior should care for the aqueduct and the water pipes that carry the running water sparkling and drinkable to the monastery. For I present this too, as a welcome offering to the Mother of God. Accept this also which I have brought to thee, O Mother of God and *Kosmosoteira*, accept it. The aqueduct should be built with appropriate forethought by the monastery, that it may use it unceasingly for the continuous preservation of the running water.

74. And so I think that the charms of the monastery and the site will draw many men to them. There is the spot itself—even if previously it was the dwelling of snakes and scorpions—the river Ainos, the sea with its surf and its calms, the pasturage and grazing land of evergreen meadows to nourish horses and cattle. There is the site on the crest of the hill, with its easy access. There is the fine temperance of the currents of air and the power of strong breezes with the everlasting reeds rustling in tune with them about the mouth of the river. There is the immense plain, and the panoramic view, especially in summertime, of corn in flower and in ear, which impresses great gladness on those who direct their gaze there. There is the grove of lovely saplings growing so near the monastery, and bunches of grapes are entwined among them. As a joy to the throats of the thirsty, water gushes forth wonderfully beautiful and cold.

75. Such things as these that delight the five senses will draw all to see and wonder at the monastery. In a site of such God-granted charms, I, the wretched, was led to restore the monastery with much pain and struggle. In the beginning, the lack of building material created difficulties [p. 58] for me, but, as from some prearranged signal again, round about like a treasure for me there sprang forth assistance to me from the Mother of God. A discovery of the necessary material came to light—miraculous to see, this discovery from an unexpected source, of lime in the enclosure,

and of a source of water. Thus from a previous lack I arrived at an unexpected supply, and thus saw the material for everything I needed granted by God in abundance. For when they say, God wills, the laws of nature are confounded, and miracles are easily performed.

Worthy of description is something that happened during the construction of the church, foretelling the future entrance of sweet and radiant grace into it. Let me explain what it was. While the walls of the sanctuary were still in the process of completion by the workmen, suddenly, from where no one knew, a bee slipped into the hollow of the sanctuary where priests perform the holy mysteries, and there in some hole hastened to build its nest, along with the humming peculiar to its nature. From this the wise who learned of the event suspected that what had happened was not without cause or reason, but spread abroad the [view that the event indicated the] presence of the most sweet Holy Spirit in the church.

Yet again, not much later, I myself witnessed another miracle at the outside of the church. I was sitting in a low chair—since I was ill—and inspecting what the workmen had done, when the strangest thing happened. I saw a dove with a golden neck unexpectedly sitting peacefully on a stake fixed to one side of the sanctuary, over which at that time the strong roof had already been placed. From where the dove came, I had no idea. I made attempts to shoo it away from there, but it could be seen that it was reluctant to change its position and be shooed away. Thus it was roused a little distance from my chair when I urged it with my hands; it flew back up, but after a short while alighted near it and sat there. To the wise, the evidence from this was clear: the dove was foretelling by anticipation, as it were, the manifestation of the Holy Spirit in the church. Thus what was to take place was symbolically announced to the beholders by the dove nearing the sanctuary, to the enormous astonishment of those who witnessed it.

With tears I, the miserable, entreat the Holy Spirit, through the intercession of the Mother of God, to shine upon the monastery. To her I dedicated this holy monastery, and I entreat her to preserve it. I have faith that in respect to these things I shall not fail with such an appeal and supplication. Therefore let the hymnody be performed for the Lord's sake with attention and fear. For my soul has loved it very much since the days of my childhood, even though I myself have wallowed in the slime of sin.

76. Once again⁴⁴ a pious appeal comes to mind, and again I expound my wish to the most honorable superior of the day. For it is good, and pleasing to God, to proclaim good things over and over, and for me to return to my thoughts about them. For since I have loved the prayer of those peoples who bear the name of Christ⁴⁵ from a tender age, and hated [their] curse, [which is] abominable to God, I beseech the superior and the monks under him that the inhabitants of the villages entrusted to them never encounter any new [p. 59] burden beyond the just recording of the payments they owe, nor any unreasonable extortions. For [it is] with their hands alone and with their [own] hard labor that they procure and gather whatever is provided in the way of food for them and for their wretched wives and children and parents, for the most part—as well as whatever they grant to their managers and masters. For here God, and I too, would require this service of you.

77. What then? To the superior and to those who will succeed him as superiors of the monastery,

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I have this advice—and I mention and speak of this before the Mother of God with no doubts in my mind. May they never under any circumstances at any time wish to make an image of me as the unfortunate founder of the monastery—not anywhere here, either outside or inside the enclosure encircling the monastery. To do so would be a condemnation of my wretched soul and in opposition to my will and wish, which is pleasing to God. For I absolutely will not endure any such arrangement or proposal by the monks, and, the moment it happens, as I pray it will not, I am sure of this: that my soul will be ruined. For, to use the words of the prophet David, the revealer of divine things, I do not wish my form or “name to be delineated in the lands” (cf. Ps. 48 [49]:11). Rather I pray the Mother of the creator, through her intercession with the son, to strike out the list of my many errors, and, since I have repented, inscribe in the heavens, O God, my wretched name.

Whoever, therefore, among you superiors or other monks, should paint [my image] in the monastery and should act at any time against my will and instructions, will stand trial along with me on the Day of Judgment, and may be ranked with those who deny the Lord. For one does not want to be benefited against one’s will, nor to receive favors. For this reason no damage, but rather [a benefit] comes to me as I decree these things today. Therefore, I want the souls of the superiors of the day, and all the monks of the monastery, to refrain absolutely from any such intention.

78. Now let the inventory of both the immovable and movable [possessions] that have been assigned to the monastery be deposited in the sacristy by the superior and some other important monks. I wish for the future superior to be nominated from my monastery and not from elsewhere, by all the others in the community, without corruption, and to be selected in a pure manner.

79. Since I arranged, with the help of God, for the church to be adorned as far as possible with gleaming marbles and gold, I wish whoever is superior of the monastery to take every care to retille the roof when in the course of time the lead is ruined by holes, so that storm showers will cause no damage to the adornment of the church, through stain or dirt.

80. Let none of the monks assigned to the choir absent himself from the service, for the Lord’s sake, unless he is ill, lest the superior be condemned for this by God. For the superior must be impartial before [God]. Whence he must chastise the [monk] who, through laziness or neglect, absents [p. 60] himself from the service, with an injunction to endure the work for which God has summoned him. For “the sin of the people,” so he says, “passes to their leaders.”⁴⁶ So let the godly way of life of the superior observe my regulations well, under God. For God is—and let the monks harken—the model, the prototype, I would say, of humility and peace.

81. Let the tares of contentiousness and disorder [sown by] the devil be trampled down. For it is my most pointed intention, that all the monks in the choir always complete the required hymn [service], while the servants complete their required duties to them as a hymn to the Mother of God and for the good appearance of the church. Therefore, the monks should not examine the superior about anything, whoever he might be, nor put under review or investigation or examination his life and conduct. For this is thoroughly improper—unless by some chance he might very clearly and visibly be desiring things that [could lead] to the ruin of the monastery, or think and act in secret.

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82. I want then, for the sake of the adornment of the church, that the monks should attend to its pavement with their hands every day, so that no sully of the shining marbles should, through the carelessness of the superior, be apparent to visitors. “I have loved,” the psalmist says, “the habitation of thy house, Lord.” (Ps. 26:8)

Therefore, I do not want the monks of the choir to wear the same shoes that they wear outside the church when they come into the area of the church for service. At that point I want them to put on other ones that are fresh and spotless. For thus, along with this, and in accordance with the value of virtue, I wish and I pray that the feet of the monks who advance for the hymnody of the Mother of God be clean, as a hymn to this very *Kosmosoteira*.

83. I do not wish anyone except for the monks and their attendants to enter the donkey-driven mills of the monks—whether they be country folk or women, or anyone else—lest contact with laymen cause some unseemly disturbance contrary to my intent, [and lead] to the monks being insulted. [These monks] I have especially loved from my tender years, and have venerated, as God is my witness, and in their pious company I wish to die. For monastic life is alien to the condition and turmoil of the world. For this reason I wish the donkey-driven mill to have no contact with any lay presence, or confusion in the worship of the *Kosmosoteira*.

84. But as I myself am desirous for the good appearance of the church in every way, I definitely do not wish for women to come into the church too often to worship. [Yet], lest I quench their burning piety toward the Mother of God by completely barring women from worshiping, I decree that women are to be admitted without hindrance, to worship the Mother of God and to pray for my wretched soul, three times a year to venerate the Holy Trinity, on [the day of] her holy Dormition, on the Annunciation and on the Nativity.⁴⁷ On each and every other [p. 61] feast of the year I absolutely forbid women to be admitted, in order that no further abuse of their access takes place.

Let it be the concern of the superior that the women enter with dignity and in proper order for worship in the church, through the door which faces the east, so that they do not mingle with the monks. Rather, let them be escorted by the ecclesiarch or some other God-fearing man to [their] worship after the dismissal of the liturgy, but not on some sinful pretext, nor for food or drink. Under no circumstances do I wish women to tarry within the enclosure of the monastery on their account, unless the superior might happen at some time or other to give permission to one of the monks to speak to a woman because of his apparent kinship [to her].

On the other days of the year there must be absolutely no crowd of women in evidence—though outside the enclosure they may, if they wish, worship at the mosaic image of the Mother of God above the doors of the enclosure. For unhindered and altogether free is the visitation of the Holy Spirit; for it blows where it wills (cf. John 3:8), circumscribed by neither space nor time.

85. Since I, the sinner, have placed my hope of salvation in the divine hands of the Mother of God and in [her] intercession with God, I exhort the superior of the monastery not to permit the priests to bury the Hovies left over on the paten of the Holy Communion, lest he and I be eternally condemned. For it is unnatural and unholy for Christ our God to be buried a thousand times, and by those who are ministering to him. Let attention, then, be paid to the dignified and irreproachable administration of the surplus Hovies.

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My own conscience was disturbed when I, at one point, witnessed an unholy sight, [an action] performed by some priests. For I have seen them frequently running off—whether for the sake of food or some other base and worldly need—some of the priests, as I have said, doffing their priestly vestments and handing over the Holies of the Holy Communion to the deacons after the dismissal of the liturgy—altogether out of greed for some necessities. For in this way others could receive the divine mysteries from them, in an improper fashion, coming to them later to share and to partake [of them].

Whence it behooves the superior to pay close heed to this matter that particularly troubles me, (and God as well as me), so that nothing unnatural takes place at a time when he might be occupied with some [other] matters. In fact I wish and pray that such a lawless action be cut out from every single church, as though with a double-edged knife.

86. Since I certainly indicated some time ago⁴⁸ where the remains of the monks should be laid to rest, as well as [those of] all [the people] merely [connected] with the monastery, I do not wish for any dead body to be buried within the enclosure after my death—unless perhaps, as I indicated some time ago, my man Leo Kastamonites should wish to be interred with honor, in the way I specified above, or my secretary Michael, or the *protovestiaros* Constantine the priest. But I absolutely do not want a single one or more of the other people—unless perhaps someone who is [p. 62] very rich would want to be buried outside the church and [its] narthex, [someone] who, in exchange for burial in the monastery will bring many movable and immovable possessions to [add to] its revenue.

I also wish the boy Konstitzes,⁴⁹ my foster child, to be sure to be buried in the monastery along with the men of mine whom I have mentioned—if when he has reached the legal age, he should wish to be buried in this monastery, according to my will. Also, I wish these men of mine whom I have mentioned to be commemorated in the diptychs.

I do not wish the countryfolk living at Lykochorion or at [what is] called Tou Drachou, those who are merely [living] in the vicinity of the monastery enclosure, to be buried in these villages, but far away from the town, wherever each dying [man] should wish, so that no unhealthy pollution enters the atmosphere through the nearness of graves [containing] bodies.

87. Since, in fact—and the Creator is my fellow witness in this—I have loved protecting others practically from [my] infancy up to now, and have hated evil greed (even though I, alas, the wretched, am wallowing in the mire of sin),—I speak these words not out of arrogance—not for me are the Pharisee’s frivolous bragging words! (Luke 18: 11) But in order to explain what I am about to say: I tearfully beseech all of you who are monks in the monastery, along with the superior of this new monastery of the *Kosmosoteira*, to do everything without exception for the poor, who are my godly brothers, everything that the regulation here in my *typikon* elucidates—and not those things alone, but more as well, as much as the means of the monastery can afford for the distribution, and the good conscience of the superior decides.

Hence I would happily throw great thrift to the winds when it comes to distributing to those in need, and heartily welcome the finest distribution which is that furnished by God, as a service above all to him who presides over our own betterment. For if we are to designate him a debtor, he who is the Lord our Creator, by sharing, I say, with one poor man, by how much more [if we share

with] many, and especially since this charity will save from death (Tob. 4:11) this man here who is fettered by sins.

For it is said, “When did you see me hungry and feed [me]?” (cf. Matt. 25:37), and so on, including the [phrase] “And they will go away into eternal punishment.” (Matt. 25:46) What more bitter address, my godly brothers, could we then hear than this? None whatsoever! You must not put forward any reasonable-sounding excuse, such as, for example, a lack of income, to avoid making a distribution that is dear to God. For it is said, “Seek and you will find, knock and it will be opened to you.” (Matt. 7:7) Sharing will open the innermost heart of my Lord toward finding plenty of what is needed, and toward salvation. For it is said “God is served by nothing [so well] as by mercy.”⁵⁰

88. Since, then, I have indicated previously⁵¹ to them the number of the monks and of their servants, and am desirous in time to fix the number of monks at a much higher figure, if possible, I request the superior in his Christ-loving conscience to make haste to further increase the [number of] monks, as far as he deems the income of the monastery will allow. For the [p. 63] growth of the good toward the better will increase God’s untold mercy toward us. These then are my orders.

89. It was once my intention to have my humble remains interred in the monastery of Chora, and I set up a tomb there [to contain] them, in accordance with the wishes I expressed to the Chora monks. But now that I have renewed, with God’s help, this holy monastery of my ever pure Mother of God, the *Kosmosoteira*, another thought has come to mind, namely, to have my remains interred in this one. Indeed, I have begun to [take measures] towards this [end], which I [lay down as] injunctions in the present *typikon* of mine. Already, I have indicated in other requests and agreements with the Chora [monks] that the slabs of the coffin [that was to contain] my remains should be taken up, and placed here in order to receive my remains—that the [slabs] be taken up, plus whatever I myself joined to the tomb, just as the content of the letter addressed to me by the superior of the monastery of Chora indicates. This very [letter] has been deposited in the sacristy of this holy monastery of my *Kosmosoteira* the Mother of God.

It is my duty to carry out this plan, just as I wish [to do], with God’s help, if I have time yet to live. But if I pass away, it is the duty of the superior, along with the others, to fulfill this plan of mine and have the marbles of my tomb taken up from the monastery of Chora and to transport them to this newly established monastery (just the way I transported the marbles for the church), and to set up this tomb on the left side of the narthex, there where I made an extension to the building on account of the tomb.

In the center of the lid of my tomb, I wish my *enkolpion* [of] the Mother of God to be fastened in a prone position in [a setting of] silverwork; [this] has been readied and handed over, and I have just now deposited it in the sacristy. The important [elements] of my tomb at Chora (along with the marbles of the tomb), are the following: a cast bronze railing, and the portraits of my revered holy parents the emperors, and the stand for my mosaic [icon of the] Mother of God. As for the portrait of myself, made in my youth, in the vanity of boyhood, I do not wish for it to be removed from Chora, but to stay where I set it up. For my wretched body, which worms will tear apart, will not need to be honored with a likeness, after its dissolution.

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If by chance [the monks of Chora], with a greedy hand or out of willfulness with regard to my orders, balk and do not hand over the things of which I spoke, the superior of my *Kosmosoteira* the Mother of God, accompanied by some of the monks, must approach the holy emperor and file charges regarding this unjust business. He—for I know well the goodness of his conscience and his character—will not deem me unworthy of such a just appeal, but, for the sake of God, will return with [his] imperial hand the things that are being requested, that have been deposited in Chora for safekeeping.

90. But since the degradation of an unfortunate life has nursed me from infancy, and, in the course and flow of this life of ill-luck, [I have] been separated from my sweet fatherland for most of the years of my existence, a stranger to my kinsmen's renown and [since] of course I did not [p. 64] heedlessly choose the tomb here [to house] my remains, having run through in my mind and reckoned up all the things in life that together turned out badly for me, as I lie on a bed in a dark corner, alas grievously ill, by God's will, and already falling into Lethe, and of the memory

[lacuna in the text]

. instead of any other kind of adornment of fantastic glory for my tomb, [I want] the icon from Rhaidestos of the Mother of God as the *Kosmosoteira*, [which was] sent down to me from heaven, and which I framed with an ornament of gold and silver. [I want it] to be placed at one end of my tomb in its projected form. It should remain resting in that spot throughout all time, preserved without change, to mediate for my wretched soul. Furthermore, I wish [the icon of] Christ, which is the same size, to rest alongside it, the placement of these icons being appropriate for them, and pleasing as well, and the illumination suitable. Indeed if he fails to carry out this wish of mine, the superior and the rest of the monks will be judged along with me on the Day of Judgment. After my tomb is set up I need no other great expenses for it, as I will be insensible to the sight of the sensible and visual [world].

At any rate, I wish the tomb to be divided from the entire narthex by the bronze railing that I mentioned earlier, but access to the tomb [should be] through [this railing]. Every evening, after the dismissal of vespers, I want the superior and the rest of the monks to enter, and in front of the holy icons standing there, to pronounce the *trisagion* and say a certain number of *Kyrie eleisons* for mercy upon my soul. They [must] not fail to make the dismissal in this way, but [must] propitiate God and the Mother of God for me, with these [prayers].

91. I have made the services to commemorate me, and their form, dependent upon the virtuous conduct and the good conscience of the superior, not wishing to burden his freedom of choice by any perverse or compulsory [requirements]. Hark to my words, O my father and superior, and by no means disdain my wretched soul's prayer for mercy. Expect payment for this from the Ruler of All, who is sure to grant better things to good men. For I, the unfortunate and unhappy, who am [but] earth and ashes, dare not because of my series of failures raise my eyes to the heavenly height and the very light source of the divine dispensation. I am blinded in the eyes of the soul. For this reason I, a thorough wretch, am naturally in need of prayer for salvation of those blessed men like you, for the confidence [achieved] from some good deed is not for me [to enjoy]. Therefore,

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do not overlook, O Mother of God, *Kosmosoteira*, my wretched appeal for salvation. For what else [can] I say and what speak, from the multitude of my sins?

92. But the documents of the properties I mentioned that I have donated must for sure and without doubt be carefully guarded in a secure storage place of the monastery by the most honorable superior of the monastery of the *Kosmosoteira*. [He should] take them away from the superior of Chora, if I do not succeed in settling this particular matter before I die.

93. It is necessary for you to reward those who, with God's help, come to us, and to divine baptism, from a foreign religion, with one sort or another of special care. [This must be done] for the propitiation of my soul before God. [p. 65] For this reason I order that those called from the Jewish [faith] to us and to the true faith, Alexios and his wife Irene, [should] receive the following for as long as they live: for Irene, that which has been specified for her in a promissory note, namely three *modioi* of grain per month, fifteen *trachea nomismata* and one cloak each year. Her husband Alexios (if he goes on living with her) should receive two *modioi* of grain and two measures of wine per month, plus two *hyperpyra nomismata* a year. If someone else too comes forward with a sealed promissory note of mine, let the superior give him forthwith what is written [therein].

94. Out of the totality of my resources, I wish the monastery of the *Kosmosoteira* to take thirty *litrai* of *hyperpyra* and to store them away in the vestry, where they should lie undisturbed, along with whatever is left over of the income from the villages after the payments to the monks, to my brethren who are bedridden, and to their servants. This way if ever some calamity [should] befall the monastery or the houses around the monastery, it can be rectified out of these funds. For it is the duty of the superior and of the monks under him not to neglect this matter, but to keep stored away whatever amount of money would be required in such an eventuality. If God should give me a further measure of life, I will make this [my] great concern, with God's help, and take pains to store away yet more money in the monastery (by the means I mentioned), if my pledge should receive strength in this matter from God.

95. Let those [who inhabit] this particular monastery never fail to commemorate the famous emperors my parents and masters. When the day of their decease comes around, let them then be commemorated by the *epitaphios* hymn, by a night office and an offering. In short, let their commemorative services be performed following correct liturgical procedure—even though they have been received by God in the eternal dwelling places. In the tomb of my mother the oil has been seen to gush forth—she who (oh the marvel of it!), in the presence of the whole family, closed her eyelids with her own hands at the time of her decease. It was not someone else passing his hands over her eyes at the moment of death. For she departed in a holy way for the Lord during the first indiction, on the 19th day of February, [while] the emperor, my master and father, left life on Thursday the 15th of August, the day of the holy Dormition of the Mother of God.

96. I wish therefore that this administration of these properties of mine [that have been] assigned

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to the monastery never change throughout all time. I want to keep the [following] wish (along with those other regulations of mine) unaltered and unbroken in all the years to come without break: that the superior care, with his whole heart and mind, for the monastery that I restored with the help of God, and for the old age infirmary, and to strive to [keep] its residents satisfied in life, without delay or postponement, and to provide uncurtailed [what is] prescribed [p. 66] each year for the elderly patients. Since I leave the monastery behind in perpetuity and lacking in nothing, with the help of God, I wish the elderly patients never, whatever happens in the meantime, to suffer any loss or deprivation of that which was prescribed for them. For I wish them to receive these things each year from the superior plentifully, without curtailment or trouble, as much as

[lacuna in the text]

. before God obtaining a resting-place for them and welcome security, and giving it over entirely to the Mother of God [so that she will] intercede for my wretched soul. For God does not allow the deprivation [caused] perhaps by neglect of what is to be given to the brethren, nor [does] his all-immaculate Mother, to whom, along with the brethren, I have dedicated absolutely everything that belongs to me. For the movable and immovable possessions that I, the sinner, brought with the help of God to the monastery of the *Kosmosoteira* (restored by me) are adequate for a reasonable reinforcement of my injunctions. In any event, this written version here of the *typikon* and the volume of my *Secret Testament* should suffice to make entirely clear and evident to the superior [which] immovable [properties I have] assigned to the venerable monastery of the *Kosmosoteira*.

97. I have already spoken about things that I have recommended above, and will [now] discuss those things that I came to recall today. I have completely restored a bathhouse, made of rubble masonry,⁵² as a favor for [the monks] and of many other Christians, and I have assigned it, along with the other things, to the monastery. It is outside the revered monastery, on the stream that runs alongside the cemetery for the monks. At this same time I put up houses around it [to serve as] a place for rest.

I want this bath to be leased out. I want for women who are in need of the bath to bathe themselves only on Wednesdays and Fridays, not on any other days of the week. On the other days of the year, I want it to be yielded to anyone who wishes [it]. Never, in all the days to come, do I want the bath to be neglected by the superior, as [this] would lead to [its] destruction. For its destruction would constitute a great failing on the part of the superior, and [bring] distress to all the others who [would be] deprived of [the chance to] wash.

I declare that the monks are to bathe twelve times in the entire year, that is, once every month. If the need should arise for some of the monks who are sick [to take] extra baths, let them be allowed by the superior to bathe themselves unhindered, for the sake of [their] physical ailment. The monks who plan to bathe must not be permitted by the superior to bathe in any other place or town except in the monastery bath.

The superior must make it his concern that there be established in the monastery some [of the] craftsmen required to execute the projects needed by the monastery.

98. Since it often happens, as I myself have witnessed, that the wickedness of mortals generally

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brings contention between them, and for this reason many secretly set fire to the houses of the inhabitants, the [men] doing this terrible thing—this I command, and with God’s help I exhort the superior, [seeing that] these [men] are foolish about [how to] do good: when some inhabitant of the monastery properties stealthily enters someone’s house and sets it afire, let all the residents of that village [p. 67] in which the fire took place be brought together without fail by the superior himself, to rebuild the burned dwelling.

Even if ten happen to be burned, this particular village must concern itself, out of necessity, with rebuilding those that were burned, not at the expense of any of those who lost their houses, but with the effort and zeal of the inhabitants of the village, whom I referred to. Let there be no delaying or any postponement of the work. Instead [let it be] carried out immediately and without fail.

If by chance, through divine justice and foresight, the man setting the fire should be caught in the act, and the superior [deems] his detention, and the disclosure, I mean, of the affair, not subject to question, but instead clear and indisputable, then I recommend [the following as] a fitting disciplinary measure and a punishment for [the man] who did the terrible [deed]. If the man does not have a wife or children, let his entire livelihood be given to those who lost their houses in the fire and to some other poor residents who are without property and are in need of assistance in life. But if the man in question does chance to have a wife and children, one half of his resources will suffice for him who did the harm (after his release from prison and chains), and let one-half be given to those [people] I have recommended, to restrain the wicked and search out the good.

In addition to this, I request the superior with [my] whole heart and soul to rise up without fail to vindicate the wronged residents and to chastise those who did them wrong. In this way God is served, as is his all-holy Mother, who will rise up flawlessly to protect this monastery.

99. Since the original documents for the immovable [properties] assigned to the monastery and to the old age infirmary have been given to the superior, and copies of the originals have been authorized with an indication from the bishop, the superior must not exhibit the originals when they are requested, but their copies. For the originals must be stored in a secure storehouse for all time, along with the original inventory and this *typikon*. Copies of these should always pass through the hands of the superior and the rest of the monks, for reference. For these are my commands, this is the way I want what must be done to be done.

All the things proposed with the idea of bringing to completion the construction work going on at the monastery, if they are not made ready during my sorely troubled life, if something is still left incomplete for the repose of the monks and of their servants, let it too be completed without hesitation and without fail by the superior, lest the entire project be unfinished.

100. Another crucial thought has now occurred to me, however, that I bring to light and I particularly wish to be followed to the letter. What I mean here is that each and every [bit of] income from the immovable [properties must] be collected with the knowledge not only of the superior but of the steward and the sacristan and of the other notables of the monastery who are responsible for these [matters]. The payments and the deposits must also [proceed] in just this way, for the sake of clarity regarding the income, and [a situation] devoid of scandal for the monks. For their seal must

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be placed on the income deposited in the treasury, for security and for a more precise knowledge.
[p. 68]

101. Neither the cattle of the monastery, nor any other beasts of burden belonging to it should live within its large enclosure, but outside of it, around the S-shaped wall. Here also the grooms must take care of the horses and the mules, and the farmers must round up the cattle for the rest from labor and from plowing. [In this way] the area of the large enclosure (that encompasses the church and the dwellings situated around it) will remain wholly clear of dung.

102. Should at any time some calamity befall the church due to an earthquake one of these days—which I pray will not be the case—the superior would not grant any delay in its restoration, but rebuild it straightaway keeping its present form, and the quality of its color and material. For I do not wish it to undergo any other alteration, however much cheaper, on account of the calamity, but for its present features and visible characteristics to be preserved forever just as they are.

103. On Easter Day, the day of the Resurrection of Christ my God, there must be a procession like the one proposed⁵³ for the holy Dormition of my ever-pure Lady, the Mother of God. Let candles be given to the monks and lit, one candle to each monk, each candle weighing one and a half ounces.

Let no superior, for the Lord's sake, ever at any time consider moving the villages situated near the monastery, or allow them to be established at some other place. For it is advantageous to the monks and to the monastery that still other [villages] be added, if possible, in this proximity [to it].

104. Therefore, since I have completely renewed the church of St. Prokopios outside the enclosure [for the use of] the countryfolk, I want them to come together there for the hymnody, unless from time to time they should want to come to worship in the large church. I request the superior to pay constant attention to this along with everything else: that he not allow the countryfolk to partake of eggs, cheese or often even meat on Wednesdays and Fridays (as I myself have witnessed in my lifetime), nor ever refuse them [admission] to matins or to the liturgy on Sundays or on the great feast days. Let the semantron summon them all in the usual way to visit their church. For the pastoral authority will lead them willing or not toward the good, and will not suffer them to become prey for wolves of the mind, nor [will it] neglect any calamity [affecting] the church that I built for their sake. But when this one suffers damage, let it be rebuilt by the countryfolk for the preservation of the church.

105. If then the superior should see the party of the monastery of the *Pantokrator* pacified (after my death, perhaps) with regard to the vineyards of the Gastivilenoi, let Gastivilea continue [to belong] to the monastery under him, as was heretofore confirmed. But if disorders should again follow upon disorders, and troubles grow into legal troubles, the superior of the monastery must remain calm in these matters, and must sell Gastivilea, with all its rights, to the party of *Pantokrator*, which wants to buy it. Let the money from the [sale of] the village [p. 69] be used in turn to buy

another village of benefit to the monastery. I want calm to prevail in every way, in everything—even though I was offered sixteen *litrai* of *hyperpyra* by the Pantokratorenoi to sell the village property during my lifetime, I refused, because it was [too small] a sum.

106. I have bequeathed some books to the monastery (how many there are is indicated by [the list of] their titles in the inventory of the monastery). I bequeathed another book in addition to these, one that I composed with great effort. It [contains] heroic, iambic and political verse, as well as various letters and *ekphraseis*. I do not want this [book] to lie in an obscure place, but to be displayed often as [something to] read (and in memory of me) to those especially industrious men (and they [are the ones who] want to come upon books and pictures). I do not wish these books to be alienated by the monastery but to survive here forever. For what has once been dedicated to God is inalienable. These things, and other such, I thus recommend.

107. Since my secretary Michael, in all respects my dearest retainer (just as I said earlier too)⁵⁴ has labored greatly over the foundation and the rebuilding of this holy monastery and of everything erected around it—indeed in an almost superhuman [way]—and suggested many ideas to me about them, novel arrangements of buildings [that are] essential and useful for the monastery, in many [cases] the clever intentions of a talented nature. In fact, following his advice I myself renovated most of what was being done by the workmen, marveling naturally at the truly marvelous dexterity of the man in such matters. Hence in accordance with my wish, he erected dwellings for his stay, and at his own private expense, within the enclosure of the monastery (there where he is now living). I do not wish the superior of the time, nor the other monks, to hasten to remove him from these [dwellings], for any reason of the monastery, for as long as he is still alive, as this house has been built by him. But he [shall] live in it and rest without being interrupted whenever he so wishes, as [though he were] an internal monk and a ward of the monastery, an integral part of it, or a most beloved child, one might say.

He [shall] be especially cherished by the superior and assisted when there is need. He should receive two fresh loaves of bread a week (of those coming into the monastery), and each [week] the same amount of wine as that given to each of the monks, somewhat as a special dispensation for him, and as an indication of his being a most beloved ward of the monastery, as I say.

When he reaches the end of this life ([for he is] but mortal), and departs from here, at that time (providing he himself goes along with my wish) I want for him to be [treated] magnificently by the superior and the other monks [in his] funeral procession and in his burial, as a service to God and to me. Let him be buried in a coffin of the very best marble and with a rubble vault worthy of his efforts in my service. For I wish this arcosolium to be decorated with painting. Moreover, his tomb should be put together and set up in the right or the left part of the exonarthex after my death.

Here too should be [located] the tomb of my most intimate man [p. 70] Leo Kastamonites, unrivaled in [his] loyalty to his master. I want it to be constructed in the same way, and for both [men] to be inscribed in the diptychs and to be commemorated forever. I therefore wish for [the superior] to cherish Kastamonites himself, too, both during his lifetime and after his death, in the holy monastery, and for him to be reckoned as an integral part [of it] by the superior and the monks under him.

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After his death, [the superior] should cherish the immovable [properties] that I gave to him [Leo] as if they were his own and not allow any of his blood relations or strangers to cast a greedy hand on those properties and possessions of his, against the will and ruling of Kastamonites himself, who begged me with tears for this. I require and charge you, O most honorable superior, whoever you might be at the time, in the presence of the Mother of God the *Kosmosoteira*, not to transgress or disregard anything, small or large, in this matter of these two retainers of mine, unless you wish—as I pray you will not—to have the Mother of God my benefactress as [your] prosecutor both here and on the Day of Judgment.

Then there is the boy Konstitzes, my foster-child, the nephew of my dearest *vestiarites* Niketas Romanites, [he whom] for the sake of God I reared with so much affection, practically from his swaddling clothes—I have spoken about him already.⁵⁵ I wish this child not to be reckoned as a stranger to the monastery but as an integral part [of it] and [its] ward in every sense. But timidity on the part of the superior should not [result in] his being [buried] in an outsider's grave. Rather [let him] be buried in a special place of honor within the monastery, with appropriate love and kindness, for my sake, and with proper magnanimity. At any rate these are my requests in these matters.

108. Above and beyond the [properties that], with the help of God, I assigned to the monastery, I assign it also the church that is near the *Peribleptos*⁵⁶ in Constantinople, called and referred to as St. Stephen of the Aurelian, to be used, it too, by the holy monastery of the *Kosmosoteira* as a dependency, a place to stay for the monks when they come to the capital.

In order to construct and rebuild it I have [had to] pour into it myriad payments of gold (as God is my witness), as the church was altogether in ruins, and I [had to] put on a new roof, and to renew totally the rental properties around it, that can be seen even today. I received the church and [the buildings] around it by a patriarchal act, for me to establish a monastic institution, as a fervent hymn to God and to his all-immaculate Mother. I recommend therefore that three monks should be appointed by the superior of the *Kosmosoteira* in perpetuity to this particular church [to assure] its preservation and perpetual conservation, as a hymn to God and to his Mother.

I wish the proper hymn [service] to be celebrated therein, with appropriate lighting and a liturgical procedure suitable for the monks, and [for them] to restore anything in the church that comes to ruin over the course of time. In short, it should be maintained forever as a monastic institution and a dependency for the monks of the *Kosmosoteira*. The paper documents for this particular church must be kept safe in the sacristy by the then superior of the *Kosmosoteira* my Mother of God. For the [p. 71] holy monastery of the *Kosmosoteira* must, without fail, take this particular dependency in hands as its own, with all the rights attached to it, from today on.

109. As for the holy icons that have been dedicated to stand at my tomb, [that are] renowned as paintings, if ever over time their wooden parts should start to fall apart, the superior of the time must not fail to [employ] a first-rate craftsman to lay the images again on to other boards [fashioned] with skill out of elm wood, and must set the images back up where they were before, at my tomb.

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110. Now I introduce another piece of wise counsel and I address the superior of the time as good counselor, with the help of God, and I want the import of the counsel not to be disregarded, [as this would bring] harm and damage to the holy monastery. For since, along with the other immovable [properties] I have also assigned to it these two villages, that of Tou Dilianou and the one referred to as Dragabasta⁵⁷—in these there are some soldiers. [These men] often behave shamelessly toward their neighbors and toward the superintendent of my villages, and are disobedient when it comes to paying the taxes they owe, emboldened, perhaps, by [their] military calling.

It is essential that the superior welcome them cordially with open arms to his table, after I die, and treat them courteously in every way, so that he may have them as friendly allies. With their [support] he should be strong enough to drive off those who have settled themselves around our villages and wish out of greed to attack them with violence—as I see happening in many cases today. For these [soldiers] are capable of being of assistance to the monastery, and of warding off evildoers, and are extremely beneficial. So I wish the villages [belonging to] my secretary Michael, that I gave to him, and [those] of Konstitzes my foster child, to be helped in a friendly manner and in many ways, and to be cherished by the superior of the time, as far as he is able.

111. Now then I wish that every troublesome or insoluble matter that creeps in to disrupt the group of monks or is brought up against the superior, and does not find a ready solution, be referred without fail to the most holy patriarch of Constantinople of the time, and be discussed with him. The decision and solution of the matter should be reached there, under God. Then the monks who, along with the superior, approached the patriarch to consult him on the matter should retire peacefully to their own monastery once again.

For I have not given to the patriarch any other authority or supervision over the monastery, by this my written will, save only the [power to make] a decision in some such troublesome matter that may come up between a group of monks and the superior, as I have said, and [the power] to appease [them] through counsel and recommendation—often [invoking the authority of] an episcopal injunction, in [those] cases where the monks approach him and file charges, and [then] are disobedient about observing the recommendation [that was made to] appease them.

112. But since I am responsible in every way for the conservation of this monastery with the help of God, and for the everlasting preservation of everything that is of advantage to it, [p. 72] I have come up with another thought: I hereby declare that all those men I selected from the *episkepsis* of Neokastron whom I used in the role of *vestiaritai*, who worked for me until my death on the construction of this holy monastery from its very foundations, and in other hired jobs and essential services—yes, and those who, after the completion of its construction, were also counted as *vestiaritai* together with the others, and summoned from the aforementioned *episkepsis* of Neokastron—these [men] should be altogether immune, after my death and up until their death.

[They must] never be dragged into compulsory service or extra compulsory service or *psomozemia*⁵⁸ by the superintendent of the monastery villages, nor by its superior. Rather [they can] resettle all together, [leaving] the place in which they live today, with their entire household, and live near the God-protected fortress of the monastery, there where both Lykochorion and Tou Drachou, which I resettled, are located.

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These particular *vestiaritai* are at the same time to assist the monastery and ward off those who might try to harm it and ruin its possessions. For I wish and order these *vestiaritai* to be obedient to such action on the part of the superior, and to be used for dispatch work, whenever the superior will be in need of them. [It is] for such things above all that I have bestowed upon them, as I have said, exemption and immunity from other compulsory services and *psomozemiai* after my death.

If ever the superior has occasion to make use of one of them for some service, in the city or in another place, he must not fail to give the man being sent a horse to ride (since he is poor and without resources), for use on the prescribed route only, and such payment as corresponds to the distance to the destination.

Should some of these particular *vestiaritai* wish at some time or another to serve under some other master rather than work for this holy monastery and not to obey the most honorable superior (as I have ordered [them to do]), let them henceforth be deprived of all the privileges to which I entitled them, and be banished from the *episkepsis* of Neokastron, and sent away to another estate by the superior even if [they are] not willing. For they are at odds with my wishes regarding their benefits.

In any event, both this present *typikon* of mine and my written order to the aforementioned *vestiaritai* will make this clear, though the superior can determine their number and names more easily from the [written] order. Their assistance is useful to the monastery, and for this reason the superior must embrace it as much as possible, in fulfillment of my wish and decree.

113. Since I have provided the monastery with water in abundance—it is channeled through the middle of the city to fill its cistern and to provide ample [water] for the refectory as well—the superior must scrub [the cistern] diligently with water, and clean the latrines of the monks as well with [water], frequently, lest the air become ill-smelling and sullied by the excretions piling up in the holes of the latrines and a detrimental illness be introduced among the monks on this account.

Along with [everything] else, I have already erected two baths, [p. 73] [one] outside and [one] inside the monastery. The one that lies outside I built to be freely accessible to [whomever] wishes, and as [a source of] income for the monastery. I want it to be preserved inviolate and in good order for all time. Let the superior never cease to concern himself with its conservation.

As for the one built inside the enclosure of the monastery, since I made it for my seasonal use and enjoyment, I wish and exhort whomever is superior of this particular monastery at the time that I pass away, if this bath and its use becomes a special comfort and a benefit for the monks, that he preserve it for their sake, and keep it going for all time. But if it should appear to be a liability to the monastery and [lead] to the monks being disturbed by powerful individuals passing by outside, [who] have been admitted to the monastery to worship the Mother of God, let it be torn down completely at that time by the superior, and its [building] material used for other houses outside the enclosure for the benefit of the venerable monastery.

[For] the Sleepless Eye on high knows what struggles and efforts I expended on it, I, a greater sinner than all [other] men, as a hymn to him who is our creator, and to my benefactress, the Mother of God. Thus, at any rate, I prescribe these things and such as these, thus I command, thus I exhort the superior and the godly brethren my fathers.

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114. This crucial point too I am including into the present text of my will: never at any time shall any stranger traveling along the highway that is near the monastery discover any harm or wrong on the part of the monastery, but rather find it unimpeded, and easy to traverse. Let those in general need of guidance [receive] it, as much as possible. For this reason (which is perfectly obvious to the passerby) I have cut out, as with a double-edged knife, even those tolls that have belonged to me for many years—those, I mean, from the passage of travelers that I received as a paternal inheritance. For the Divine [Being] rejoices, of course, in the kind treatment of the needy and in their protection, and knows how to grant liberal rewards to those who treat [them] kindly.

115. What I outlined some time ago⁵⁹ about the bath inside the monastery I now decree about my own dwelling, which has been built outside [of it]. If the superior should feel that it is [causing] some harm or disturbance to the monastery on account of travelers who may, in their greed, camp inside it, let the house be torn down completely.

116. The *Gift and Grant Ordinance* of all the properties consigned to the monastery has been rolled up and sealed up with a lead seal and deposited by me in the sacristy, so that its contents shall remain secret until I die. When this occurs, let the superior and the monks with him straight-away lay hold of this particular ordinance as their property, unroll it and follow the intention of what is written [therein]. [Then], in accordance with it, [they should] take charge of the immovable [properties] that I have donated, including, of course, the village of Kalosera and [p. 74] the one called Tou Tzitze and the fields in Traianoupolis that belong to me, just as I have indicated both in my *Secret Testament* and in the *Gift Ordinance*.

117. Well now, let me address myself again to certain matters that, with God's help, [may be] of some advantage to the monastery—matters that I have mentioned [already]. I managed at some time before this⁶⁰ to request that Michael, my secretary, and Leo Kastamonites, are to be [held] dear by the superior, [whoever he may be] at the time, and by all the monks under him, and are to be reckoned as wards of the monastery in absolutely every way. But to insist again on this particular idea, I request that they, along with the most honorable superior of the time, be of assistance and every support to the monastery, up until their last breath, with the help of God, and are to look upon it and reckon it as [something] that lives in place of me. The faith and loyal service that they showed me, let them render to this very monastery, before God the Ruler of All, and his ever-pure Mother.

To these two dearest men of mine I have entrusted my foster-child Konstitzes, with the help of God, and [have entrusted] his education to the monastery (as well as to them), in accordance with [my] instructions. I hereby decree that when this boy reaches the age of eighteen, he should take the money and clothing that have been assigned to him and stored in the monastery. I append this also to my decree: in no way should the unstable will of a boy of this age be immediately free to squander, improperly and in places he should not, the things that belong to him, for the sake of some senseless childhood novelty. Rather let the payments be made with the careful attention and counsel of those men of mine whom I appointed to educate him. This must be carried out until the boy turns twenty-four and takes a woman in marriage. So be it.

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118. But since, in addition to the instructions above, it was absolutely necessary for me to leave instructions regarding the burial of the monks in the monastery, and to determine a favorable location for it, well then, I will say something on the subject and make my intention clear regarding [matters] as they stand. I did want for these godly men to be interred inside the enclosure of the monastery, out of reverence toward them, and to honor their dead in a more personal [way]. But since its area, that is, [the area within] the circuit wall, is almost completely taken up by the church and the houses needed by the monks, and there is no fitting or agreeable place left over in it for the bodies of the dead, I changed my mind about burying them inside it.⁶¹ [Instead] I have marked out with a trench a spot for the monks to be buried. [It is located] outside the circuit wall that I mentioned [earlier], by the stream near the bathhouse I restored. In the middle of it I have traced out with a spade [the lines of] a small chapel, to appease God and his Mother, and I have myself just now begun to lay the foundations for it and for the stone wall around it. I am very anxious that this particular plan be completed.

If the intercession of the Mother of God to the Son should grant me a further extension to my life, with their [help] I will [see] my wish fulfilled regarding the proper height and breadth of the circuit wall and the construction of the chapel. If not, I leave it to the superior of the day [p. 75] to complete this [undertaking], as well as the mausoleum of rubble masonry at one end of the circuit wall. The spade marks that I made today will certainly elucidate my future plan for the buildings.

I want the entire mausoleum that has been laid out at one end of the circuit wall to be roofed in rubble masonry with a clay core, and for the whole circuit of the wall to be three cubits in height, and interrupted by a door providing access to the chapel for those who wish to enter. May the superior not be negligent about the conservation and maintenance of all of these. The mausoleum must be divided into two [sections] by slabs or by a constructed barrier, and two monks must remain there to sing in the chapel, just as I wish. During the hymnodies of all the monks, at matins and at vespers, they must proclaim unceasingly this *theotokion*: “Oh more venerable than the Cherubim”⁶² until in the

[lacuna in the text]

extending power by the ordinance that I wrote, signed and gave to them, and I instruct [them] to be content [to follow] my [ordinance] in these matters without curtailment or alteration.

119. However, O all-seeing *Kosmosoteira*, may I not fail here [to receive] thine assistance and thine intercession with thy Son, our creator, and may thou not reject my piteous appeal on the day of God’s terrible judgment. Do not decline my moan, and my tears, but receive graciously into thine undefiled hands that which has been brought to thee today by my unworthy self, in atonement for my multitudinous sins and to redeem me, the one who is accountable for them, and who persists in entreating thee with tears. For I, the unfortunate, have taken refuge in thine assistance and protection, bowing my head at thine immaculate feet, O my benefactress, awaiting release from my crimes through thine intercession. Amen, amen, let it be, let it be.

With the help of Holy God, the end.

Notes on the Translation

Editors' Note: The assistance of our translator, Nancy P. Ševčenko [NPŠ], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. See below, [65], [84], [89], [90].
2. Unidentified quotation.
3. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 14.4, *PG* 35, col. 861C.
4. Feast of the Dormition, August 15.
5. See H. Follieri, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, vol. 4 (Rome, 1963), p. 95. [NPŠ]
6. Feast of St. John the Forerunner, June 24; feast of St. Nicholas, December 6.
7. For Isaac's personal secretary, see [107] below; cf. [69], [86], [107], [110], [117].
8. For Isaac's "most faithful and dearest retainer," see [107] below; cf. [54], [69], [86], [107], [117].
9. Prayer attributed to Basil of Caesarea; cf. *Horologion to mega*, ed. M. Saliveros (Athens, n.d.), p. 118.
10. Cf. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 12, *PG* 31, col. 1376AB.
11. Unidentified quotation.
12. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* ([LR 26]), *PG* 31, col. 985CD.
13. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi* 4, *PG* 88, cols. 618B, 705C.
14. Saturday of the first week in Lent.
15. Feast of the Discovery of the Head of St. John the Forerunner, February 24; feast of the Forty Martyrs, March 9.
16. Feast of the Annunciation, March 25.
17. Feast of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, February 2.
18. Feast of St. Symeon, February 3.
19. Fast of the Holy Apostles, from Monday after the feast of All Saints (Sunday after Pentecost) through the vigil of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 28.
20. Fast of the Holy Nativity, from November 15 until Christmas.
21. In [12] above.
22. In the first instance, Isaac's nephew Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80).
23. In [12] above.
24. In [4] above.
25. Cf. Rom. 15:14; I Thess. 4:18; Eph. 4:2.
26. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 28, *PG* 31, col. 1417C.
27. Cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [10].
28. In [3] above; see also [88] below.
29. Cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], [55].
30. Cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [9].
31. *pokarion*; for which see Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v. On the "winter" shoes—covers for regular shoes in cold weather—see Demetrakos, s.v. *ortarion*.
32. *lounikion*; see (28) *Pantokrator*, n. 68.
33. *hagiozomion*; broth made with water, onions, and oil, and served in bowls containing a few pieces of bread. See Koukoules, *BBP*, vol. 5, pp. 37–38.
34. A proverb; see E. L. Leutsch and F. G. Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 1839–51), p. 362.
35. In [45], cf. [58] above.
36. *tou basilikatou*; it is not clear whether the reference is to an imperial agent (*basilikatos*) or to a tax (?) (*basilikaton*).
37. *phoundax*; state warehouse for grain and other foodstuffs. See A. Kazhdan, "Phoundax," *ODB*, p. 1671.
38. *kentouklon*; for which see Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v.
39. *piloton*; see N. Oikonomides, "The Contents of the Byzantine House from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Century," *DOP* 44 (1990), p. 209.

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40. *pokrobion*; not in the dictionaries. Probably akin to *pokos* (“fleece”).
41. *branea*; according to Demetrakos (*Lexikon*, s.v.) this word denotes a “striped linen mat.”
42. Euripides, *Hecuba* 837, ed. N. Wecklein (Leipzig, 1877), p. 58.
43. Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea* 1099b2. [NPŠ]
44. Cf. [71] above.
45. Cf. John Damascene, *De imaginibus orationes*. 3.42, PG 94, col. 1357D. [NPŠ]
46. Unidentified quotation, possibly patristic.
47. Feast of the Nativity of the Mother of God, September 8.
48. In [54] above; cf. [118] below.
49. For Isaac’s foster child, see also [107], [110], [117] below.
50. Cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 14.5, PG 35, 864BC. [NPŠ]
51. In [3] above; cf. [48].
52. *enchoregon*.
53. In [65] above.
54. Cf. earlier references in [12], [69] and [86] above.
55. In [86] above.
56. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 218–22.
57. See [69] above.
58. Lit. “bread penalty.” A secondary tax, probably a requisition for bread for the army. See A. Kazhdan, “psomozemia,” *ODB*, p. 1755.
59. In [113] above.
60. In [107], cf. [54] above.
61. See [54], [86] above.
62. H. Follieri, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, vol. 4 (Rome, 1963), p. 95. [NPŠ]

Document Notes

1. Section One: Original Prefatory Materials

- [1] Preamble; relationship to the *Secret Testament*. See repetitive discussions of the latter in [96] and [116] below, and other such testaments in (14) *Ath. Testament* [3], (24) *Christodoulos* [B], (51) *Kouloumousi* [C11], and (52) *Choumnos* [A3].
- [2] Foundation history; defense of the source of funding. See other examples of the former in (22) *Evergetis* [2], [3]; (23) *Pakourianos* [1]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A2] ff.; (25) *Fragala* [A1] ff.; (26) *Luke of Messina* [1], [2], [3]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [Preface]; (28) *Pantokrator* [Preface]; (30) *Phoberos* [2]; (31) *Areia* [M1] ff.; (32) *Mamas* [Prologue]; and (33) *Heliou Bomon*, Prologue. See repetitive treatment of the latter in [70] below.
- [3] Number of monks. See the different conclusion reached below in [48] and the additional treatment in [88], with similar provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [5], (28) *Pantokrator* [19], (30) *Phoberos* [42], (31) *Areia* [M4], (32) *Mamas* [5], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5]. The minimum age of 30 set here is lowered to 24 in [49] below and (for relatives of the monks) to 26 in [50].
- [4] Relations with the local prelate and the patriarch. For installation of the superior by the local prelate, see [32] below and similar provisions in (28) *Pantokrator* [25], (30) *Phoberos* [35], (32) *Mamas* [1], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1], and (34) *Machairas* [140]; cf. contrary provision in (31) *Areia* [M15]. For patriarchal mediation of disputes, see also [111] below.
- [5] Consecration of personal property. See similar treatment in (19) *Attaleiates* [16], whose author is, however, careful to note [17] the reservation of other properties.
- [6] Requirements of the cenobitic life. See repetitive treatment in [57] below; also subsequent treatments of dietary regulations in [24] through [29] and in [63] below.
- [7] Daily prayers for the founder. See other treatments in [11], [64], [72], and [91] below.
- [8] *Typikon* of *Evergetis* authoritative for hymnody and diet. (32) *Mamas* [46] also forthrightly endorses the

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liturgical *typikon* of *Evergetis*, while its close copy (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45] prefers the Studite *typikon*, (4) *Stoudios*.

- [9] Feasts of the Mother of God. See similar treatments in (27) *Kecharitomene* [60], (28) *Pantokrator* [7], and (34) *Machairas* [28].
- [10] Feast of the Dormition. The author seems to be familiar with (22) *Evergetis* [11], but does not quote it here. See additional provisions for this feast in [29] and [65] below, and similar treatments in (10) *Eleousa* [13], (23) *Pakourianos* [11], (27) *Kecharitomene* [59], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [48], and (34) *Machairas* [27], cf. [29].
- [11] Other feasts; founder's commemoration. See other treatments of the latter in [7] above and in [64], [72], and [91] below.
- [12] Institutional independence; selection of a new superior. See repetitive treatments of institutional independence in [31] below and of the election of the superior in [32] below. See similar provisions for independence in (22) *Evergetis* and related documents, (23) *Pakourianos*, (24) *Christodoulos* [A16], (28) *Pantokrator* [69], and (31) *Areia* [M12], [T12]. For the selection of the superior, see similar or alternative provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [13]; (23) *Pakourianos* [5]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A18]; (25) *Fragala* [A7], [B7]; (26) *Luke of Messina* [11], [12], [13]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [11]; (28) *Pantokrator* [24]; (30) *Phoberos* [35]; (31) *Areia* [T10]; (32) *Mamas* [1]; and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1].

2. Section Two: Evergetian Transcriptions

- [13] Office of the first hour. Drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [4], cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [32]; (30) *Phoberos* [9], [10]; (32) *Mamas* [47]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]; and (34) *Machairas* [30], [31], [32], [33], [34].
- [14] Guidelines for reception of communion. Drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [5], cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [33]; (30) *Phoberos* [11]; (32) *Mamas* [5]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [32]; (34) *Machairas* [36], [37], [38], [39]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [16].
- [15] Prescriptions for the ninth hour, vespers, compline, night office, midnight office and matins. Drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [6], cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [35], [36], [37], [38], [39]; (30) *Phoberos* [12], [13]; (32) *Mamas* [47]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]; (34) *Machairas* [48], cf. [42], [43], [44], [45], [46].
- [16] Obligation of confession to the superior. Like [17] and [18] below, drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [7], cf. the related (34) *Machairas* [50].
- [17] Guidelines for confession. Like [16] above and [18] below, drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [7], cf. related documents: (30) *Phoberos* [14], (32) *Mamas* [30], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [30], and (34) *Machairas* [51], [52].
- [18] Daily confession; great confession at tonsure. Like [16] and [17] above, drawn (here verbatim) from (22) *Evergetis* [7], cf. related documents: (30) *Phoberos* [15] and (34) *Machairas* [53].
- [19] Use of the *synaxarion* for fasts and vigils. Drawn verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [8], cf. the related (30) *Phoberos* [16].
- [20] Importance of both the office and diet. Like [21], [22], [23], and [24] below, drawn verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [9], cf. related documents: (30) *Phoberos* [20], (32) *Mamas* [17], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17]; (34) *Machairas* [61]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [8].
- [21] Refectory procedures. Like [20] above and [22], [23], and [24] below, drawn verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [9], cf. related documents; (27) *Kecharitomene* [40], [41]; (30) *Phoberos* [21]; (32) *Mamas* [17]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17]; (34) *Machairas* [62], [63]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [8]. See also the contemporary treatment in (28) *Pantokrator* [9].
- [22] No arguments over seating precedence. Like [20] and [21] above and [23] and [24] below, drawn verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [9], cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [42], (30) *Phoberos* [22], (32) *Mamas* [36], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [35], and (34) *Machairas* [64]. See also the contemporary treatment in (28) *Pantokrator* [9].

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- [23] No sharing of food or secret eating. Like [20], [21], and [22] above and [24] below, drawn verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [9], cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [43] and (30) *Phoberos* [22].
- [24] Evening meal. Like [20], [21], [22], and [23] above, drawn verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [9], cf. related documents: (30) *Phoberos* [24], [26], and (34) *Machairas* [66]. See also the contemporary treatment in (28) *Pantokrator* [11].
- [25] Diet for the first week of Lent. Like [26], [27], and [28] below, drawn verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [10], cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (30) *Phoberos* [27], [28], (32) *Mamas* [18], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], and (34) *Machairas* [67]. See also the contemporary treatment in (28) *Pantokrator* [12].
- [26] Diet for the rest of Lent. Like [25] above and [27] and [28] below, drawn verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [10], cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (30) *Phoberos* [28], (32) *Mamas* [18], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], and (34) *Machairas* [68], [69], [70]. See also the contemporary treatment in (28) *Pantokrator* [12].
- [27] Feast of the Annunciation. Like [25] and [26] above and [28] below, drawn verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [10], cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (30) *Phoberos* [28], (32) *Mamas* [18], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], and (34) *Machairas* [71], [72].
- [28] Fasts of the Holy Apostles and Christmas. Like [25], [26], and [27] above, drawn verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [10], cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], [48]; (30) *Phoberos* [29], [30]; (32) *Mamas* [18], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], and (34) *Machairas* [76]. See also the contemporary treatment in (28) *Pantokrator* [12].
- [29] Feasts of Christ and the Mother of God. The feast of the Dormition is also discussed in [10] above and in [65] below. This chapter is drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [11], cf. the related (30) *Phoberos* [32]. See also treatments in (27) *Kecharitomene* [59] and (28) *Pantokrator* [12].

3. Section Three: Mixed Original and Evergetian Materials

- [30] Founder's special prescriptions. This chapter is meant as a transition from the Evergetian "quotations" to the founder's allegedly original materials, but as will be seen below, the dependence on (22) *Evergetis* continues.
- [31] Independence of the monastery. The subject has already been treated in [12] above, but here the author makes some use of (22) *Evergetis* [12], cf. related documents, in the course of this reiteration of his earlier declaration, to which he adds some original provisions.
- [32] Election of the superior; his qualifications and those of the steward; role of the local prelate. See earlier treatments of the superior's selection in [12] above and of the prelate's role in [4] above.
- [33] Installation of the superior. Like [34] below, draws upon (22) *Evergetis* [13], cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], (32) *Mamas* [1], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1]. See also the similar treatments of the hierarchy's rights in (28) *Pantokrator* [25] and in (30) *Phoberos* [35].
- [34] Election and installation of the steward. Even more so than [34] above, this chapter draws on (22) *Evergetis* [13], cf. related documents: (32) *Mamas* [7], (33) *Heliou Bomon*, and (34) *Machairas* [81].
- [35] Installation ceremony for other officials. Draws almost verbatim on (22) *Evergetis* [29], cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [18], (30) *Phoberos* [47], (32) *Mamas* [6], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [6], and (34) *Machairas* [92].
- [36] Duties of the three treasurers. Draws on (22) *Evergetis* [30], cf. the related (30) *Phoberos* [36], for this older concept of financial administration. The author draws on a different model when he returns to this subject in [60] below.
- [37] Duties of the disciplinarian and the refectorian. Draws verbatim on (22) *Evergetis* [31], cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [25] (refectorian only) and (30) *Phoberos* [48]. (27) *Kecharitomene* [26] has a different provision for its disciplinarian, as does (34) *Machairas* [114].
- [38] Tenure of office for officials. Draws verbatim on (22) *Evergetis* [32], cf. related documents: (30) *Phoberos* [38] and (34) *Machairas* [92].

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- [39] Exhortation to all officials. Draws verbatim (but with major omissions) on (22) *Evergetis* [33], cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [25], (30) *Phoberos* [48], (32) *Mamas* [23], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [23], and (58) *Kasoulon* [10].
- [40] Qualifications of property administrators. Draws almost verbatim on (22) *Evergetis* [34]. cf. related documents: (30) *Phoberos* [49] and (34) *Machairas* [109]. See also the treatments in (27) *Kecharitomene* [31], (28) *Pantokrator* [64], and (31) *Areia* [T8].
- [41] Grounds for deposition of the steward. Extensively utilizes various parts of (22) *Evergetis* [14], written for a different administrative structure in which the steward generally succeeded the superior in office; cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], (30) *Phoberos* [35], (32) *Mamas* [2], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [2]. As a result of this close utilization, there is this extensive discussion for the steward's but none at all for the superior's removal from office.
- [42] Elections to be impartial. Draws on brief but ideologically significant portions of (22) *Evergetis* [14] and [17]; cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], (30) *Phoberos* [36], (32) *Mamas* [45], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45], (34) *Machairas* [148], and (58) *Menoikeion* [18].
- [43] Obedience to the superior. Paraphrases (22) *Evergetis* [16], cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], (30) *Phoberos* [36], and (34) *Machairas* [142]. See also treatments in (28) *Pantokrator* [14], (32) *Mamas* [24], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [24].
- [44] Exhortation to the superior. Paraphrases (22) *Evergetis* [17], cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], (30) *Phoberos* [36], (32) *Mamas* [42], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [41], (34) *Machairas* [144], and (58) *Menoikeion* [19].
- [45] Inalienability of consecrated property. This subject is treated again in [58] below. This chapter paraphrases (22) *Evergetis* [19], cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [10] and (30) *Phoberos* [38]. See also treatments in (32) *Mamas* [37], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [37], and (34) *Machairas* [94]. The provision for sale of movable property to other churches suggests an acquaintance with (27) *Kecharitomene* [10] or perhaps a parallel passage in the lost *typikon* of the *Philanthropos* monastery.
- [46] Bookkeeping requirements. These are also discussed below in [100]. This chapter makes some minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [20], cf. the related (30) *Phoberos* [46].
- [47] Discipline of idle talkers; no private possessions; no secret eating. Makes use of brief but ideologically significant passages in (22) *Evergetis* [21] and [22], cf. related documents for discipline of idle talking: (30) *Phoberos* [39], (32) *Mamas* [35], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [34], (34) *Machairas* [113], (58) *Menoikeion* [17]; for the ban on secret eating: (30) *Phoberos* [41]; for the ban on personal possessions: (30) *Phoberos* [41], (32) *Mamas* [35], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [34], and (34) *Machairas* [87]. (28) *Pantokrator* [9] also has its own ban on secret eating.
- [48] Number of monks. A return to this subject already addressed in [3] above, with a different conclusion here (!) influenced by the author's reading of (22) *Evergetis* [23], though only the brief scriptural quotation is shared with the model *typikon*. See also the later treatment in [88], in which the author changes his mind again.
- [49] Exclusion of youths under the age of 24. See [3] above, in which the minimum age set was 30, and below in [50], in which it is 26. Among the other Evergetian documents, only (30) *Phoberos* [58] has a similar ban; for exclusion of youths in the earlier Studite and Athonite traditions, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [18], (12) *Tzimiskes* [16], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34], (15) *Constantine IX* [1], cf. [15]. The non-Evergetian reform document (23) *Pakourianos* [17] also bans youths, however.
- [50] Preferential admission of relatives and acquaintances. See also (23) *Pakourianos* [25] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [4] for similar admissions preferences. It is unclear whether the author really intended to set a higher age limit set here for relatives than the one set in [49] above.
- [51] Monks to live two to a cell. Paraphrases (22) *Evergetis* [24], cf. the related document (30) *Phoberos* [43].
- [52] Communal wardrobe. The author returns to this subject in [62] below. This chapter paraphrases (22) *Evergetis* [25], cf. related documents: (30) *Phoberos* [44] and (34) *Machairas* [102], [103]. See also

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- treatments in (10) *Eleousa* [5], (27) *Kecharitomene* [52], (28) *Pantokrator* [22], (31) *Areia* [T4]. (32) *Mamas* [28] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28] make different arrangements.
- [53] Equality of food, drink, and clothing; monthly visitation of cells by the superior. The section on equality draws almost verbatim on (22) *Evergetis* [26], cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [56], (30) *Phoberos* [45], (32) *Mamas* [34], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33], and (34) *Machairas* [106], [107]. See also treatments in (10) *Eleousa* [4], [13], (23) *Pakourianos* [4], and (31) *Areia* [M8]. The section on inspections of cells draws on (22) *Evergetis* [27], cf. the related document (30) *Phoberos* [45]. (27) *Kecharitomene* [50], (32) *Mamas* [20], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [20] have even stricter regulations, allowing for inspections at any time.
- [54] Commemoration of the founder's parents; privileges for his associates; burial of deceased monks. For the parental commemorations, see [95] below and similar provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [71] and (28) *Pantokrator* [8], [32], [44], [72]. For his associates' privileges, see also [107], [117] below. For burial of the monks, see [86], [118] below, as well as similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [36], (27) *Kecharitomene* [70], (28) *Pantokrator* [56], (30) *Phoberos* [50], (32) *Mamas* [39], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [39], and (34) *Machairas* [157].
- [55] The novitiate; no mandatory entrance gifts; voluntary gifts cannot be reclaimed. Paraphrases (22) *Evergetis* [37], eliminating its two-tiered novitiate for distinguished and ordinary applicants; cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [7]; (30) *Phoberos* [51], [53A]; (32) *Mamas* [5], [22]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5], [22]; (34) *Machairas* [55], [57], [58], [59]. See also treatments in (25) *Fragala* [A8], [B8]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [34]; (28) *Pantokrator* [16], [17]; (31) *Areia* [T6].
- [56] Exclusion of women from daily charitable distributions. See the author's more lenient treatment on the admission of women to the monastery's church in [84] below. This chapter paraphrases (22) *Evergetis* [38], cf. related documents: (30) *Phoberos* [55] and (34) *Machairas* [118], [119].
- [57] Exhortation to common life. See also [6] above. Paraphrases the final exhortation in (22) *Evergetis* [42], cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [78]; (30) *Phoberos* [59]; (32) *Mamas* [46]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45]; (34) *Machairas* [163], [166]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [20]. The instruction to maintain the cenobitic life even in the event that the monks are reduced to two or three suggests an acquaintance with (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], [55], or perhaps parallel passages in the lost *typikon* of the *Philanthropos* monastery.
- [58] No alienation of consecrated properties. See treatment of this subject in [45] above; the regulation here appears stricter. The prohibition of even highly profitable sales or exchanges of consecrated properties suggests an acquaintance with (27) *Kecharitomene* [9] or perhaps a parallel passage in the lost *typikon* of the *Philanthropos* monastery. That exceptions to the general ban on alienations were still possible seems evident from [105] below.
- [59] Reading of the *typikon*. Draws on (22) *Evergetis* [43], cf. related documents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [65], (30) *Phoberos* [59], and (34) *Machairas* [167]. See also provisions in (32) *Mamas* [16] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [16].
- [60] Financial officers. The author returns to this subject, discussed earlier in [36] above, drawing inspiration here from (27) *Kecharitomene* [24] or perhaps a parallel passage in the lost *typikon* of the *Philanthropos* monastery. See also similar provisions in (28) *Pantokrator* [64]; (31) *Areia* [M9], [T7]; (32) *Mamas* [10]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [10]; and (34) *Machairas* [100].
- [61] Recruitment of a doctor; care of the sick. See also the treatment in [70] below, and different provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [41]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [57]; (28) *Pantokrator* [10]; (30) *Phoberos* [55], [56]; (32) *Mamas* [34], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33]; and (34) *Machairas* [108].

4. Section Four: Idiosyncratic Original Materials

- [62] Items of clothing to be distributed. The author returns to the subject of clothing addressed above in [52] with specifications of the items to be provided not found in that chapter's source, (22) *Evergetis* [25]; for similar specifications, see (4) *Stoudios* [A37], [B38]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [35]; (20) *Black Mountain* [75].

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- [63] General dietary regulation. The author here amends the Evergetian dietary regulation found above in [24] through [29].
- [64] Founder's commemorative services. See other treatments in [7] and [11] above and in [72] and [91] below.
- [65] Procession on the feast of the Dormition. See other provisions for the celebration of this feast in [10] and [29] above.
- [66] Fisheries. See discussions of fisherman monks in (31) *Areia*, Later Addition, (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19] and (43) *Kasoulon* [25].
- [67] Bridges and their repair. See also (18) *Nea Gephyra* [1], [3].
- [68] Hour of awakening. See also [13] above and [80] below.
- [69] List of consecrated and reserved properties. See the similar distinction made in (19) *Attaleiates* [16], [17]. The nature of the military villages is discussed in [110] below.
- [70] Old age home for the care of the sick; recruitment of a doctor; defense of the source of funding. See earlier provisions for hiring a doctor and caring for sick monks in [61] above as well as the regulations for other old age homes in (16) *Mount Tmolos* [1] and (28) *Pantokrator* [58] ff. The defense of the endowment repeats an assertion made earlier in [2] above.
- [71] Relations with the peasantry. See also [76], cf. [103] below and similar provisions in (9) *Galesios* [246], (17) *Nikon Metanoeite* [14], (19) *Attaleiates* [39], (23) *Pakourianos* [1], and (24) *Christodoulos* [A13].
- [72] Exhortation to the superior to take care of the monastery; founder's request for commemoration at verspers. The latter repeats the request made earlier in [7] above; cf. related provisions for the founder's commemoration in [11] and [64] above and in [91] below.
- [73] Maintenance of the cistern. See also [113] below, as well as (27) *Kecharitomene* [69] for the maintenance of an aqueduct and water pipes at another twelfth-century foundation.
- [74] Charms of the site. An oddly placed chapter featuring a wilderness *topos* such as one might expect to find at the beginning of a foundation document; cf. (6) *Rila* [1], (10) *Eleousa* [3], and (58) *Menoikeion* [1].
- [75] Difficulties with construction; associated miracles. See similar accounts in the foundation history of (17) *Nikon Metanoeite*; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [8] also discusses difficulties with construction.
- [76] Compassion towards the peasantry. Repetitive treatment of concern addressed earlier in [71] above.
- [77] No portrait of the founder to be created. There is, however, an early fourteenth-century donor portrait of Isaac Komnenos in the Chora church in Constantinople; see Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, vol. 1, pp. 11–13, 45–48; vol. 2, plates, pp. 36–37.
- [78] Storage of the inventory; no outsider to be made superior. The provisions for storage are repeated in [99] below; see also (19) *Attaleiates* [40], (23) *Pakourianos* [33], (27) *Kecharitomene* [77], and (32) *Mamas* [Second *Semeioma*]. For the exclusion of outsiders from the superiorship in contemporary documents, see (28) *Pantokrator* [24] and (31) *Areia* [T10].
- [79] Retiling of the church roof. See also similar provision in (27) *Kecharitomene* [73].
- [80] No absences from hymnody except for the sick. See earlier provision in [68] above, and similar provisions in (32) *Mamas* [21], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [21], and (34) *Machairas* [49].
- [81] Superior not accountable to the monks. Recalls the similar provision in (22) *Evergetis* [18], but is textually independent.
- [82] Care for the pavement of the church. See also generally (27) *Kecharitomene* [73].
- [83] Donkey-driven mill closed to outsiders. See also monastic mills of this sort in (12) *Tzimiskes* [23] and (15) *Constantine IX* [4].
- [84] Women's access restricted. See earlier, more restrictive treatment in [56] above based on the Evergetian model.
- [85] Condemnation of incorrect disposal of eucharistic hosts. See other indications of an increased concern

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- with the manufacture and use of the eucharistic elements in (34) *Machairas* [40], [41], and (36) *Blemmydes* [4].
- [86] No burials within the enclosure except for benefactors and the founder's associates. See also (27) *Kecharitomene* [76], which denies this privilege to benefactors; for the burial of the monks, see also [54] above and [118] below; for the burial of Konstitzes, see also [107] below.
- [87] Generosity to the poor. For the disposition shown here to exceed the prior conventions of purely nominal philanthropy in charitable distributions at the gate, see also the contemporary (32) *Mamas* [13] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [13].
- [88] Augmentation of the community. See earlier discussions of this issue in [3] and [48] above. The opposite position is taken in (34) *Machairas* [164].
- [89] Tomb of the founder. See discussion in Ševčenko, "Tomb," with cross-references.
- [90] Prescriptions for the tomb. See also [109] below. For the icon described here, see Ševčenko, "Tomb," p. 137; it may have been a personal icon for devotional purposes, like those mentioned in (9) *Galesios* [138], (10) *Eleousa* [5], and (24) *Christodoulos* [B10].
- [91] Superior not to neglect commemoration of the founder; see other exhortations to this effect in [7], [11], [64], and [72] above.
- [92] Retrieval of charters from the Chora Monastery. Cf. the efforts of the author of (24) *Christodoulos* [B7], [C6], [C7] to retrieve books left at his prior foundation and of the author of (33) *Heliou Bomon* [37] to retrieve books and other artifacts from storage at Hagia Sophia.
- [93] Annuities for Jewish converts. See also provisions for personal maintenance of the author's associates in [107] and [117] below as well as for others in (14) *Ath. Testament* [17], [18]; (19) *Attaleiates* [42]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [B15].
- [94] Special reserve treasury. There are similar provisions in (23) *Pakourianos* [26] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [24].
- [95] Founder's parents' anniversaries. See also [54] above.
- [96] Endowment adequate for performance of mandated services; the *typikon* and the *Secret Testament* to define consecrated properties. See other discussions of the *Secret Testament* in [1] above and [116] below.
- [97] Bathhouse; maintenance of craftsmen for projects. For the monks' bath, see also [113] below.
- [98] Measures against arsonists. This subject is not addressed elsewhere in our documents.
- [99] Use of copies instead of originals of important documents; storage of the latter; superior to finish incomplete construction projects. For use of copies, see (19) *Attaleiates* [40]. For storage of the inventory, see also earlier treatment in [78] above.
- [100] Superior's oversight of receipts and expenditures. See also earlier treatment in [46] above.
- [101] Beasts prohibited from enclosure. Here the concern is hygienic; cf. the earlier regulations in (3) *Theodore Studites* [4]; (12) *Tzimiskes* [22], [23]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31], [53]; (15) *Constantine IX* [3], [4].
- [102] Rebuilding of the church. See similar injunction in (27) *Kecharitomene* [73].
- [103] Easter procession; maintenance of neighboring villages. See provisions for the Easter procession in (4) *Stoudios* [A2].
- [104] Church for the use of the peasants; their pastoral care. For the acquisition of diocesan churches as monastic dependencies of independent monasteries, see my *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 239–43.
- [105] Dispute over the village of Gastivilea. Note the instructions to sell the disputed village despite the general injunction against such sales in [58] above.
- [106] Books donated by the founder. See records of similar donations in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 7], [INV 13]; (23) *Pakourianos* [33B]; and (24) *Christodoulos* [B7], [C6], [C7].
- [107] Special privileges for associates of the founder. For the burial of Konstitzes, see also [86] above.
- [108] Dependency of St. Stephen at Constantinople. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp.

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472–73. Many other provincial foundations also had dependencies in the capital city; e.g., (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34]; (19) *Attaleiates* [6]; and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [4].

- [109] Restoration of the icons at the founder's tomb. See also [90] above with cross-references.
- [110] Relations with soldiers in the military villages. See [112] below for other armed personnel useful for the defense of the foundation; see [69] above for the place of military villages in the monastery's endowment.
- [111] Patriarchal mediation of disputes. This is a reiteration of a provision made earlier in [4] above.
- [112] *Vestiaritai* of Neokastron. These serve a similar function to the soldiers in the military villages mentioned in [110] above.
- [113] Cleaning of the cistern and latrines; use of the two baths. For the cistern, see also [73] above; for use of one of the baths by the monks, see [97] above.
- [114] Abolition of highway tolls. There are no other provisions to this effect in the monastic foundation documents.
- [115] Founder's residence. For founders' residences adjacent to religious foundations in this era, see also (19) *Attaleiates* [5], (27) *Kecharitomene* [79], and (28) *Pantokrator* [65].
- [116] Provision for opening the *Gift and Grant Ordinance*. See other treatments of the *Secret Testament* in [1] and [96] above.

5. Section Five: Justifications of Earlier Provisions

- [117] Clarification of the privileges of the founder's associates. See earlier treatments of this issue in [54] and [107] above.
- [118] Plans for a burial chapel for the monks. See earlier provisions for their burial in [54] and [86] above.
- [119] Final invocation of the *Kosmosoteira*. See similar invocations of heavenly support in (19) *Attaleiates* [7], [15] and (28) *Pantokrator* [71].

CHAPTER SIX

Early Reform Monasteries of the Twelfth Century

“Accordingly, I myself, too, even though I have already suffered the death of the body, which is in accord with nature, and am covered by a tombstone, as you see, I am with you through this piece of writing and I use this as a mouthpiece and I offer it as the voice which I owe you.” (32) *Mamas* [48]

“A commemoration should be held for my worthless self annually on the anniversary of my death, and on the next day for my blessed parents, the monk Nikodemos and the nun Catherine, and for my brothers and sisters in the flesh, the monk Peter, and Helen, and the bishop John, and for my uncles who raised me, lord Constantine Antzas and the monk lord Iakobos . . .” (31) *Areia* [T12]

“. . . nor do I want a monk or ‘foreign tonsure’ who comes from Nauplia to be promoted to the position of superior, since they are passionately devoted to their relatives, and live indeed ‘according to the flesh’ (Rom. 8:5).” (31) *Areia* [T10]

This chapter includes four documents that are contemporaries of the five presented in Chapter Five. While the latter were all products of the milieu of imperial or royal patronage, those in this chapter were all composed by private individuals founding constitutionally independent monasteries in the reform tradition. (30) *Phoberos* was written by a monk and (33) *Heliou Bomon* by a court official, while another, (31) *Areia*, was written by a bishop, and (32) *Mamas* was written by the foundation’s superior. All of the documents employ (22) *Evergetis* either directly or indirectly, except perhaps for (31) *Areia* which is nevertheless sympathetic to Evergetian concerns. Therefore, these founders are the inheritors in the third generation of the tradition of Evergetian reform.

A. Typology of the Documents

Three of these documents, (30) *Phoberos*, (32) *Mamas*, and (33) *Heliou Bomon*, are long, complex *typika* like (22) *Evergetis* itself and their contemporaries, the imperial *typika* of Chapter Five, (27) *Kecharitome*, (28) *Pantokrator*, and (29) *Kosmosoteira*. (30) *Phoberos* is in fact the longest *typikon* in our entire collection of Byzantine monastic foundation documents. (31) *Areia* is a shorter document, analogous to (10) *Eleousa* in the previous century, another text authored by a bishop for a provincial monastery.

Three of the documents refer to associated inventories of landed and movable properties: (30) *Phoberos* [1], (32) *Mamas* [37], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [37]. All of these have since been lost; (31) *Areia* includes [T11] a brief surviving inventory of movable properties only.

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Official memoranda (*hypomnemata*) issued by officials of the ecclesiastical hierarchy served to confirm the independence of all of these foundations. Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos (1084–1111) issued the memorandum for (30) *Phoberos* [33], Patriarch Nicholas IV Muzalon (1147–51) for (32) *Mamas* [4], and Patriarch Constantine IV Chliarenos (1154–57) for (33) *Heliou Bomon* [Prologue]; Leo, bishop of Nauplia, simply issued his own memorandum for (31) *Areia* which survives joined to the *typikon* (as [M]). All of the patriarchal memoranda have been lost. The authors of (32) *Mamas* [4] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [4] took the added precaution of obtaining imperial chrysobulls from Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) to confirm the independence of their foundations. The author of (32) *Mamas* also refers [Second *Semeioma*] to a transmissory deed that recalls the gift and grant ordinance mentioned in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [116].

Several auxiliary documents are preserved as attachments to (32) *Mamas*. The first *Semeioma* serves to authenticate the *typikon* drawn up some five years earlier. It is preceded and introduced by a judicial confirmation. A Second *Semeioma* from the same year, also preceded by an introductory statement, records the arrangements for the preservation of the foundation's most important documents.

Clearly as the twelfth century progressed, other documents joined the *typikon* as essential components of the legal underpinnings of certain Byzantine religious foundations. Indeed, the author of (33) *Heliou Bomon* [48] even cites that foundation's patriarchal memorandum as providing him with the authority to draw up a *typikon*. The fact that monasteries for which (32) *Mamas* [First *Semeioma*], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [Prologue], and (in all likelihood) also (30) *Phoberos* [33] were written had been nominally patriarchal institutions before they were all nearly ruined by concessionaires under the *charistike* must account for the solicitation and careful preservation of these auxiliary documents. Also, although the foundation for which he was legislating in (31) *Areia* was new, the author, Leo of Nauplia, thought he needed a memorandum as well, probably because he intended to support [M10] this independent monastery with revenues from diocesan monasteries transferred to it under ecclesiastical *epidosis*. Without a memorandum of independence, the bishop's successors might well be able to assert that this was a diocesan foundation simply on the basis of its endowment.

B. Place of the Documents within the Monastic Reform Movement

By careful examination of the contents of the four *typika* in this chapter, it is possible to track the course of the monastic reform movement through the better part of the twelfth century. This is true even though not one of the four authors of the documents forthrightly acknowledges his dependence on (22) *Evergetis*.

1. Reproduction of the Evergetian Canon

John, the author of (30) *Phoberos*, was a contemporary of Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene, author of (27) *Kecharitomene*, but whereas the latter text already demonstrates important qualifications of Evergetian reform principles along with intensifications of concern about others, John's *typikon* reflects the Evergetian ideological tradition virtually unchanged from his model. He even reproduces [35] his source's exceptional provision that a manifestly bad superior should be left in office if the preminent monks cannot agree on a suitable successor, thereby demonstrating a degree of Evergetian fealty his successors in the tradition would not feel obliged to match. This

author's preoccupation with supplementing his Evergetian quotations with citations from the canonical and ascetic traditions is indicative, however, of the increased use of these sources by the reform movement, beginning towards the end of the eleventh century and continuing on into the twelfth.¹

2. Evergetian Influence without Textual Dependence

Later on in the twelfth century, (31) *Areia*, like its contemporary the imperial *typikon* (28) *Pantokrator*, illustrates how even a document not actually quoting from (22) *Evergetis* can nevertheless show convincing evidence of its indebtedness to the reform tradition through its Evergetian-cadenced prescriptions for sacramental life [T2], refectory procedures [T3], consultative government [T10], and institutional independence [T12]. This strongly suggests an alternative route for the dissemination of Evergetian procedures and institutions through synopsis rather than direct quotation.

3. Influence of the Second Generation of Reformers

The Evergetian reform tradition also became more diverse, enriched both conceptually and textually, as the century progressed. One influential contributor to this process of diversification was either (27) *Kecharitomene* or (more likely) the lost *typikon* of Empress Irene's companion foundation for monks, *Philanthropos*. These documents seem to have reflected the concerns of a second generation of monastic reformers who felt more secure about the permanence of their ideological revolution but who sought to consolidate their gains and make *Evergetis'* ideas more palatable to aristocratic patrons. Although some version of (22) *Evergetis* continued to circulate independently, being employed as such not only by the author of (30) *Phoberos* but even as late as 1152 by Isaac Komnenos in (29) *Kosmosoteira*, the Evergetian tradition was also being represented by sympathetic works of new advocates during the second quarter of the twelfth century.

4. The Maman Summation of the Reform Tradition

Approximately forty years after the composition of (27) *Kecharitomene* and *Philanthropos*, Athanasios Philanthropenos, author of (32) *Mamas* made use of one of these texts, most likely the *typikon* of the *Philanthropos* monastery where he had previously served as steward. Careful textual analysis of (32) *Mamas* reveals no less than six identifiable layers of reform contributions over three generations since the original prototype, (22) *Evergetis*.² Indeed, Athanasios may not even have set eyes on the venerable prototype. Some ten years later, (33) *Heliou Bomon* shows that some incremental change had occurred even in that short period of time.

5. Residual Studite Influence

As noted above in Chapter Four, (22) *Evergetis* represented only one strand of the reform, though

¹ For the use of canon law and ascetic quotations by the reformers, see (20) *Black Mountain*, Analysis; the scholiast on *Semeioma epi te kathairesei tou Chalkedonos*, ed. I. Sakkélion, "Décret d'Alexis Comnène portant déposition de Léon métropolitain de Chalcédoine," *BCH* 2 (1878), p. 123, n. 3, and p. 127, n. 2; and V. Grumel, *Les registres des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1: *Les registres de 381 à 715* (Chalcedon, 1932); 2nd ed. (Paris, 1972), nos. 952 (Athens decision) and 1000 (Kyzikos decision).

² See the discussion below in (32) *Mamas*, Analysis, B: Utility for the History of the Reform Movement.

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to be sure the most influential by far. Indeed, (31) *Areia* [M8] claims to be drawing on the lost *typikon* of Meletios the Younger (†1105), and does revive [T9] certain Studite institutions like monastic confinement. The durability of Studite notions of monastic governance, such as the insulation of the superior from the financial management of his monastery (cf. (3) *Theodore Studites* [22]), is likewise attested by occasional revivals in documents like (32) *Mamas* [48] that are more clearly in the Evergetian tradition. In (33) *Heliou Bomon* [8] the author even prescribes a return to the Studite *synaxarion* in preference to that of *Evergetis*. The importance the Evergetian reformers placed on the collection and study of the broader ascetic tradition must have made a contribution to the revival of older (and occasionally discordant) institutions and practices.

C. Endorsements and Developments of the Evergetian Canon

Like the authors of the imperial documents discussed above in Chapter Five, the authors of these four documents shared a bedrock commitment to many basic Evergetian principles.

1. Institutional Independence

Despite their diverse backgrounds, all four of our authors provide for the independence of their foundations. John, the author of (30) *Phoberos* [33], uses the precise language of (22) *Evergetis* [12] in his declaration, adding a vigorous condemnation of the *charistikarioi* who had earlier destroyed his foundation. Leo of Nauplia's formula in (31) *Areia* is similar though not identical to (22) *Evergetis* [12]. Both (32) *Mamas* [4] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [4] use a more developed post-Evergetian formula³ that specifically mentions the *charistike* (which (22) *Evergetis* [12] does not) and rules out participation in it or any of the other official programs for financial exploitation of ecclesiastical institutions.

2. Internal Selection of the Superior

All of our authors also recognized the importance for institutional independence of a free, internal choice of the superior. (30) *Phoberos* [35] adopts the arrangements of (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14] under which the superior was to choose the steward, who would become superior himself upon the latter's death unless he should prove unfit for the office and another suitable candidate was at hand. (31) *Areia* [T10] simply provides for the election of a candidate agreeable to "all or at least the majority" of the monks. (32) *Mamas* [1] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1] adopt complicated post-Evergetian election procedures that leave the final choice to a chance selection if a consensus candidate could not be identified. These are an adaptation of the procedures first seen in (27) *Kecharitomene* [11]. The common theme of all of these arrangements was the need to avoid internal disagreements. These were thought to lead inevitably to appeals by the losing party to external authorities, whose intervention could easily compromise a foundation's independence.⁴

3. Inalienability of Consecrated Property

The keen concern of (22) *Evergetis* [19] to assert the inalienability of an ecclesiastical foundation's property grew out of the reformers' bitter struggle with the imperial government of Alexios I

³ See the discussion below in (32) *Mamas*, Analysis, B: Utility for the History of the Reform Movement.

⁴ See (22) *Evergetis* [14], (23) *Pakourianos* [18], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [4].

Kommenos during the first decade of his reign. Being not so far removed from that struggle, the author of (30) *Phoberos* [38] repeats the precise wording of the Evergetian formulation. Meanwhile, in (27) *Kecharitomene* the Empress Irene had signaled [9] the Komnenian dynasty's acceptance of the Evergetian position that such an alienation was tantamount to "sacrilege," while also maintaining [10] that emergency alienations of movable property to other ecclesiastical institutions were acceptable. The authors of (32) *Mamas* [37] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [37] implicitly reject this last compromise even though it had been supported by reformers of impeccable credentials.⁵ Instead, both of these authors share an apparently new formulation of the principle of inalienability that emphasized protection of movable property, with immovable property added as an afterthought.

4. Advocacy of Cenobitic Monasticism

These four authors also shared the Evergetian view of the centrality of cenobiticism in the monastic life. As usual, the author of (30) *Phoberos* is the closest copier of (22) *Evergetis*, arguably even exceeding it in disciplinary rigor.⁶ The apparent Evergetian influences on (31) *Areia* are strongest in the latter's provisions for the regulation of cenobitic life.⁷ The determination to insure the permanence of the cenobitic regime, so noticeable in (27) *Kecharitomene*'s post-Evergetian formulations,⁸ had hardened by the time of (32) *Mamas*'s composition into a hostility to the alternative kelliotic form of monasticism. (32) *Mamas* [25] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [25] not only adapt (27) *Kecharitomene*'s position on the permanence of cenobiticism but also condemn [26] the kelliotic alternative. (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26] even requires the kelliotic monks of its Constantinopolitan dependency to change over to cenobiticism.

5. Honest Financial Administration

The Evergetian reform movement had also insisted that a monastery have independent financial management by conscientious, honest officials. Our twelfth-century authors shared this opinion. As usual, the author of (30) *Phoberos* [41], [47] provides the most literal endorsement of (22) *Evergetis*, though his treatment may reflect an earlier version of the text of the latter than we have now. Later, Leo of Nauplia in (31) *Areia* [M9] foresaw the superior cooperating with his three chief financial officers in the financial administration of his foundation.

Financial administration was one area in which the reform movement insisted on a continual tightening of standards and procedures as the twelfth century progressed. Improvements in financial administration are among the most important concerns of a discrete group of thirteen chapters found in (27) *Kecharitomene* that may have originated in an earlier post-Evergetian *typikon*.⁹ (32) *Mamas* and (33) *Heliou Bomon* endorse these new institutions and operational procedures by adopting all of these chapters, although (32) *Mamas* [48] leads the way to a return to the older

⁵ See procedure for permitted alienations in (22) *Evergetis* [19] and Leo of Chalcedon's endorsement of conversions of ecclesiastical property from one sacred employment to another as noted in *Semeioma epi te kathairesei tou Chalkedonos*, ed. Sakkélion, "Décret," pp. 123–24.

⁶ (30) *Phoberos* [44], [46]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [25], [28].

⁷ (31) *Areia* [M8], [T2], [T3], [T4].

⁸ (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], [51], [55].

⁹ (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], [3], [19], [20], [23], [24], [29], [45], [46], [49], [50], [53], [55].

Studite model of fiscal administration in which the superior was insulated from direct involvement.

6. No Mandatory Entrance Gifts

(22) *Evergetis* [37]’s rejection of mandatory entrance gifts from postulants was another characteristic precept of Evergetian ideology endorsed by our authors. (30) *Phoberos* [51], (32) *Mamas* [22], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22] employ the actual language of the Evergetian formulation, while (31) *Areia* [T6] echoes it in its regulation that rejects even free-will donations if the property they consist of is not tax-exempt. (30) *Phoberos* [51], (32) *Mamas* [22], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22] also accept the Evergetian probationary novitiate (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37]), though the last two documents provide for a considerable lengthening of its term for ordinary applicants from six months to two years.

7. Overall Commitment to Evergetian Principles

Our authors were often truer to Evergetian principles than their imperial counterparts in Chapter Five. The authors of (30) *Phoberos* and (31) *Areia* describe foundations that surely would have met the approval of the strictest Evergetian, even those of the first generation that produced (22) *Evergetis* itself. Also, unlike the author of (29) *Kosmosoteira* [107], none of our four authors in this chapter shows any willingness to allow resident laymen to be put on the payroll of their foundations or even, like (27) *Kecharitomene* [4], to bend the rules of cenobitic life to accommodate relatives of the founder. Both (32) *Mamas* [27] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [27] adopt the post-Evergetian formulation found in (27) *Kecharitomene* [53] to reject “imposed guests” (*katapemptoi*) sent to monasteries by imperial or patriarchal authority. Moreover, (30) *Phoberos* [43], (32) *Mamas* [34], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [34] all draw on the textual tradition of (22) *Evergetis* [24] in banning personal servants, which easily serves to distinguish these institutions from contemporary monasteries under imperial patronage.

D. Fate of Other Evergetian Regulations

The allegiance of our twelfth-century founders to *Evergetis*, however, was based more on common ideology than on institutional loyalty. Whenever their own contemporary approaches to problems matched the solutions promoted by their Evergetian predecessors, most of them were happy not only to give implicit endorsement to these resolutions but even to quote from (either directly or through intermediaries) the relevant regulatory passages in (22) *Evergetis*. Whenever they disagreed, however, they had no compunctions about revising the relevant Evergetian texts or even devising entirely new approaches.

1. Sacramental and Liturgical Life

Typically, (30) *Phoberos* introduces no major changes from its Evergetian model on sacramental and liturgical matters.¹⁰ Leo of Nauplia in (31) *Areia* [M8], however, enjoins his monks to use the competing *typikon* of Meletios the Younger for the regulation of their liturgical services. In (32) *Mamas* [32], Athanasios Philanthropenos adopts Evergetian language but decreases the frequency

¹⁰ (30) *Phoberos* [9], [10], [11], [12], [13], [14], [15], [36]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4], [5], [6], [7], [15].

of the celebration of the holy liturgy and restricts his monks' access to communion. Also, he permits [29] his monks to have a confessor other than the superior, an important divergence from the principle enunciated in (22) *Evergetis* [15]. A little later, the *mystikos* Nikephoros reproduces these changes in (33) *Heliou Bomon* [29], [32] and even substitutes [8] the Studite for the Evergetian *synaxarion* concerning the regulation of liturgical services.

2. Imposition of Lay Protectorates

There are some features in these documents that are contradictory to the original Evergetian principles. Foremost among these is the imposition of the protectorate (*ephoreia*), following the example set by (27) *Kecharitomene* [3], in the monasteries represented by (32) *Mamas* [3] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [3], though not in those represented by the other two documents in this chapter. Certain anonymous contributors to the reform movement had evidently already worked out what they considered to be an acceptable way of reconciling reform ideology to the restoration of the protectorate. The product of their labors, the post-Evergetian source that lies behind both (27) *Kecharitomene* [3] and (32) *Mamas* [3], attempted to restrict the protector, the agent of the *ephoreia*, to a strictly constructive role in patronizing, supporting and defending the foundation assigned to his care. The tendency to associate traditional patronal powers with the protector is noticeable, however, particularly in (32) *Mamas* [3], cf. [15], where the incumbent protector, the brother of the institution's new founder, is permitted extraordinary powers, including revision of the *typikon*. Even subsequent protectors seem to have been allowed a more influential role [1] in such matters as the election of the superior than had been the case earlier in (27) *Kecharitomene* [11].

3. Ameliorations in Lifestyle

The author of (32) *Mamas* [28], followed by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28], takes the lead in reintroducing money into the lives of the monks in their institutions (for bathing and purchases of clothing), though less blatantly than in (28) *Pantokrator* [31] ff., in which cash payments seem to have been routine. In (31) *Areia* [T3], Leo of Nauplia permits his monks to bathe weekly—more frequently than in any other twelfth-century foundation—except during Lent. However, in a rare example of disagreement with his source, (22) *Evergetis* [28], the author of (30) *Phoberos* [46] was unwilling to allow his monks to bathe at all, except for the sick.

E. Other Concerns of the Authors

Aside from the various issues related to the monastic reform, we find that our authors had a somewhat different set of concerns than their counterparts in Chapter Five. For instance, the concern for the welfare of the dependent peasantry that is prominent in (29) *Kosmosoteira* and some of the other documents in that chapter simply does not appear in the works of our authors. Neither is there any indication that our authors realized the importance of building maintenance that was so evident to the authors of (27) *Kecharitomene* and (29) *Kosmosoteira*. To be fair, neither had been a concern of (22) *Evergetis* either. Other matters such as a greater concern with manual labor and a corresponding disinclination to pursue large-scale institutional philanthropy may well have been related to the generally smaller resources our authors are likely to have had at their disposal for the support of their foundations compared to their counterparts in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER SIX

1. Institutional Governance

Aside from the revival of the protectorate in (32) *Mamas* [3] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [3], there are only a few institutional innovations in these documents. In (31) *Areia* [T10], Leo of Nauplia endorses a consultative style of government by the superior in conjunction with the leading monks that parallels the arrangement recommended in (22) *Evergetis* [14]; as usual, the author of (30) *Phoberos* [35] lends his endorsement by simply transcribing the Evergetian text. (32) *Mamas* [24] suggests a more authoritarian model of governance, though the superior's role [48] in financial administration was considerably restricted. In this as in most other matters, (33) *Heliou Bomon* [24], [47] follows its model's lead. Only (31) *Areia* [T9] addresses monastic discipline through the confinement of refractory monks. Initiating an important trend for the future, (32) *Mamas* [18], followed by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], gives the superior discretionary authority to make certain changes in dietary requirements.

2. Private Psalmody

Following the example of (22) *Evergetis* [4], (30) *Phoberos* [9], (32) *Mamas* [47], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46] all provide for a private recitation of the psalter after the conclusion of the common service at matins. Even (31) *Areia* [T1] endorses this requirement in its own discussion of the performance of the office.

3. Moral Concerns

The author or (more likely) a later editor of (30) *Phoberos* [57], [58], [59] is alone in his obsession with the protection of the sexual purity of his monks from such threats as homosexuality and even bestiality. This concern far exceeds the hard-hearted but unemotional exclusion of women from charitable distributions at the gate in (22) *Evergetis* [38], which (30) *Phoberos* [55] (but not (32) *Mamas* or (33) *Heliou Bomon*) also endorses.

4. Increased Role of Manual Labor

The absence of servants in these foundations inevitably led to an increased role of manual labor in the lives of the monks, especially in the second half of the twelfth century. (30) *Phoberos*, like its Evergetian model, is circumspect on this subject, while (31) *Areia* [T3] contains a brief allusion to it. In (32) *Mamas* there are mentions of vine-dressers, gardeners and other outside workers [19] in addition to the usual kitchen staff [11]. To these (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19] adds fishermen and farmers; its manual workers may have constituted a second ranking order of "brothers," to be distinguished from the "fathers" who served in the church.

5. Performance of Commemorative Services

Memorial services, already attested in (22) *Evergetis* for the founder [35] and for departed monks and (unnamed) benefactors [36], seem to loom larger in importance as the twelfth century progresses. The author of (30) *Phoberos* [50], utilizing part of the text of his Evergetian model, makes specific provisions for many lay benefactors, Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos, and several of the founder's relatives. As we have seen, the authors of the imperial foundations in (28) *Pantokrator* [32], cf. [19] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3] devoted most of their monastic personnel to the performance of liturgical services, including commemorative observances. Moreover, in (27) *Kecharitomene* Empress Irene provides for multiple commemorations [70] for deceased nuns

[70] as well as annual commemorations [71] for a long list of her relatives.

In (32) *Mamas* [5], Athanasios Philanthropenos apparently decided to scale back the monks' liturgical commitment, though he too provides for commemorations for the founder [40] and for deceased monks [39]. The procedures prescribed for the latter are based in part on those found in (27) *Kecharitomene* [70]. In (31) *Areia* [T12], Leo of Nauplia makes a modest provision for memorial services for himself, members of his immediate family, and deceased monks. The author of (33) *Heliou Bomon* imitates his model in provisions for deceased monks [39], but composes new chapters to regulate memorial services for the emperor [49], the monastery's ancient founders [51], and himself [50].

6. Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

As far as external relations were concerned, the most vexed question for all of these founders was how to acknowledge the spiritual authority of the ecclesiastical hierarchy while assuring that the independence of their foundations remained unimpaired. Composed as it was at a time when relations between the reformers and the public authorities of the church were particularly bad, (22) *Evergetis* [12] simply rejects the notion of episcopal rights over the foundation entirely. After the reconciliation of reformers and the traditional ecclesiastical hierarchy at the Synod of Blachernai in 1094, patrons seem to have been more willing to revisit the question with open minds. Accordingly, even the author of (30) *Phoberos* [35] adds a provision in his transcription of (22) *Evergetis* [15], cf. [33] that a newly elected superior must be brought to the patriarch for installation. This was probably a requirement of the patriarchal memorandum granting the monastery's independence, as it was in the case of (32) *Mamas* [1] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1]. Leo of Nauplia was in the advantageous position of writing his own memorandum of independence, however, and in (31) *Areia* [M15] he denies his episcopal successors at Nauplia any rights in the election or installation of superiors at his foundation.

7. Acceptability of Monks Tonsured Elsewhere

Whether these monks should be welcomed as postulants or even as leaders of reform monasteries was another contentious issue for our authors. The safest course, perceived long ago by Athanasios the Athonite in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [12], was to make them ineligible for the office of superior, thereby foreclosing the possibility [20] that an external authority could use this means to seize control of an independent foundation. Yet, as we have seen, even Athanasios saw fit [21] to change his mind in order to promote an exceptionally worthy candidate as his successor. (22) *Evergetis* [37] took a middling position, neither encouraging such monks as applicants nor absolutely forbidding them, but leaving the decision on their admission to the superior. In another rare display of independence from his model, the author of (30) *Phoberos* [52] disagrees and bans such monks on the grounds that "from this action [i.e., their admission] there will come to you great harm and punishment of both a spiritual and physical kind." Predictably, Leo of Nauplia also takes a conservative approach in (31) *Areia* [T10], declaring that no outside monk should be chosen superior lest he "come to the monastery and take possession of it through some circumstance and dispensation."

Imperial founders, however, could understandably afford to take a more relaxed attitude. Empress Irene in (27) *Kecharitomene* [54] actually welcomed pious nuns tonsured elsewhere

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provided that they were not being imposed on her convent by imperial or patriarchal decree. In (29) *Kosmosoteira* [16], Isaac Komnenos made the reception of an externally tonsured monk dependent on his receiving the canonically required permission from his current superior. The authors of (32) *Mamas* [22] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22] evidently could afford to accept these monks, even as superiors [1], without courting future problems because of provisions [26] in their patriarchal memoranda in which the imposition of “imposed guests” (apparently lay or religious) was forsworn. The fact that Athanasios Philanthropenos was himself a “foreign tonsure” likely influenced his tolerant attitude. The author of (32) *Mamas* [43], followed by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [42], thought it prudent, however, to exhort any future superior of this sort not to attempt to “pack” the monastery with monks from his former institution or to disdain those monks native to *Mamas*.

8. Decline in Institutional Philanthropy

Perhaps the relative scarcity of resources available to these authors accounts for their lesser contribution to institutional philanthropy compared to their imperial counterparts of this era. John, the author of (30) *Phoberos* [54], is content to reproduce the provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [38] for charitable distributions and lodging of travelers and the sick. The other foundations did not have philanthropic institutions attached to them, and the authors of (32) *Mamas* and (33) *Heliou Bomon* actually depended on external providers for bathing and the purchase of clothing [28], as well as for medical assistance [34].

F. Historical Context

The discussion of Historical Context in Chapter Five is relevant for the documents discussed in this chapter as well, since both they and those of Chapter Five come from roughly the same era of Byzantine history. The discussion below concerns aspects of the historical context that are particularly relevant to the documents presented here in Chapter Six.

1. Fate of the *Charistike*

The almost total disappearance of the *charistike* in the course of the twelfth century was certainly a remarkable phenomenon even when one considers the ferocity with which the reform movement attacked that embattled institution. As it happened, the *charistike*'s disappearance from the scene has left few traces in the historical record. The decisions of the patriarchal synods of 1089 and 1116 (for which see Chapter Five above) did authorize the metropolitans of Athens and Kyzikos, respectively, to abolish the *charistike* within their own jurisdictions, but did not (except possibly implicitly) delegitimize the institution generally.

Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos' own goals in the early years of his patriarchate clearly did not include the outright abolition of the *charistike*, and Emperor Alexios I Komnenos' novel on patriarchal rights (1096), helpful though it was for the reformers, did not authorize such an abolition. The Athens decision in 1089 suggests that at that time the patriarchate hoped to compel *charistikarioi* to make amends for the damages they had caused to the religious institutions under their supervision. After the reconciliation of the reform party and the patriarchate at the Synod of Blachernai in 1094, the way was open for another more promising possibility: enlisting reform-minded patrons for the restoration of patriarchal monasteries ruined by the *charistike*.

2. Restoration of Monasteries under Patriarchal Sponsorship

One of the patrons enlisted in this effort was the monk John who wrote the Evergetian *typikon* (30) *Phoberos* for the monastery of St. John the Forerunner that he received [33] as an independent foundation from Nicholas III Grammatikos towards the end of the patriarch's reign in 1111. He declares that previously various *charistikarioi* had "reduced to nothing the monastery which was once great and famous and admired." If we are to believe the author, a foundation which once had 170 ascetics [33] was under his direction now being restored to support [42] a mere twelve monks.

As noted above in Chapter Five, patriarchal support for reformist founders continued under John IX Agapetos (1111–34) and Leo Styppes (1134–43). With remarkable consistency and steadiness of purpose, we find the efforts to undo the damages caused by the *charistike* continuing also under later patriarchs, including Kosmas II Attikos (1146–47), who enlisted the pious layman George the Cappadocian to help restore the ruined monastery of St. Mamas at Constantinople.¹¹ Ironically, George received his first grant of the institution in *charistike* as its *charistikarios*. At that point his unscrupulous predecessors had so abused the property that all the auxiliary buildings had fallen down leaving only a roofless church still standing. Only two non-resident monks were assigned to the foundation, and at some point the church's movable property must have been taken away for safekeeping.¹² George was reluctant, however, to invest money in improvements unless he could be certain that a subsequent *charistikarios* would not plunder the foundation anew. Therefore he urged Patriarch Nicholas IV Muzalon (1147–51) to grant him the monastery as an independent foundation. Once he obtained the patriarchal memorandum to this effect and other necessary documentation, the patriarchal monastery of Mamas was effectively privatized.

A few years later, another benefactor, the courtier Nikephoros the *mystikos*, obtained the patriarchal monastery of the Mother of God *Heliou Bomon* through a similar memorandum of independence issued by Patriarch Constantine IV Chliarenos (1154–56).¹³ Nikephoros claims that at the time of the privatization of the monastery "there was a danger not only that its restoration would be hard to achieve but that it would almost cease to be called simply a dwelling place for monks."

3. Privatization of Restored Patriarchal Monasteries

It can be surmised that these founders drove hard bargains with the patriarchs before being willing to make what the *mystikos* Nikephoros calls "no moderate expenditures" for such things as rebuilding structures, making capital improvements, and dedicating new furnishings in the churches. While the patriarchs may have preferred to continue to use the *charistike* since this vehicle preserved patriarchal rights of ownership over the donated institutions, the patrons, inspired perhaps by the example of *Evergetis*, insisted on outright privatization of these facilities and got it. With privatization came the right to issue *typika*, leading to (30) *Phoberos*, (32) *Mamas*, and (33) *Heliou Bomon*.

¹¹ For the account of the foundation's privatization, see (32) *Mamas*, Prologue, and First *Semeioma*.

¹² (32) *Mamas*, Prologue; [37] indicates the survival of movable property, including sacred vessels, icons and service books, despite the ruination of the church; see (33) *Heliou Bomon* [37] for how they likely were preserved.

¹³ For this foundation's privatization, see (33) *Heliou Bomon*, Prologue.

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4. Hostility towards Alternative Forms of Monasticism

Simultaneously with these relief operations designed to aid institutions damaged by the *charistike*, the patriarchs and other reform-minded members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy were also working to curtail kelliotic monasticism in favor of the cenobitic form advocated by the Evergetians. As early as the closing years of the eleventh century, Nikon of the Black Mountain, acting as an agent of the patriarch of Antioch, tried to use persuasion and pressure in (21) *Roidion* to get that institution's kelliotic monks to surrender their property rights. Another approach was for the hierarchy to take advantage of well-endowed kelliotic institutions and simply subordinate them to new reform foundations organized on cenobitic principles. This is what one patriarch, probably Leo Styppes, did with the kelliotic monastery of Satyros in donating it through a patriarchal memorandum to Emperor John II Komnenos' *Pantokrator* foundation.¹⁴ Perhaps the monasteries with surplus revenues that Leo of Nauplia subordinated to his foundation in (31) *Areia* [M10] under ecclesiastical *epidosis* were also kelliotic. Some twenty years later, the *mystikos* Nikephoros bluntly announces in (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26] that the monks of the kelliotic dependency of St. Basianos granted to him by Patriarch Constantine IV Chliarenos would have to convert to cenobitic monasticism.

5. Reassertion of Patriarchal Prerogatives

At the conclusion of the period covered by this chapter, we find another patriarch, Luke Chrysoberges (1157–70), taking a different approach to assisting the religious foundations of the empire. He issued a ruling that the patriarchate had the right to appoint a monk tonsured outside a monastery as that institution's superior despite a provision in the *typikon* to the contrary (e.g., in (30) *Phoberos* [52] or (31) *Areia* [T10]) if the monastery was suffering from an acute shortage of monks.¹⁵ Also, and somewhat surprisingly, he declared in an extant synodal decision of 1169 that a *charistikarios* was not free to use a monastery he held in *charistike* as a dowry for his daughter (cf. (19) *Attaleiates* [46]), which indicates both the continued occasional patriarchal employment of that embattled institution and also its undiminished potential for misuse.

6. Manuel I Komnenos and Private Religious Foundations

At the same time, Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) was initiating a new government policy towards private foundations with a chrysobull of 1158 that forbade monasteries in Constantinople and its vicinity to acquire any additional landed properties.¹⁶ Moreover, the emperor established a new foundation of his own, the monastery of St. Michael at Kataskepe, that was supported by a cash grant from the imperial treasury rather the usual endowment of landed property.¹⁷ Both George the Cappadocian, the founder of the institution described in (32) *Mamas*,

¹⁴ (28) *Pantokrator* [27], cf. [28], [65].

¹⁵ Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 1091.

¹⁶ *Aurea bulla de possessionibus monasteriorum* (1158) (*JGR* 3.450–54) = Franz Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, 5 vols. (Munich-Berlin, 1924–65), no. 1419.

¹⁷ For this foundation, see Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J. A. Van Dieten (Berlin, 1975), p. 207; cf. John Kinnamos, *Historia*, ed. A. Meineke, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1836), p. 276; Raymond Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, vol. 2: *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris, 1975); vol. 3: *Les églises et les monastères [de Constantinople]*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1969), p. 342.

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and the *mystikos* Nikephoros, founder of the monastery described in (33) *Heliou Bomon*, were court officials of Manuel, and their respective foundations were certainly within the geographic scope of the emperor's law. The emperor confirmed the independence of these foundations with chrysobulls of his own,¹⁸ but although he granted one of them an imperial *solemnion* (gratefully acknowledged in the Prologue to (33) *Heliou Bomon*) that accorded with his own ideas of how a monastery should be endowed, it appears that both of these institutions also had landed properties.¹⁹

¹⁸ (32) *Mamas* [4] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [4].

¹⁹ See (32) *Mamas* [5], [37] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5], [37].

30. *Phoberos*: Rule of John for the Monastery of St. John the Forerunner of *Phoberos*

Date: First edition, after 1113; re-edited ca. 1144¹

Translator: Robert Jordan

Edition employed: A. I. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae* (St. Petersburg, 1913), pp. 1–88.

Manuscript: Public Library, St. Petersburg (12th c.)²

Other translations: None

Institutional History

Except for the information contained in the *typikon* itself, nothing else is known about this foundation. Janin (*Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 7) was rightly skeptical about the veracity of any of the various accounts of the monastery's creation preserved in [2] and [33] below, though *Phoberos* may have been an imperial monastery at one time (cf. [49]). Even the various names for the monastery and its location could not be satisfactorily explained [2] by the time the *typikon* was written in the twelfth century. Janin plausibly located the monastery, however, near the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, close to the entrance to the Black Sea. The author John has some better evidence for the foundation's more recent history. He notes [33] that it had been ruined by rapacious *charistikarioi*, probably in the last half of the eleventh century, though he also blames [2] "foreign attacks," probably by the Seljuk Turks towards the end of the same century. He claims [33] that some surviving monks remembered when the foundation housed as many as 170 of their fellows.

According to his own statement, John himself came [1] to the foundation in October 1113. The requirements [33] to commemorate the patriarch and to allow him to provide the blessing of the monastery's superior (cf. [35]) suggest that Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos (1084–1111), who is mentioned [50] later as one of the benefactors of the foundation, granted it to John specifically for its restoration as part of a broader patriarchal program of reviving ruined monasteries.

The foundation's subsequent history is obscure. John did not live to complete the *typikon* and was dead by the time that a list [50] of benefactors to be commemorated was drawn up in October 1144. Luke, metropolitan of Mesembria, had meanwhile completed his service as superior of the monastery. Several members of the noble Botaneiates family, descended from Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–81), established themselves as patrons of the monastery, including the late emperor's widow Maria of Alania and another Nikephoros Botaneiates, son-in-law of Alexios I Komnenos' brother Isaac the *sebastokrator*, who may have become a monk at *Phoberos* under the name Neophytos. The younger Botaneiates' wife Eudokia Komnene, still living in 1144, is hailed as the monastery's "second founder" out of consideration for her many gifts to the foundation, including a very large sum of money for the purchase of landed property. Her son Ioannikios, who

predeceased her, may, like his father, have been a monk at this monastery. Finally, there is a note of appreciation [59] at the end of the *typikon* for the nobleman monk Thomas Eugeniotes, hailed as a “spiritual child” of the founder John, for his work in building the monastery’s church and for other benefactions.

Analysis

A. Model for the Typikon

This is the first of the surviving Byzantine monastic foundation documents likely to have been modeled directly on the *typikon* of the great reform monastery, (22) *Evergetis*. Of the present document’s sixty-one chapters, forty-five are indebted textually to (22) *Evergetis*, even though many of these also have substantial original material.³ However, a close examination of some of these chapters suggests that our author was working from a version of (22) *Evergetis* that predates our present edition of that document. Seventeen chapters in (30) *Phoberos* are derived from other sources or else are possibly original to this document.⁴ All told, this *typikon* uses at least parts of all but four of the forty-three chapters found in (22) *Evergetis*.⁵ This qualifies him, along with Isaac Komnenos, the author of (29) *Kosmosoteira*, as a “close copier” of the Evergetian *typikon*, as opposed to several other authors in the Evergetian tradition, like Irene Doukaina Komnene, author of (27) *Kecharitomene*, who probably relied on various intermediary texts. Even in a few instances where our author completely disagrees with the thrust of (22) *Evergetis*, such is his reverence for the text of that document that in these cases he strives to incorporate as much as possible of that document’s language in his new, contrary regulations.⁶ Nevertheless, this massive usage of *Evergetis* is completely unacknowledged by our author, for there is not a single mention even of the monastery of *Evergetis*, much less its *typikon*. Our author typically supplements the Evergetian text he has used with supporting citations of various scriptural, ascetic, patristic, and conciliar authorities, a practice of deference to authoritative precedents that was a characteristic trait of the authors of founders’ *typika* since the late eleventh century.⁷ All this suggests that (22) *Evergetis* was respected at *Phoberos* not so much for its own sake as for its consonance with an ever increasingly valued tradition of precedents.

Like (22) *Evergetis* itself, this document shows unmistakable evidence of a re-edition after the death of the founder John, its original author, who was deceased in 1144 as [50] was written. He is also spoken of in the past tense in [59]. The unprecedented redundancies in the document’s numeration, with both an [8A] and [8B] as well as a [53A] and [53B], are marks of this hasty re-edition that evidently included some reworking of John’s section of the *typikon* as well.

B. Other Sources

In the middle of a discussion of fasting requirements, the author straightforwardly declares [16]: “I did not write things of my own choice or wish or devising, but what we have received in writing from our holy fathers and what we have learned from experience itself to be true and immutable and unchangeable . . .” Therefore, even aside from the unattributed quotations from (22) *Evergetis*, it is likely that the author used additional sources to compose his *typikon*. The foundation history [2] presents two alternative accounts of the monastery’s foundation. Like [3], an account of a miraculous icon of St. John the Forerunner, it is probably derived from lost hagiographical texts.

The bans on boys and beardless youths [58] and on female animals [57] can be traced back to Studite legislation that probably reached our author through Athonite sources like (13) *Ath. Typikon*. A long chapter [53B], is a discourse on the value of monastic stability, taken from the *Ascetic Constitutions* incorrectly attributed to Basil of Caesarea, along with a contemporary commentary. Another long chapter [58] features an unattributed quotation from a late antique ascetic author, Paul Helladikos (see below, “Safeguarding Moral Purity”). Some other chapters in the beginning of the document [4], [5], [6], [7], [8] seem suspiciously polished, and although not presented as quotations may in fact have been adopted from other ascetic literature. The long meditation on death [1] may not be original to this document either.

C. Original Materials

The author’s own thought can most confidently be identified in the many chapters in which he carefully cribs his model (22) *Evergetis* yet introduces small changes or exercises editorial discretion in deleting certain materials. The evidence is discussed below in the Analysis under the appropriate topical subdivisions. The regulation of diet and fasting (see [16], [17], [18], [19]) and the accumulation of supportive quotations from various authoritative sources to supplement the Evergetian quotations on various topics were the author’s most important personal contributions to the document. He even explains [18] the scope of his research to determine the appropriate use of wine in the monastic diet. But aside from the chapters on diet and fasting, the only ones that appear likely to have been the author’s own work are [10], [24] (except for the unrelated quotation from *Evergetis* at the end), and [31]. He must have stopped work on the document before [50], which honors him as the deceased founder. There are a few original sections thereafter, such as the conclusion of [53B] and both [57] and the introduction to [58], but they must be the work of a subsequent editor.

D. Lives of the Monks

1. Number of the Monks

Unlike the author of (22) *Evergetis* [23], who declined to set a fixed number of positions for monks in his institution, our author here provides [42] that there will be 12 monks in his foundation, preferably “educated” ones in implicit accord with the latter’s specifications. This is in contrast to the 170 reported [33] to have been living at the foundation before its properties were dispersed by the *charistikarioi*. Our author is anxious to use the language of his Evergetian model in this regulation even though he comes to an opposite conclusion. The possibility of a later increase is foreseen, contingent on an increase in the foundation’s resources.

2. Liturgical Duties

As in (22) *Evergetis* [4], [5], and [6], the celebration of the canonical hours was an important part of the lives of the monks at *Phoberos*, for these chapters are taken over into this foundation’s *typikon* as chapters [9], [12], and [13], either verbatim or with small changes. The author adds a new chapter [10] which cites patristic and canonical precedent to justify exemptions from genuflections during Christmas and Pentecost, thereby replacing but not contradicting the last few lines of (22) *Evergetis* [4]. The author adapts [32] the regulations of (22) *Evergetis* [32] for the patronal feasts to honor St. John the Forerunner.

30. PHOBEROS

Imposing consistency on his less well organized model, our author's successor utilizes [50] portions of (22) *Evergetis* [34], [35], and [36] in his discussion of memorial services. These were to be performed annually for the founder John, his spiritual father Luke, metropolitan of Mesembria, who had been the monastery's superior, various members of the Komnenos dynasty, some of whom had become monks in the foundation, Patriarch Nicholas Grammatikos, and other benefactors. Following (22) *Evergetis* [36], this *typikon* also orders commemorative services and charitable distributions at the gate in remembrance of the foundation's departed monks.

3. Manual Labor

Although the author reproduces [14] verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [7] that document's evidence for a community divided into monks dedicated to liturgical services and a larger number engaged in manual tasks, this may not be an accurate portrayal of conditions at *Phoberos* since there were only twelve resident monks at this foundation. In the last chapter [59], however, there is an enigmatic command to the monks to "provide your own food from the work of your own hands" which might indicate that the monks were expected to prepare if not actually grow their own food. Self-provision also seems implicit in [57].

4. Sacramental Life

Our author adopts [11], [14] the provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [5], [7] on communion and confession. He places the discussion of the "Great Confession" offered to the superior at a monk's tensure in a separate chapter [15]. Subsequently, the author obliges [36] the monks to make their confessions exclusively to their superior rather than to some other spiritual father, in this respect following and quoting (22) *Evergetis* [15].

5. Length of the Novitiate

The author's successor copies [51] the language and procedures of (22) *Evergetis* [37] on the monks' novitiate, but adds that the *typikon* is to be read to the postulants (cf. (24) *Christodoulos* [A26], where portions of the *Basilian Rule* are to be read) and the term for casual acquaintances is considerably lengthened to three years. A new chapter, [52], utilizes some of the language of (22) *Evergetis* [37] but, citing canonical tradition, comes to an opposite conclusion in banning outside monks entirely.

6. Cenobitic Lifestyle

Our author follows [41] the stern provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [22] in prohibiting private possessions, eating in secret, and correspondence with family or friends without the superior's permission. Also, as in (22) *Evergetis* [27], the superior was to visit [45] cells monthly and confiscate any unauthorized items found there. Following (22) *Evergetis* [24], monks at *Phoberos* were not to have [43] personal servants. Since the author thought that "it is harmful for novices to be only one to a cell," he orders [43] monks to be grouped three to a cell (unlike (22) *Evergetis* [24] with its pairing of older and younger monks). Perhaps *Phoberos*' arrangement was more effective in curbing the much-feared "special friendships" (cf. [59]) between monks. Our author sees fit to require [45] the foundation's monks to observe equality in food, drink and clothing, following (22) *Evergetis* [26] verbatim in this respect. In some respects he is even stricter than his model: he forbids [44] the use of locks and keys in the monks' cells, and, unlike (22) *Evergetis* [28] (at least in that document's present form), he does not allow [46] the monks to bathe except for those who were sick.

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As a reminder to the monks of their responsibilities, the author's successor provides [59] for the reading of the *typikon* at mealtimes, starting at the beginning of the month until the document had been read aloud to its conclusion. This follows the prescription and language of (22) *Evergetis* [43].

7. Fasting

The author's interest in the subject of fasting far exceeds that of his model (22) *Evergetis* and ought to be compared to the importance placed on this topic by Nikon, the author of (20) *Black Mountain*, with whose generally conservative approach to problems he agrees on several points of controversy. Yet chapters [27] through [30] on the dietary regime for fasts copy (22) *Evergetis* [10] very closely. Following his usual practice, the author produces [28] a long list of canonical, scriptural, and patristic testimonies to support his treatment of the Holy Saturday fast. A chapter not found in (22) *Evergetis* treats [31] the fast before the feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God, citing old precedents that are identical to those found in (20) *Black Mountain* [87]. Similarly, the discussion of the fasting requirement on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent starts off [16] with a quotation from (22) *Evergetis* [8], but then launches into a lengthy additional discussion based on various ascetic sources including Palladius' *Lausiaca History*, the *Panarion* of St. Epiphanius, and the *Life* of St. Symeon the Wonderworker. Other chapters regulate [17], [18] and [19] fasts that may and may not be broken and set quantities of food and drink. They are not present in (22) *Evergetis*, but may be taken from another source or sources as the author implies in [18]. A liturgical calendar, similar to but with fewer feasts than its counterpart in (20) *Black Mountain* [89], is included as part of [19].

8. Care of Sick Monks

Taking his lead from the provisions of (25) *Evergetis* [41] our author's successor orders [56] that a cell be set aside to serve as an infirmary for sick monks. There were to be four beds in this hospice; at *Evergetis*, a larger institution, there were eight.

E. Constitutional Matters

1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

Our author follows [33] the lead of *Evergetis* and other reform monasteries in claiming independent and self-governing status for the foundation. The reform patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos had granted this status in a now lost memorandum (*hypomnema*) sometime before his death in 1111. The chapter in question here closely follows the language of (22) *Evergetis* [12], with an indignant note added that it was the institution's past *charistikarioi* who had been responsible for ruining this once flourishing foundation, now being reconstituted but at a fraction of its former size.

2. Selection of the Superior

The *typikon* provides [35] for the superior to direct the foundation as in (22) *Evergetis* [13] and [14]. As in the latter document, it was envisioned that the steward would advance to the position of superior provided he had carried out his office faultlessly. Our author adds very little new material here except for the requirement that the monks should take their new superior to the

patriarch to receive his blessing (cf. [33]). There are, however, three major deletions from the text of *Evergetis*: the installation ceremonies for the new superior staged internally in that monastery, the explanation of why it might be necessary to remove an unfit steward, and the entreaty to the monks to avoid jealousy, strife and factionalism in their choice of a new superior.

3. Removal of the Superior

Borrowing the language of (22) *Evergetis* [13], our author instructs [35] the preeminent monks to remove an unfit superior, provided they can agree on a suitable replacement. However, like the author of (22) *Evergetis* [18], he was unwilling to allow [37] the brothers to demand financial accounts from their superior, but he drops the lengthy justification for this position found in the latter document.

4. Role of the Preeminent Monks

These officials are given [35] the responsibilities of helping the superior choose a steward and of choosing an alternative to a bad steward to promote to the superiorship as in (22) *Evergetis* [13] and [14]. As in *Evergetis*, the superior is instructed [35] to use the preeminent monks as his advisors. They were to be among the witnesses [38] of emergency alienations of consecrated property (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [19]).

F. Financial Matters

1. Financial Officials

As in (22) *Evergetis* [13], the key financial official was the steward who was also superior-designate. Our author also adopts [47] the three treasurers and the language describing their responsibilities from (22) *Evergetis* [30]. For some reason, the list of grounds for the steward's deposition that is found in (22) *Evergetis* [14], mostly related to fiscal misadministration, is omitted in (30) *Phoberos*. Also missing is (22) *Evergetis* [20], with its detailed description of how the monetary treasurer was obliged to keep detailed records of the monastery's income and expenditures. The sanction of expulsion found in (22) *Evergetis* [22] for thieves who fail to make amends is retained, however, in (30) *Phoberos* [41]. Since it is unlikely that our author wished to hold his financial officials to lesser standards of accountability than their counterparts at *Evergetis*, this may be an indication that he utilized an older version of that document than the one now extant, before revisions were added to it reflecting the experiences with the government requisitions of the 1080s and 1090s.

2. Provisions against Misconduct

According to [1], there was once an inventory associated with this foundation which described the church and its much improved cells, and made a record of books, sacred vessels, icons, coverings and cloths. In this respect *Phoberos* follows the pattern established by reform monasteries of the late eleventh century with an eye towards deterring future thefts or at least making them more easily detectable. The author also incorporates [47] the provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [29] in which the revering of patronal icons of Christ and (here) John the Baptist is associated with the bestowal of keys of office to various officials. However, the use of the *typikon* in (22) *Evergetis* [13] as a substitute for the icons and keys in the superior's installation ceremony does not appear in this document.

3. Inalienability of Property

Our author closely follows his model (22) *Evergetis* [19] in declaring [38] the inalienability of the foundation's movable and immovable properties under ordinary circumstances. *Evergetis*' assertion that a violation of this rule would be sacrilege is missing in (30) *Phoberos*. The latter's procedure for handling emergency alienations also omits the use of the monastery's inventory as a checklist as provided for in the Evergetian *typikon*. This therefore may be another instance in which *Phoberos* follows an older version of (22) *Evergetis* before reactions to the imperial requisitions of the Komnenian era had had a chance to make an impact on the final version of that text. Like our existing text of (22) *Evergetis* [42], however, (30) *Phoberos* [59] warns even the monks not to pilfer the monastery's possessions.

4. Property Managers

In his brief discussion of the qualifications of property managers [49], the author follows his model (22) *Evergetis* [34] in requiring that monks chosen as property administrators should be pious and preferably elderly. He adds the particular information that the monastery still possesses some "small worthless pieces" of immovable properties (though most have been "snatched away") donated by the emperor who built the monastery long ago.

5. No Mandatory Entrance Gifts

Following (22) *Evergetis* [37] closely, the author's successor abandons [53A] the requirement of mandatory entrance gifts while allowing voluntary ones. He faithfully reproduces the assertion of the Evergetian *typikon* that an attempt by a departing monk to reclaim his entrance gift was be considered as sacrilege.

G. Overall Philosophy

1. Egalitarian Aspects

The author imports [36] some of the language hostile to privilege found in (22) *Evergetis* [17]. Moreover, he faithfully reproduces [45] the instruction of his model (22) *Evergetis* [26] that even officials should not be exempt from the required uniformity of food, drink and dress. Elsewhere, he adds [36] that the superior should go into the refectory daily and have the cellarer set out before him the food of the brothers for his inspection. He also closely follows the militantly cenobitic (22) *Evergetis* [9] in several of its own chapters intended to regulate the refectory, including that document's vehement condemnation of quarrels over seating.⁹ True to form, the author cannot resist adding his own selection of scriptural passages in [23] to support (22) *Evergetis* [9]'s condemnation of eating in secret.

2. Not Anti-Aristocratic

Like (22) *Evergetis*, however, this document is hardly anti-aristocratic. As we have seen [50], members of the imperial family both patronized the foundation and joined it as monks, and the author himself prefers [42] educated monks. As in (22) *Evergetis* [37], "distinguished people" are allowed to be tonsured [51] without serving the novitiate (which was especially long here). Also like (22) *Evergetis* [39], noblewomen are excepted [55] from the general ban on women visiting the monastery. Moreover, the foundation's beloved "second founder" Eudokia Komnene [50] was

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a member of the imperial family, and the founder's "spiritual child" who assisted in the building of the church and became a monk in the foundation, was the nobleman Thomas Eugeniotes [59].

3. Concerns over Safeguarding Morality

As in (22) *Evergetis* [38], women are excluded [55] from daily distributions at the gate (though not from annual ones) professedly to protect the monks from sexual temptation. But much more so than its model, (30) *Phoberos* is obsessed with safeguarding the moral purity of its monks and considers threats from all sources. Following the old Studite tradition seen in (3) *Theodore Studites* [5] and adopted for Athos in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31], our author's successor not only bans [59] female animals from inside or outside the monastery, but in [57] there is a long justification of this position. Then there is the document's most remarkable chapter [58], mostly made up of a long unattributed quotation from the late antique ascetic Paul Helladikos. This describes the threat to monastic chastity posed by bestiality and homosexuality.

H. External Relations

1. Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

Perhaps in view of its founders' views of the unreformed patriarchs of their times, (22) *Evergetis* made no mention of any patriarchal rights over that foundation. In different circumstances, with a friendlier patriarch, our author affirms [33] (cf. [35]) the rights of future patriarchs to liturgical commemoration (*anaphora*) and blessing (*sphragis*) of new superiors as he was obliged to do by the terms of Nicholas III Grammatikos' memorandum. As noted above, the patriarch was also among those benefactors listed [50] for liturgical commemoration. By demonstrating their continuing commitment to reform activities, Nicholas' immediate successors John IX Agapetos (1111–34) and Leo Styppes (1134–43) must have earned the confidence of our author and his successors at *Phoberos*.

2. Institutional Philanthropy

Our author's successor simply adopts [54] the charitable provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [38], including distributions at the gate, hospitality to travelers and the sick, and burial of those who died while lodged at the foundation. Elsewhere in a long chapter that is mostly independent of (22) *Evergetis*, the original author John warns [24] the monks, however, that the practice of almsgiving was no substitute for a life of poverty. This suggests that the commitment to poverty was wavering, perhaps as some aristocratic monks sought to return to the practice of retaining some of their personal assets after admission as seen earlier in (9) *Galesios* [192].

Notes on the Introduction

1. The grant of independence through a memorandum of Patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos (†1111) mentioned in [33] and the date the author John arrived at the site, October 1113, help establish a *terminus post quem*. The fact that the document borrows from (22) *Evergetis* is no help for dating it since the latter also cannot be dated precisely. Although they both borrow from (22) *Evergetis*, there is no apparent relationship between this document and (27) *Kecharitomene*, itself thought to date to 1110–16, which might otherwise help to date (30) *Phoberos*. The mention of John as being deceased in [50], in which there is also a record of a donation dated to October 1144, indicates a re-edition took place at that time.

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2. See the Foreword by V. Benešević to Papadopoulos-Kerameus' posthumous edition in *Noctes Petropolitanae*. The manuscript may be an autograph.
3. [1], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [3]; [9], [10], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4]; [11], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [5]; [12], [13], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [6]; [14], [15], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [7]; [16], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [8]; [20], [21], [22], [23], [24], [26], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9]; [27], [28], [29], [30], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [10]; [32], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [11]; [33], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [12]; [34], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13]; [35], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14], [15]; [36], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [15], [16], [17]; [37], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [18]; [38], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [19]; [39], [40], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [21]; [41], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [22]; [42], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [23]; [43], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [24]; [44], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [25]; [45], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [26], [27]; [46], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [28]; [47], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [29], [30]; [48], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [31], [32], [33]; [49], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [34]; [50], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [34], [35], [36]; [51], [52], [53A], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37]; [54], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [38]; [55], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [38], [39], [41]; [56], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [41]; [59], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [42], [43].
4. (30) *Phoberos* [2], [3], [4], [5], [6], [7], [8A], [8B], [16], [17], [18], [19], [25], [31], [53B], [57], [58].
5. (22) *Evergetis* [1], [2], [20], [40].
6. See [42], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [23]; [46], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [28]; and [52], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37].
7. See especially (20) *Black Mountain* [53], [87], and (24) *Christodoulos* [18], [26], [28].

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As noted above, this document shares substantial portions of the text of (22) *Evergetis* as well as other ascetic works. In our translation, the borrowings are indicated in boldface type.

Translation

Rule and commentary containing in brief all the monastic life and practice, accurately put together by John, a humble monk, and handed on to his brothers on the mountain of the monastery of [St. John] the venerable Forerunner at Monacheion.

Therefore, holy fathers, you who read this, pray for me the careless sinner, so that I may find God merciful on the fearful day of judgment.

Pronounce a blessing, father.

[1]. "What profit is there in my blood, when I go down to destruction?" (Ps. 29 [30]:9) This David the prophet and king cried out in clear and prophetic language. His words are true and prophetic,

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and suit the reality of the actual situation. For we human beings have not been made for this purpose, namely to continue in toil, disorder, and the cares of life, by which and through which the innermost part of the sea is investigated and all places on earth, cultivated land, rocks, valleys, and the slopes of mountains are thoroughly searched, so that from them man might have his luxury items. Man was formed and created in God's image (cf. Gen. 1:26–29), and appointed to rule the creatures below him, an earthly angel in bodily form and a clear herald of the majesty of God in him, as it is said and believed that the “wisdom of God is magnified in man” (cf. Ps. 138 [139]:6), because man is really a remarkable creature, as in the same being has been united and is contained an incorporeal nature, immaterial, ever-moving, and an essentially animal one in a very material and carnal body which wastes away and changes, suffers and is altered, is changed and modified through the earthly and [p. 2] dispersed nature of its material and through its crafty nature that is prone to lapse and is changeable and variable.

Just as the same man is born as a very small creature, so he is enclosed somewhere within his body which is like a very small wall, a very changeable creature and one that seizes on everything by the very swift movements of his mind, not enclosed by places, nor by very solid battlements on walls. So the means of his birth accompany him and live at the same time and are contained within him, a heavenly being that thinks and an earthly one that sees, the same being incorruptible and corruptible, mortal and immortal, controlled by reason and often moved by very irrational desires, honorable at the same time in as much as he has been formed and created by the hands of the creator and in whose image and likeness the elements of his forming came to him. Since this creature is one that is intelligent and possesses free will, it is controlled by thought and reason, yet also at times it is made subject to the laws of disorderliness in proportion to its more irrational and earthly nature, when its material constitution holds sway within it; and according to this part of its nature it is classed with the animals.

David himself, who was approved of by God often in many places, in his writings very often says, “Man that is in honor understands not; he is compared to the senseless cattle and is like them” (Ps. 48 [49]:20), because in reality, my beloved ones, whenever reason rules us we live like God, then we also become beautiful people and are beautiful in our feet in accordance with the declaration about Our Lord and Master (cf. Is. 52:7; Rom. 10:15), for we preach peace, not only outward peace among the mass of mankind but much more so inward and spiritual peace. For there is a kind of war and disagreement in the soul which different passions stir up.

Listen to Paul as he speaks and organizes us for this war of the mind, “Our war is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the ruler of darkness” (Eph. 6:12), I mean the murderous and wicked serpent. For material and physical warfare is often caused by swarms of foreigners seized by a desire for gain. Swords and breastplates are made ready, by means of which it is planned to overthrow all the enemy forces that resist. There is nothing strange in that. For the people who abide by their earthly nature display the actions of their earthly nature; but then, when the passions make an attack on the spirit, that is a pitiable situation and worthy of many tears, for even now as I think of the excessive amount of my passion and sin, a tear falls from my eyes. You may also experience this, those of you who live devoutly and reverently and for whom the most important end being sought is the salvation of your souls. For it is possible to see man sometimes living a life in accordance with God and carrying about him a kind of peace,

but sometimes in the control of the [p. 3] wicked serpent who is preparing war and gathering the passions together against the soul like a swarm of barbarians, and making an attack on the mind. It is [a situation] worthy of many tears, when it is possible to see this man falling, and being killed in a pitiable overthrow, and his decease and death, when the power of his soul is ineffective and fails to stir an impulse towards things that are more divine, when the man who is controlled by reason is viewed like an irrational animal and seems to be without understanding because of the form of his very irrational way of life, when he has a need of many prayers and supplications to see again the light of knowledge kindled within him and find a return to that old form of his way of life. But I have been drawn away by the stream of my discourse, I do not know how, and I am being carried there away from my target.

So then I will bring my discourse back to its purpose, bearing those abiding words of David, my beloved ones, in my inner and spiritual ears, and having Solomon in agreement as to their meaning that everything slips away and vanishes, as he himself instructs—for, he says, “the form of the world passes away” (I Cor. 7:31) and equally pleasures turn into shadows, for “treasures shall not profit the lawless, but righteousness shall deliver from death” (Prov. 10:2)—and on the other side having this word of the Lord which suggests to me the means of salvation, “for what will it profit a man, if he gains the whole world and forfeits his life? Or what shall a man give in return for his life?” (Matt. 16:26) I have dismissed all the things that are subject to decay, having the Lord himself present with me and suggesting to me words of salvation. For really, my beloved ones, what is the equal of soul? For all the attributes of the body and whatever bodily good things anyone might mention, as many as there are of whatever kind, whether beauty or speed or strength or even those outside it and more external, wealth, nobility, acres of land, and the supremacy of one’s country, the many things of this kind by which man gains distinction when he caters to the senses, they all quickly fade and pass away, disappearing in so far as they are not even held in the hand, for no sooner does an eye glance up and comprehend it all, then close and withdraw, than these pass away.

For what is it that abides in possessions whatever they are? Let someone have beauty of body, and the limbs and parts of his body be of a corresponding kind; let the man be made as a creature fashioned on the lathe, let a marvelous complexion bloom appearing in the beauty of his face, part white and part red and mixed; let a mass of hair adorn him, let it be fair in color and let it be moved gently and suitably in a gentle breeze and a peaceful breath [p. 4] of wind; let this man also when so adorned raise eyebrows and let him behave impudently towards his neighbors by raising his eyes beyond the heavenly orbits. [But] let the symptoms of ill health appear in him; let violent fevers seize the man and let him be smitten by disease and remain in bed through the constraints of diseases; then visit this man and see where the pride of him has gone; soon you will shed a tear from your eyes, reckoning up the most pitiable aspect of nature and that he who was lately a man to be admired for his appearance now lies a pitiable ruin and worthy of many tears. If the seeds of his dissolution accompany him and the indescribable bond is likely to be dissolved, then the meaning of the story becomes more clear. The one who lately was using a fine-talking tongue, the swiftly moving creature in tune with his impulses, is a phantom and shadow of a creature, and in truth nothing anywhere. As his eyes are nowhere, neither do the means of his sight operate, as the hands that are on him are hands no longer, and his feet no longer carry his torso, but all the limbs

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and parts of his body that were lately supple and very easily moved have become lifeless and dead and motionless, and in short exist only in name but nowhere in action.

Would any man not weep pondering on these things in his mind and flee the vanity of human life, and will he not lament for the living more than for the dead as if they were corpses, since they are carried about by vanity, as Our Savior himself instructed saying, “Leave the dead to bury their own dead” (Matt. 8:22), because men who remain in the confusion of vanity are no better than corpses? For man has been formed by God to be a member of “the heavenly commonwealth” (cf. Phil. 3:20), to reach up to that place and contemplate the beauties there. For this reason he has an upright stance which looks straight upwards and contemplates heaven. For this reason he has the name “man” (*anthropos*) as one appointed to gaze upwards and behold the beauties there, and able to derive pleasure and banish pain. What is seen [when man contemplates heaven serves] as a model of conduct, while the feet walk and serve as a ministering instrument of walking. For this is what the complex term “man” means, that man is obliged to travel straight along the road that leads to God himself, by whom we have been made and to whom we return.

For this is the end of human life, and the mystery of man’s creation and composition leads us to this. Man has come into being as a formation and creation of God, the hand of God created him; even if dust is part of the material and earthliness and a kind of earthy composition, the end of the creation and its most purposeful aim is the return of the [p. 5] creature to its creator and Lord, the return of the thing made to its maker through the perfecting of his deification. For these reasons there is envy, debate, loss of life, and the means of condemnation which are immediate, terrible and inexorable, death and return to that very dust from which he was formed (Gen. 2:7). But nevertheless the creator brings the creature to life again and conquers death. This is the great mystery of the dispensation, that God becomes man and takes the form of a servant (cf. Phil. 2:7), so that man might be made divine again and regain his ancient status. If anyone considers all these things in his mind, how will he not ignore the visible world and consider it to be like the “grass of the field which today is alive and tomorrow” (Matt. 6:30) withers and dies? For such things are subject to death, appearing for a short time, quickly being refuted and fading away, being dissolved and passing away, and deceiving only the senses. Turning over these and such things in my thoughts, I myself ignored the visible world and chose to live alone with God, as he himself instructed; for he says, “Be still and know” (Ps. 45 [46]:10). For in reality if someone does not keep himself far away from material and earthly confusion, he will no longer understand what is the end of life that is in accordance with God. For where there is disorder and disturbance, a recollection of God cannot be present in any very pure way. Smoke chases away a swarm of bees as men say who occupy themselves with beehives, and disturbance from worldly things chases away the recollection of God from the spirit of each person.

This being my state of mind, I came to this place which was in that small and simple form in the confidence of a very noble and unwavering spirit at the beginning of October of the sixth indiction and the six thousand six hundred and twenty-first year [1113 A.D.]. [cf. (22) *Evergetis* [3], ed. lines 49–60]: On finding **this so small and very insignificant**, in its place with the help of God and the intercessions of [St. John] the venerable Forerunner and the prayers of my holy father I worked **and raised it to this most imposing** and perfect condition from obscurity and simplicity. Furthermore you know and the truth makes clear **what kind of a church was built from the**

very foundations to my Lord the Baptist and Herald of God, and what cells were constructed, much better than the previous ones, and the number and kinds of books that were acquired, similarly the sacred vessels and holy icons, also the holy veils and liturgical cloths, and in short the rest of the adornment of the all-holy church, and in addition the landed property acquired to support and maintain the monastery. It is not necessary for us to talk of these matters and anyone wishing to find out can be instructed more clearly by studying the inventory. [p. 6]

2. The early history concerning the establishment of the monastery of Monacheion.

But now I must return to what I was saying, and I must give the early history of this monastery. It was indeed a small monastery then, or not even a monastery but much more like a hermitage, built perhaps years before in the name of the venerable Forerunner and Baptist, and time and foreign attacks had reduced it to nothing, for this is the report of history unwritten from its beginning that reached our ears. The establishing of the monastery was strange; therefore it is worth committing the details of this to writing, to prevent them being destroyed by time and handed over to the depths of oblivion. Time knows how to destroy and cover over many such things. An unwritten story came to us, which memory has preserved embedded in the souls of those who heard it, that this place which has now been consecrated to God as a monastery happened to be a very dense coppice full of trees, more suitable to be lived in by wild animals but not by men who dedicated the whole of their life to God. For the place is cold, unpleasantly cold, washed all round by the sea, just like a hill and a precipitous place surrounded by water as if in ravines in the valleys of the mountains, untrodden not only by men but also by most wild animals.

But such are the marvels of God. He was about to change what was as it were a wild olive into a cultivated one and make this place which was untrodden even by wild animals a place trodden by the beautiful feet of holy men “whose ways are not crooked nor their paths turned aside” (Prov. 2:15), but their ways are straight and their paths direct in the presence of the Lord Sabaoth. So what is the manner of its establishment and how does the God of miracles manage miraculous deeds that surpass the power of speech often by means of his enemies? For in this even more is the majesty of his glory discovered, the God who manages and controls everything.

A very illustrious man and close friend of the emperor—even though his name has vanished and been forgotten, as time knows how to remove many such things and commit them to the depths of oblivion—is struck by the shafts of envy and is himself slandered in the hearing of the emperor. For envy knows how to creep up on those with great power, since it often mixes a cup of bitterness and prepares death for those who are envied, and the very facts are a true witness to my statement. Such a thing also happened to this man, intrigue, slander, and finally the death penalty, to be thrown down into the waves of the sea, death, and disappearance. For such is envy and such are its wages. So the man was led out walking very slowly and leisurely on the road to death. He was anguished in spirit, he suffered, he trembled. For what else is more terrible than death, and a very violent [p. 7] death from drowning?

But oh, the ineffable decisions of God! For again he performed a miracle in this situation, he who previously quenched that blazing furnace which a barbaric and insolent mind had lit when the raging Nebuchadnezzar was roused up in recklessness. He who changed that to dew and rescued

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those burning children by extinguishing the blaze as if in refreshing water (cf. Dan. 3:28–50), the same one again performed a miracle in another strange way, because providence which manages things in different ways is truly a complex thing. Pity seized the one who was leading him off [to death]; for what is more sympathetic than human nature? He wept quietly, was in agreement, was well disposed, respected friendship, honored him. The end of the story is that he granted him the full measure of life and recommended that he hide himself in the thickets on the mountains and make his way through trackless places.

Pursuing the terms of life [granted to him], the man came to this place. The hope of life beguiled him, and since he had already received the pledge of his safety, he hid in the thickly wooded parts of the place. What happened next? One day the man was traveling by himself and suddenly (in fact as I relate the strange happening my hairs rise; for in such situations the spirit concentrates upon itself and withdraws, and is concerned with itself experiencing a contraction like a liquid which flows around a cavity, [but] because the story is strange, it is worth committing to writing) a man long-haired and shaggy, a creature of the wilderness for the apparition looked like that sort of thing, appeared to the man. It appeared to converse with him and preached the good news of salvation, and showed him a chapel and advised him to settle near it.

What happened next? A short time elapsed and the pleasant apparition came again, he, great among the prophets, appeared himself and inquired if he knew the one he saw. When the man answered that he did not, he heard him saying “I am that very one, the one great among prophets, John the Baptist, and the signs are clear. Your [bonds] of fear will be broken and as a pledge of my word the imperial power of the Romans will be entrusted to you, since God is managing your fate. As a reward to me for this prophecy, a chapel will be built in this place to my name.” In connection with this he gave an instruction, such as the Savior himself issued to his disciples. For then he instructed them not to depart from Jerusalem unless the manifestation of divine power came upon them (Acts 1:4), and here there was the same miracle and guarantee and disappearance of the fear that possessed him. The proclamation was amazing because it assured him of imperial power over the empire of the Romans and furthermore a recompense for the prophecy was imposed on him, namely the construction by himself of a chapel in [John the Baptist’s] name.

Only a short time intervened, and the emperor who arranged [p. 8] his death departed this life. He was searched for, inquired after, summoned to the imperial power, and he fulfilled his promise and built the chapel, since it is natural that the indescribable vision and the fulfillment of the prophecy had not left his mind. That was the establishment of the monastery, as we have it from popular report as if from some tradition. But different people have handed down the incidents of the story differently, and I will relate what has been received in this case. For I see rivers running together into the same stream, beginning from different springs but flowing together into one area and ravine; for even if there is a difference between them in their beginning, yet their end is in real harmony and agreement.

A peak rises up above the land and one portion of it is called Peak of Zeus and another, Sanctuary. For this land is high, raised above the plain, sloping towards a peak and reaching the summit of the peak over a long distance. There is one part where it is surrounded both by hills and some precipitous places. In this place many sacrifices were performed by people sailing since the beginning of time and certain rites and vows. It was simply so that their voyage might go with a

fair wind with the ship being carried along gently by the wind and that a smooth surge might be seen with a favorable and gentle wind while the waves sweep forward and mock the promontories, and are not whipped up like high mountains by the winds.

There is a large ravine between the mountains. It is a fearful ravine. In it is a hollowing of the mountains and a flooding in of waves. This ravine in the course of time gave its name to the monastery, sometimes the name Chasmadion was attached [to the monastery] from the ravine itself, and sometimes the Machadion or Chamadion was given, distorted in some way by the transposition and rearrangement of the letters. Others bestowed a name as a result of what followed the event, assigning the name *Mone Phoberou* to the monastery.

For here again—I do not know how—the [story of the] establishment of the monastery is recounted in another way. Do you wish to know this story? [Our] account will describe the establishment of the monastery starting from this point. Recently war was being waged by Theophilus [(829–842)], the impious emperor, against the holy icons of Christ, and he who wielded power over the empire of the Romans was ruled by strange passions, I do not know how, not by righteous indignation but by impiety which throws everything under heaven into confusion. The unrighteous persecuted and the righteous were persecuted. The anger of the impious emperor boiled over and the community of righteous men was burnt down and at that time it was possible to see righteous people being persecuted, starving, and [p. 9] being afflicted by countless excessive acts of ill-treatment. For this is the nature of evil, whenever it is stimulated by more uncontrolled desires. For often storms rouse the sea and as the waves come to a head they froth, and in the case of a soul, when it is often attacked by glory and at the same time by madness, excessive and incomparable evil is found in it. Such was the calamity that happened then. Theodore and Theophanes, the *Graptoi*,¹ who were condemned to exile at that time, bear witness to the very violent storm that came down on the church of Christ then.

3. Concerning the painter Lazarus who made the icon of [St. John] the venerable Forerunner with his left hand while in exile.

At that time a certain Lazarus, a painter by craft, knowing how to mix colors appropriately and render the figures and forms of icons in proper proportion, was slandered in the hearing of the one who wielded imperial power at that time. For such is envy, it suggests easily fabricated pretexts and excites the shallowest minds and provides the treachery of the plot. For it knows how to start a fire like highly inflammable material which nourishes a fire until it becomes a great blaze, and slanders and plots about certain matters know how to inflame a soul that is fanatical through madness and a love of impiety.

What happened to this man was what happens naturally in such cases. The man was slandered because he painted icons and made well-formed figures. The penalty was exile in this place and a dreadful punishment which is worth committing to writing. Some iron was heated up and flattened into the shape of a square. It was fastened on to his hand, which was bound up with iron and at once lost its use and active function at the same time, since the fire was by now showing its own capability. But some say that the iron was tied to both of his hands, yet one hand was made immobile and incapable of doing anything, suffering the effects of destruction and death, but his left was somehow preserved.

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Then using this and mixing various types of colors, as the Artist Word seemed to suggest, he depicted the figure of the greatest of the prophets on a very small piece of wood. The power of the icon is miraculous, so it is said. For often in many places a stream of miracles has gushed forth from it, and the long story of its miraculous deeds has been preserved up to our times.

But the common old saying seems to be true, that “all-conquering time”² seems to destroy and wear out everything and the more so when there is a combination of some opposing elements. Such indeed was the calamity which happened in this case. For the material has been destroyed even if its grace is not exhausted. Everything of the icon that is destroyed by time has fallen away from it and only the figure has been preserved, displaying [p. 10] grace that gushes up inexhaustibly, because this is recognized as part of the icon’s miracles also, since the image of the figure has been left safe and intact right up to our time.

The fact that when so much time has elapsed the figure has not been destroyed seems to me at least one of its greatest miracles and a miracle worthy of the prophet’s greatness. This figure hunted down by me was kept as a treasure. I handed it to skillful painters and now it radiates in a clearer image, so to speak, its manifestations of grace to those who are fond of [wondrous] sights. So farewell to other things. We know that this icon is an inexhaustible treasure, and the fact that we are alive and glory in our preservation is because we live by this.

4. Beginning of spiritual instruction.

So God cares for everything since he is a common Deliverer and Savior, creating everything and laboring to save mankind, because on account of mankind he “bowed the heavens” (Ps. 17 [18]:9) and “took on the form of a servant” (Phil. 2:7) to deliver mankind oppressed by the deceit of Satan the slayer of mortals. We hear and believe and the report is unimpeachable that there is great “joy in the heavens over one who repents” (Luke 15:7); and if a lamp is lit, being the light of discernment, and the dirt is swept from the house (cf. Luke 15:8) which is our material, earthly, and fleshly garment, to what extent ought we to take pains in working at the means of our salvation? “A voice was heard in Ramah, wailing and loud lamentation” and “Rachel weeps for her children and does not accept consolation” (Matt. 2:18). The statement is true, because when we sin there is wailing in heaven. When the spiritual Rachel, “the church of the first-born” (Heb. 12:23) herself, looks for her children and does not find them, since they have already been consumed by the sword of Herod’s most irrational desire (cf. Matt. 2:16), the mortal-slaying Satan that is, she weeps more intensely.

So in the future, my beloved ones, since the war of the mortal-slaying Satan against us is one that takes many forms, we ought to make war on him spiritually, since we are being attacked also in many ways. But the warfare is not in any way visible or physical. For if it was, the plotting and the struggle would have its end once the battle had been announced and victory was coming to us, but in reality, according to Paul, it is not against flesh and blood, but against the ruler of darkness (cf. Eph. 6:12), [p. 11] the wicked murderer. So then since the plot is different in character, come, we will suggest to you the nature of the struggle. For a man who is a general and commands an army, whenever he leads his army out to war, often makes conjectures about the war, and imagines the killing, the advances of the enemy, the ambushes, the tricks, the intrigues, as he prepares his army to be courageous when facing the clash and struggle of the war. But since the war is not for

us one of the senses but is completely spiritual, with the passions sometimes attacking and disturbing the soul itself, and sometimes the mortal-slaying Satan stirring up and preparing war against us, come now, we shall suggest to you the means of this spiritual preparation and struggle in which we show ourselves most noble soldiers, approved by Jesus Christ who calls and will call us.

I pray that my words be clear and effective [and that] my discourse will do its part and contribute to [your benefit] through my prayers. Well then, the means are clear. For arrows and swords and daggers, when they touch earthly bodies, sink into the flesh and produce cuts and the dissolution of the body's binding. As a result, when the wound is very serious, death often follows for the person who is struck. But here in the spiritual struggle a very important weapon that brings death and destruction to the one who makes war on us, namely mortal-slaying Satan, is the power that comes from the singing of psalms itself and from prayer, as the apostle says when writing to Timothy, "First of all, then, I urge that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all men, for kings and all who are in high positions, that we may lead a quiet and peaceful life, godly and respectful in every way. For this is good, and it is acceptable in the sight of God our Savior, who desires all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth" (I Tim. 2:1-4).

Because of this, come, as if on a picture and a placard let us sketch the outline itself of the teaching. But since man is made up of two natures, possessing a substance made up from soul and body (for in this is a body liable to the passage of time and death, but also a soul, more divine and higher, transcending the whole passage of time and its own union) we shall suggest to you a twofold kind of teaching, passing on a rule and precept and outline, sometimes concerning the singing of psalms itself, since it strengthens the soul itself and enlightens the mind, but sometimes also concerning diet which enslaves the body and does not allow it to rise up against the soul. However, before the narration of what is said point by point, I add this to my discourse because [p. 12] my discourse aims at a common benefit. Even if these things seem to be defective and fall a little short of very great strictness, that is not at all strange. For since a great inequality divided life up, the result is that some people are ill, others weak, others are strong and noble in the composition of their body, but others as a result of their excessive weakness resemble people who sleep and are motionless. In the cases of those who are unequal in the condition and different composition of their body, the discourse aiming at what is necessary in accordance with what is possible omits to a great extent matters of very great strictness, and making allowances for human weaknesses, it also seems to pass over the excessive and unreasonable periods of fasting which many seem to perform intensely in their own way and by their own wish. For with regard to a rule for a spiritual diet, what concern of mine are the many wishes of this person or that person? For I do not think that I hold back the one who wishes to serve the Lord with a fervent will and adheres more eagerly to the road that leads him to God.

For would a soldier be accused before his general if he rushes out against the enemy too nobly and frightens his opponent with his weapons? Would perhaps a doctor find fault with a patient because the sick man joins him in following the hospital treatment to a great extent, abstaining from the causes of disease and unreasonable desires, and keeping only to those foods and drinks which encourage the patient himself to a state of health? So neither do I myself take a person

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away—may it not happen—from that fine and beneficial abstinence and more eager devotion. Indeed, I would pray that this man may follow this spiritual road more eagerly, and become for me a crown of exultation.

[I have made concessions] because I have understood this point, namely that what is easy for some to attain is in no way practical for others. If any one, then, in that way finds the road that leads him to salvation, it is good, beloved ones, and contributes to salvation. Let such a person hear and heed the Savior speaking to him, “You labor and are heavy laden, my beloved brother, you should come to me and receive correspondingly what contributes to your rest” (cf. Matt. 11:28). But this is the object of our search, namely how the strong and the careless will equally be helped, or the powerful and the weak. You endure the scorching heat of the day, but perhaps someone else does not even bear the morning temperature. You think the frost of the night is bearable, but for someone else even a slightly warm temperature is unbearable. It is because I travel this main “royal road”³ that I outline this rule and pattern for the monastery which is brief and appropriate for the weaknesses of the brotherhood. One thing alone I affirm, that what I say comes not from me but from what the divine fathers rightly prescribed for us. [p. 13]

5. Rule concerning true fasting.

Well then, those men have not handed down one rule concerning fasting nor yet one way to partake of food nor the same amount [of food], because of the fact that everyone does not have the same strength or because of a more delicate bodily condition. But they have handed down one aim to all, namely to avoid eating one’s fill and to reject the satisfying of the belly. They called this [not overeating] a daily fast and having tested it they said it was more useful and contributed to purity more than a fast lasting three or four days or even extended to a week. For he says that the one who immoderately extends his fasting beyond moderation, often indulges in food, so that as a result sometimes through the excess of doing without food he weakens his body and it becomes lazy with regard to spiritual services, and sometimes being weighed down by a large amount of food he implants *akedia* and indolence in his soul. Again they have proved that eating of vegetables does not suit everyone, nor does the eating of legumes suit everyone, nor yet can everyone use dry bread as their food continually. Also they said that one person by eating two *litrai* of bread can still be hungry, but another by eating a *litra* or six ounces was satisfying himself. Therefore, as has been said, they hand down to all one definition of abstinence, namely not to be deceived by satisfying one’s belly nor be enticed by the pleasure of the gullet. For not only is it usual for a difference in the quality of the food but also the size of the amount to kindle the “flaming dart” of the enemy (Eph. 6:16). For the stomach when it is filled with food of whatever kind produces the seeds of profligacy. Again, not only is it usual for a headache that comes from wine to befuddle the mind, but also an excessive surfeit of water, and all kinds of food render it sleepy and stupefied. The cause of disaster for the people of Sodom was not the partaking of wine and different foods, but according to the prophet, a surfeit of bread (cf. Ezek. 16:48–50). For weakness of the body is not opposed to purity of the heart, as long as we provide the body with the things that weakness demands and not the things that pleasure wishes.

The use of food is not forbidden, if food is taken in quantities sufficient to supply what is [necessary] for life, but not to the extent of enslaving people to the impulses of desire. The mod-

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erate and reasonable eating of food shows care for the health of the body, and does not take away holiness. The exact rule and definition of abstinence handed down by the fathers is the following: he who partakes of food should give it up while his appetite is still active and not wait until he is satisfied. The apostle in saying, "Make no [p. 14] provision for the flesh, to gratify its desires" (Rom. 13:14), did not forbid the necessary conduct of life, but he forbade a concern to seek pleasure. Furthermore, abstinence from food by itself is not strong enough to bring about complete purity of soul, unless the other virtues contribute.

So humility through the act of obedience and the subjugation of the body is of great service to us. Abstinence from the love of money, not only from having money but also from even desiring to possess any, leads the way to purity of soul. Abstinence from anger, grief, vainglory and arrogance, especially restraint and fasting, achieve [the purity of the soul]. For it is impossible for the person who has a surfeit in his stomach to make war on the spirit of impurity in his mind. For, as the fathers say and we have learned from experience itself, the extremes of each side cause harm equally, both excessive fasting and the filling up of the stomach, both extravagance in vigils and one's fill of sleep, and the other excesses. For we have learned that some people have not been defeated by gluttony but have been overthrown by immoderate fasting, having lapsed into the same passion for gluttony through weakness that came from lack of moderation.

I also recall suffering some such thing once after practicing abstinence to such an extent that I lost my appetite for food, and when I remained without food for two or three days and had no desire at all for food, other people roused me to this. Again as a result of a plot by the Devil sleep kept away from me so much that when I continued without sleep for very many nights I besought the Lord that I should receive a little sleep. I was at more serious risk through my immoderate abstinence from food and sleep than through gluttony and the drowsiness of sleep. So your first struggle should be the controlling of the stomach and the subjecting of the body, not only through fasting but also through vigils and toil and reading and bringing your heart to fear Gehenna and desire the kingdom of heaven.

6. Concerning how you must repel the spirit of *akedia*.

You should struggle continuously against the spirit of *akedia* which is bound up with and works together with the spirit of grief. This is a dreadful and very oppressive demon always making war on monks. It attacks the monk at the sixth hour, implanting in him slackness and dread, and creating hatred both towards the place itself and the brothers who live with him and towards all work and the reading of the Holy Scriptures itself, suggesting to him thoughts of moving and that if he does not move to other places, all his time and the place will become purposeless for him.⁴ In addition to all this it also puts into his mind the idea of hunger at about [p. 15] the sixth hour which would not happen to him as a result of a three day fast or a very long journey or very heavy toil. Then it puts into his mind thoughts that he will not be able to get rid of this burden and disease in any other way except by going out repeatedly and visiting brothers, for their benefit, of course, and by visitation of the sick. But whenever [the spirit of *akedia*] is not able to delude him in this way, it plunges him into deep sleep.

[*Akedia*] then becomes aggravated and can be checked in no other way except by prayer, by abstinence from pleasures and idle chatter, by the study of the Divine Scriptures, and by persever-

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ance [in the face of] temptations.⁵ For if it does not find him protected by these weapons, after shooting him with its own weapons, it proves him unstable and renders him a lazy and idle wanderer and trains him to go round many monasteries and concern himself with nothing else except observing where meals and drinking bouts take place. For the mind of the person affected by *akedia* imagines nothing except the distractions that arise from these things. Later on, as a result of these, it involves him in secular matters and gradually deludes him with these harmful activities, until it completely drives him out of this monastic profession.

The divine apostle, understanding that this disease is very serious and wishing to tear from our souls utterly the causes by which it is especially produced, makes it clear when he says this in writing to the Thessalonians, “Now we command you, brethren, in the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ that you keep away from any brother who is living in idleness and not in accord with the tradition that you received from us. For you yourselves know how you ought to imitate us. We were not idle when we were with you, we did not eat anyone’s bread without paying, but with toil and labor we worked night and day, that we might not burden any of you. It was not because we have not that right, but to give you in our conduct an example to imitate. For even when we were with you, we gave you this command: if anyone will not work, let him not eat. For we hear that some of you are living in idleness, not doing any work. Now, such persons we command and exhort in the Lord Jesus Christ to do their work in quietness and earn their own living” (II Thess. 3:6–12).

Let us listen how wisely the apostle points out the causes of *akedia*; for he calls those who do not work idle, indicating much evil in this one word. For the idle person happens to be irreverent, hasty in speech, and quick to abuse, and then [becomes] unfitted for the submission of a monastery and a slave of *akedia*. Therefore he commands that we should keep away from him, that is be separated from him as from a pestilential disease. Then what does he say? [p. 16] “And not in accord with the tradition that you received from us,” by that expression indicating that they are arrogant and despise and destroy the apostolic traditions. Again he says, “We did not eat anyone’s bread without paying, but with toil and labor we worked night and day, that we might not burden any of you.” The teacher of nations, the herald of the gospel, the one exalted to the third heaven, the one who said that the Lord has commanded that those who proclaim the gospel should “get their living by the gospel” (I Cor. 9:14), worked night and day with toil and labor so as not to burden anyone.

So then what will we do, we who are careless about our work and seek physical rest, to whom neither the preaching of the gospel nor the care of churches has been entrusted but only concern for our own souls? Then pointing out more clearly the harm that is born of idleness, he adds, “Those not doing any work, mere busybodies.” (II Thess. 3:11) From idleness comes meddlesomeness and from meddlesomeness comes disorderliness and from disorderliness evil of every kind; and again, devising the remedy for them, he adds, “now such persons we command to do their work in quietness and earn their own living.” With more of a rebuke he says, “If anyone will not work, let him not eat.”

The holy fathers in Egypt trained by this apostolic teaching did not allow the monks to be idle for any length of time, especially the younger ones, knowing that by persisting in their work they would drive away *akedia* and would provide their own food and help those in need. For not only

did they work because of their own need, but from their own work they supplied the needs of strangers and the poor and those in prison, being confident that such good deeds were a holy sacrifice acceptable to God. The fathers also say this, that the person who works often fights with one demon and is afflicted by it, but the lazy person is taken prisoner by countless spirits.

In addition to this it is a good thing to remember the words of father Moses, the most renowned among the Fathers, which he spoke to the great [John] Cassian. For the aforementioned divine Cassian after residing in the desert for a short time and being troubled by *akedia*, visited the holy Moses and said to him, “Yesterday I was severely troubled by *akedia* and was weakened very much and I could not rid myself of it until I visited father Paul.” Father Moses replied to him and said, “Have courage; you did not free yourself from this, but rather you have surrendered and handed yourself over to it as a slave. So then you should realize that as a deserter you will be attacked more grievously, unless in the future you make an effort to overcome it by persistence and prayer and work with your hands.”⁶

I remind you of all these things, my beloved brothers, because there is a need for [p. 17] much persistence. For it is not the one who has made a beginning in goodness who is blessed, but whoever continues in it to the end. For the snake that creeps on the ground is always watching for our heel (cf. Gen. 3:15), that is, it plots against our going out, and until the end of our life it tries to spring upon us. Because of this to begin well will be of no use nor yet fervor at the beginning of your renunciation, unless it is also there at the end. The humility of Christ which you professed before him just now will not be firmly established in any other way unless you display it to the end [of your life].

Therefore so that you may be able to possess this perfectly and crush the serpent’s head (cf. Gen 3:15), whenever thoughts come to you, make sure that you confess these to the doctor of your souls, your father. For by thus bringing the beginnings of the Devil’s destructive thoughts into the open and by not being ashamed to reveal them, you will crush his head. Wherefore, according to Scripture, if you strive to serve the Lord, make your hearts ready not for freedom from anxiety, nor for relaxation and pleasures but for temptations and for tribulations; “through many tribulations we must enter the kingdom” (Acts 14:22) of heaven, and “narrow and hard is the way that leads to life and those who find it are few” (Matt. 7:14). So then, pay heed to those who are zealous and good, and following their example regulate your own lives. Do not pay attention to those who are lazy and disdainful even though they be many. “For many,” he says, “are called but few are chosen” (Matt. 22:14); and the flock is small to whom the father was pleased to give the kingdom. Do not consider it a small sin to profess perfection and yet follow those who are lazy and very careless, but, so that you may be able to enter upon perfection, use this rule.

7. Concerning perfection of spirit and how you should be brought to it.

The fear of God is the first stage of virtue and a beginning of our assurance of salvation; for through it comes cleansing from sins and protection of virtues and a way to perfection. For whenever the fear of God enters a soul, it persuades it to despise all worldly matters and implants forgetfulness of physical relatives and of the whole world itself. Out of this humility is achieved, the culmination and fulfillment of all good; for humility comes as an addition to the disregard and deprivation of all worldly matters.

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Humility is tested and proved by these characteristics, [namely], if someone keeps his own wishes mortified within him; secondly, if someone not only does not hide any of his own actions but also any of his ideas from his own father; thirdly, if he trusts his own judgment in nothing but in everything trusts the discretion of his own father, always thirsting for his advice and hearing it with pleasure; fourthly, if he is subject to the commands of his father [p. 18] wholeheartedly in everything; fifthly, if he himself not only does not dare to insult anyone but even were to accept with joy the insults hurled on him by others; sixthly, if he does not attempt to do anything too innovatory which neither the common rule nor the traditions of the fathers allow; seventhly, if content with his complete insignificance and grateful for the things that are given him, he thinks himself unworthy even of these; eighthly, if from a sincere heart he thinks himself to be inferior and not superior to anyone; ninthly, if he controls his tongue and is not hasty in speech and harsh of voice; tenthly, if he is not frivolous and prone to laughter.

8 [A]. Concerning humility.

By those signs and signs similar to those humility is recognized which, whenever it has truly been achieved, quickly leads to the height of love in which there is no fear of punishment and because of which everything is no longer maintained by compulsion and weariness but by a fervent desire and longing for goodness. So that you may have the strength to attain to this virtue more easily, a few of the brothers who are standing fast and possess reverence should be set up as examples for you to imitate, not the majority who live too lazily. For from imitating and emulating those who are zealous comes very great assurance for those who wish to attain to perfection.

So then, if you wish to be able to follow all these and endure patiently until the end under this spiritual rule of the community, these words which David said should be made obligatory for you to observe, "But I, as a deaf man, heard not; and was as a dumb man not opening his mouth" (Ps. 37 [38]:13). Do not imitate those of the brothers who are faithless and disobedient and hasty and insolent, but, like people who are deaf and do not hear, disregard these. If someone hurls at you reproofs and reproaches or insults, be unmoved as if silenced and dumb, always saying to yourself this verse of the psalmist, "I said, I will take heed to my ways, that I sin not with my tongue; I set a guard on my mouth while the sinner stood in my presence" (Ps. 38 [39]:1-2).

Yet in addition to that, before everything practice this continuously and keep it, in accordance with the command of the apostle, namely to make yourselves fools and madmen in this life, in order clearly to become wise (cf. I Cor. 3:18), doubting nothing nor being hesitant in whatever you are instructed by your father to do, but practice obedience with all sincerity and faith, considering that instruction given to you by your father to be the only thing that is most holy and [p. 19] believing it to be wise and beneficial. For after strengthening your hearts by such an attitude, you will be able to bear the good yoke of submission to the end, and none of the temptations and tricks of the devil will be able to shake you from the discipline of the community.

Do not expect your forbearance and long suffering to be achieved as a result of other people's virtue, for example, whenever you are provoked by no one or not despised or not dishonored, since this is not a proof of your virtue nor does it lie within your power. But whenever you are abused or dishonored or despised, bear it gently, for this is within your power to choose. Well then, so that I may gather together all these things, which I have said in a very expanded form, and

say something briefly which your minds may remember easily, listen again step by step to how you will be able to attain perfection.

8 [B]. Another ladder of spiritual ascent⁷

The beginning of our salvation is the fear of God and from this is born good obedience. From this obedience submission is produced and a disregard for all worldly things, and from this comes humility, and from humility is born the mortification of personal wishes, and as a result of the mortification of wishes the roots of pleasures wither away, and as a result of this all the defects of the soul are cast out. Through the casting out of these, virtues produce fruit and grow, and from the growth of virtues comes purity of heart, that is to say, apostolic perfection. Furthermore, if these words are actively maintained by the souls of those who hear them, and you remain joyfully in the dwelling and solitude of this mountain, I confidently declare that through the intercession of [St. John] the Baptist and great herald of the truth and the intercessions of the most pure virgin Mother of God these will become easy for all the brotherhood and will lead them up to the kingdom of heaven itself.

But O God and Lord of all, O ever-praised Mother of Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ, O Forerunner and Baptizer of Christ Our True God, I pray these instructions may be effective and productive for both us and those after us until the end of the present age through the valuable prayers of your servant, our holy father.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [3], ed. lines 67–70]: **So now we must turn our attention to the subjects of our discourse and since I wish to begin from a preferable place, it is preferable to begin with the hour that brings the light, that is the first hour of the day, and I think it absolutely necessary that those who are going to give a description of the works of light should begin following the light.**

9. Concerning good order during the psalm singing and concerning genuflections.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 75–141]: **So, after the worship of matins, the office of the first hour should be sung by us following on immediately, as is customary, and at the end of this the prayer [p. 20] should be recited which begins, “Thou who at all times and all hours” and what follows. After the prayer the customary genuflections should be performed, by the able-bodied on the bare floor but the weak should have some low supports. Three of them should be completed in a more leisurely manner in as much as while we are standing we should say three times to ourselves with hands stretched out “God, be merciful to me the sinner” (Luke 18:13), then when we are kneeling down with our heads resting on the ground, we should say three times in the same way “I have sinned against thee, Lord, forgive me.” But the remaining twelve should be carried out more quickly so as to utter the aforementioned supplicatory phrases at each genuflection and each time we stand, but yet in unison and with fitting good order, not with some getting ahead and others falling behind, but all following the lead of the ecclesiarch or the priest on duty that day as he stands near the holy screen and indicates the successive movements.**

This should take place when “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is not sung during the matins; but if it is, the performing of these genuflections in the church should be omitted but

the deep bows should be performed while at each of them, as has been mentioned, the aforesaid supplicatory phrases should be said to ourselves three times. Then after these genuflections or bows the *mesorion* of the first hour should be sung to follow on, then immediately the short *catechesis* from the words of the Fathers should take place, read by the superior, just as we received it from our most blessed father, and this should never be omitted unless set aside by the *synaxarion*. At this point after the reading, the *trisagion* for our holy father and founder, which is prescribed for us, should take place.

All the prayers should be said with hands held up in accordance with the following, “Lift up your hands in the sanctuaries, and bless the Lord” (Ps. 133 [134]:2), and “The lifting of my hands as an evening sacrifice” (Ps. 140 [141]:2), and “In every place lifting holy hands without anger or quarreling” (I Tim. 2:8). When the aforementioned prayer has been said and the priest has spoken his customary one also, all of you should immediately fall down on your faces and hearing the superior asking for your prayers like this, “Brothers, pray for me in the Lord that I may be delivered from passions and the snares of the Evil One,” you should answer, “May God save you, honored father, and you, pray for us, holy father, that we may be delivered from the passions and the snares of the Evil One.” Then again the superior praying should say, “May God through the prayers of our fathers save us all.”

Then we should stand up and depart to our cells, avoiding all meeting together and foolish distraction, idle [p. 21] chatter, and disorderly laughter. For what comes of such things? Clearly, the lapsing into disgraceful talk, abuse, and condemnations because our mind is relaxed by this and we forget what is really good, and reaching our cells in a dilatory and lazy form of mind we sink at once into a sleep of *akedia* and pass almost all the day in idleness without engaging in any beneficial activity whatever, as the great Basil also says, “To lapse from a fitting spiritual state is easy when the soul indulges in unrestrained laughter, and it is easier for a concern for goodness to be dissipated and lapse into disgraceful talk.”⁸

May this not be the case with my fathers and brothers, but let each go away to his cell in a sober frame of mind very quickly, always doing what is pleasing to God. But if perhaps some are discovered to be at fault in this matter, whether they are young or old, advanced in the monastic life or novices, they are to be admonished with the laws of love by the disciplinary official. Those who do not mend their ways are to be punished. For it is not fitting that novices who behave carelessly should be punished, but rather those who have spent many years in the monastic way of life but are careless and lazy, as [John Klimakos] the author of the Ladder says somewhere concerning this.⁹ Going away to your cells you should carry out the canonical procedure from the Psalter together with genuflections according to the command given to each one by the superior, if such people do not have important offices. You must sing the third and sixth and ninth hour together in the church with their *mesoria*, according to custom, when the semantron is struck. For genuflections should not be carried out in the church only when “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]: 27) is sung, so when you pray in your cells you should always kneel down.

10. Concerning the fact that it is not necessary to carry out genuflections during the twelve days of Christmas or at Pentecost.

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 141–43]: **We will avoid this even in our cells whenever there is a vigil because of the weariness that comes from that, also during the twelve days of Christmas and during the whole of Pentecost.** For the great Athanasios says as follows, “Do not let anyone lead you astray so as to observe a complete fast at all on a Sunday, nor to genuflect on a Sunday nor during Pentecost; for it is not a law of the church.”¹⁰ Again it is written, “And after Pentecost we celebrate the feast for one more week.”

There is also the twentieth canon of the [First] Council of Nicaea which says the following, “Since some people are genuflecting on Sunday and on the days of Pentecost, the Holy Council decided that prayers should be offered to God standing in order to have everything observed in the same way in every diocese.”¹¹ The ninetieth canon [p. 22] of the sixth Council [of Constantinople] discusses the matter as follows, “We received it as a rule from our inspired fathers not to genuflect on Sundays when we honor the resurrection of Christ. So that we may not be ignorant therefore of the clear-cut nature of the observance in this matter, we make it clear to the faithful, that after the entry of the clergy into the sanctuary during vespers on Saturday in accordance with prevailing custom no one is to genuflect until the following evening on Sunday when, after the entrance during the office of lamplighting, again bending our knees we thus bring our prayers to the Lord. For taking the night after Saturday as a precursor of the resurrection of our Savior, from then we begin the hymns in a spiritual manner, ending the feast in the daylight after the darkness, so that as a result we celebrate the feast of the resurrection during a whole night and a day.”¹²

So then, my brothers, pay heed to the exact detail of this rule, and as at Pentecost and Easter Sunday and the twelve days of Christmas and the other feast days you observe a rest from genuflections following the sacred rules, so learn from this rule carefully that you do not neglect these ever again without good reason, so that you may not be condemned. [= (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 145–47]: **Therefore, the ritual of the first and third and sixth and ninth hours on days of the year that are free of fasting should be observed in this way.**

11. Concerning the holy communion.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [5]]: **It is necessary now also to speak about the divine mystery, which must of necessity be celebrated in the church each day, but you yourselves must be sure to take care in this, my brothers, because what is performed there is divine and fearful, and because there, more than in anything else, the fearful and very great mystery of our orthodox faith is accomplished, I mean the most divine and most precious sacrifice of the completely undefiled body and blood of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ. So during it, as has been said, you must pay strict attention, and chase from you every thought that is impure, sown by the devil, and unworthy of that fearful celebration, and purify yourselves in every way. Then as many as have been allowed by the superior to partake of communion should partake of the divine elements; for it will not be possible for any of you to partake freely and in a thoughtless manner, nor yet each day. This we would indeed wish, for to partake often of the divine elements is often to share in life, as Christ himself says, “He who**

eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him,” (John 6:56) and again, “Unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood, you have no life in you” (John 6:53), and as the divine apostle says “He who is united to the Lord becomes one” body (I Cor. 6:17) and as the most gentle David says conversely “Those that remove themselves from thee shall perish” (Ps. 72 [73]:27).

Therefore we would indeed wish this, as has been said, but because of human weakness and the danger of the action we do not allow it, for “Whoever eats the body and drinks the blood of the Lord unworthily is guilty of His body and blood” (I Cor. 11:27) says Paul, the divine and inspired speaker and leader of the apostles. [p. 23] This statement is frightening, my brothers, and causes not only sinners like me but also those who are very confident in themselves to fear partaking. So then as many as are sure that they are pure and free from disgraceful thoughts and submission to them, from anger and grumbling, grief and denigration, deceit and disorderly laughter, furthermore the bearing of a grudge and irritation, disgraceful talk and such things, should partake of communion three times a week. But those who fall prey to the aforementioned passions and hasten to a renunciation of them through confession and repentance should partake of communion once a week or not at all at the discretion of the superior of course, for he should be in charge of such matters. But for someone to consider himself unworthy of communion without his knowledge cannot be approved. For he who does this will be condemned as someone fulfilling his own wish. However it is permitted that those who should partake of communion sing the office laid down for the partaking, make a common genuflection to one another, and grant each other forgiveness, and thus gratefully partake of the life-giving elements. So let these things be carried out thus.

12. Concerning the office of the ninth hour, vespers, and compline.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 195–219]: **The ninth hour should be sung in the same way as the preceding hours; and the regulation in the *synaxarion* sets out very clearly how the office of vespers should be carried out, with the night office immediately next, as well as compline after the supper. During these you should genuflect in accordance with the rule whenever you are not to celebrate a feast, and by feast we mean a Tuesday and Thursday on which we have to sing “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]: 27) at matins, that is, alternating with Monday and Wednesday and Friday when the Alleluia is sung. When compline has been sung and the priest has said his customary prayer also, you should fall on your knees just as at the end of the [p. 24] first hour and incline your ear well to the superior as he says, “Forgive me in the Lord, brothers, for I have sinned in word, deed, and in thought,” and you should grant him forgiveness saying, “May God forgive you, father.” But you also should immediately beg this from him by adding, “Forgive us also yourself, honored father, for we have sinned in deed, word, and in thought,” then again he should pray for us and say, “May God through the prayers of our fathers forgive us all.” Then standing up and according him the required obeisance, you should go away to your cells and carry out your night office in accordance with the regulation, and then full of gratitude and spiritual joy you should turn to sleep until the one who is in charge of the clock learns from it the appropriate hour [and goes to] the superior, and receiving from him the required blessing then shouts out with a loud voice in a**

rhythmic fashion, “Bless me, oh saints.” Then when he has struck the semantron in the customary way and distributed lights to all, he will rouse you for the celebration of the midnight office which is sung in your cells—and there are three *kathismata*, the ninth, the sixteenth, and the eighteenth—and this he himself will also sing all the time as he carries out the prescribed lighting of the church.

13. Concerning the office of matins.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 219–240]: **Then when he has sounded the great semantron and the bronze one also, he will call you all for the dawn worship. The preliminary part of which you must carry out as follows. For after the completion of the Psalm “Blameless” [(Ps. 118 [119])], the dismissal should be said outside in the narthex of the church by the priest who has the duty for the day, then, as we enter into the church we should sing at once a *trisagion* with the usual *troparia* , “May the Lord hear you,” and, “*Kyrie eleison*,” taking care to keep together as far as is reasonable while these are being sung. The priest himself should go round all the divine church and cense everyone, and then, standing before the holy screen, when he has once more made the sign of the venerable cross with the censer, with the censuring he should offer up praise to the all-holy Trinity, speaking audibly as follows, “Glory to the holy and consubstantial and life-giving Trinity always, now and always and for ever and ever.” After replying “Amen” the ecclesiarch should at once begin the six psalms, saying the words of the psalms in a low voice slowly, quietly, and carefully so that all may then be able to recite them without error or stumbling. Then after the completion of the six psalms, the whole office of matins should next be celebrated as the *synaxarion* describes. That therefore constitutes the pattern of your daily office.**

[= (22) *Evergetis* [7], ed. lines 242–43]: **We must also speak to you about life-preserving confession and the discourse about the [p. 25] table must wait for a while.**

14. Concerning confession.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [7], ed. lines 243–314]: **Well then, the superior must sit in a private place twice a day, and leaving aside all other work whatsoever and all the trouble of managing and directing, must take most diligent care to hear those who wish to make confession and set for each one the appropriate healing. We specify that after the second reading at matins has begun should be one time when he will bring healing to those who live continuously in the monastery and are not employed in any ministries; and after compline he will bring healing to those ministering inside or outside. He is to be allowed, if perhaps he does not have the time since the brotherhood is numerous, to authorize whichever priests and deacons he wishes, and even some of the more reverent brothers, to hear the thoughts of the more uneducated majority, the thoughts that trouble us day by day and hour by hour which must always be easy to absolve and not have caused more deep-seated trouble, and to remit them and grant forgiveness. But the thoughts that require some healing and care must be referred to the superior by those who hear them, and he is to bring about the appropriate healing. So then, those who confess will conceal nothing, though perhaps hesitant if they know their thoughts need care, but they will uncover everything completely to their confessor; also it is right that we should tell them what is expected of them.**

So then you, my brothers, seeing the superior hurrying off to this good ministry which is very beneficial to your souls, you should run, and running reach with eagerness this very calm harbor that is safe for your souls, and reveal completely without any covering up every stirring of your mind and every thought that harms your soul, as though you are making your confession in the presence of God and not a man. But the one who sets out to lie to God will always get his punishment. For the psalmist says “Thou wilt destroy all that speak falsehood” (Ps. 5:6). So then, by confessing without deceit and ridding your minds of all wrangling, all impurity, all confusion and trouble, you may be happy and rejoice, having gained this good hope namely that you will not fail to gain salvation. But make your confession without accusing each other when perhaps a violent dispute or some other argument occurs. Do not make your confession if you consider yourselves blameless and you are looking really for condemnations, nor should [p. 26] you speak about the bodily needs which afflict you. For there is always a time for them, but this is a time for making confession and obtaining healing for spiritual passions. If you must speak of some violent dispute, be keen to ascribe and assign to yourselves all the blame and reason for the fault, whatever it is. But if you speak about some other passions, reveal these completely so that you can gain double benefit from this, by both attaining sound health of soul and clothing yourself in exalting humility, for possessing this we will actually be like God who says, “Learn from me that I am gentle and lowly in heart” (Matt. 11:29) What else would be a clearer proof of gentleness and humility in heart than clearly to bear all affliction nobly and blame oneself in everything? The true confession without which I do not think anyone gains salvation is the cause of so many good things.

Then we order that a person who does not make confession should be excommunicated from the Lord God Ruler of All until, coming to his senses and thinking of higher things, he confesses all his faulty and harmful thoughts. Thus it would be necessary also to expel such a person from the monastery and cut him off like a rotten limb, and as a wound that is hard to heal or completely incurable to remove him and cast him away, but the uncertainty of the future and the expectation that perhaps one day he may come to his senses held us back from this purpose. However for him to be liable to the penalty of excommunication is very useful since it is very effective. Indeed, what benefit does he obtain from remaining at the monastery? What benefit comes from not making confession? Or rather, does not harm and ruin follow, and a continued practice of evil and everything whatsoever that brings destruction to the soul? So then, as it is difficult for someone who is sick or has wounds to return to health when he hides these from the doctor, so it is much more difficult for the person who does not make confession ever to gain health of soul. The divine Basil is witness of this when he speaks as follows “If a monk is going to show proper progress and come into a state of life in accordance with the command of the Lord, he must keep no stirring of his soul hidden, but offer to his superior all the secrets of his heart stripped bare.”¹³ So then, by acting in this way, my brothers, we will not only be rescued from our own faults but we will possess later on something that is more sure; for [John Klimakos] the author of *The Ladder* says “Stripes that are exposed will not become worse,” and again, “A soul that thinks about confession is held back by it from sinning as if by a rein.”¹⁴ So the revelation of one’s own faults is very useful. In future let us all run eagerly to it.

Therefore we prescribe that confession should be held like this every day, by the superior himself clearly, and by as many as seem to him to be suitable people to hear thoughts.

15. Concerning confession at the time of tonsuring.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [7], ed. lines 314–17]: **But the first and great confession which we should make when casting off the hair of this world must be offered to the superior alone and not to anyone else so that he can know everyone himself and mix the medicine suitable for each one.** [p. 27] **These things should be so.**

16. Concerning fasting in Lent and on Wednesdays and Fridays.

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [8], ed. lines 319–20]: **Concerning the procedure for the holy fasts** and for Wednesday and Friday, as the rules of the Holy Apostles and of the holy inspired fathers handed it down, **the *synaxarion* will inform us most precisely, and we should carry them out always in accordance with it.** We must genuflect as for the holy period of Lent and the diet will be similar, made up of legumes soaked in water or fruits and fresh vegetables, and for our drink, water or hot water flavored with cumin, taken at the beginning of the ninth hour. For the most wise and divine teachers speak as follows in their rules setting it out in detail, “If any bishop or priest or deacon or reader or singer does not fast during the holy period of Lent or on Wednesday or Friday, unless he is prevented from doing so by some bodily weakness, he should be deposed; but if he is a lay person, he should be excommunicated.”¹⁵

In the regulations of the holy fathers, after prescribing rules for the fast of the Holy Apostles,¹⁶ they say “After this fast we instruct you to fast every Wednesday and Friday and donate your excess food to the poor.” Also in the *Lausiac History* it has been written that St. Apollo said, “It is not possible to break the universal fasts except under the utmost necessity. For on Wednesday Christ was betrayed and on Friday he was crucified. Therefore the person who breaks these fasts joins in betraying the Savior and crucifying him.”¹⁷ The twelfth canon of the Council of Gangra is as follows, “If anyone of those practicing the religious life behaves disdainfully and without any bodily necessity breaks the fasts that have been handed down and are commonly observed by the church, because a perfectly evil desire lurks within him, let him be anathema.”¹⁸ Also in the discourse on faith in the *Panarion* of St. Epiphanius this is written, “Throughout the whole year fasting is observed in the holy catholic church, I mean on Wednesday and before Saturday until the ninth hour, except only at Pentecost.”¹⁹ The wise and great Athanasios says this very clearly in his book: “Do not break a fast of the Lord, [p. 28] that is Wednesday and Friday, unless you are in some way oppressed by some disease, except only at Pentecost and Epiphany.” Again a little further on he says the following, “Break your fast whenever a brother visits you, but not a fast that has been prescribed, that is a Wednesday and Friday, but one of your own choice, that is a Monday and Tuesday and Thursday; and the period of the fasting on Wednesday and Friday has been laid down as until the ninth hour.”²⁰

Many such things have been set down in divine Scripture not only for monks, but also lay people, which those of you who are willing to search for will discover. But there is a different strictness for monks, as also St. Symeon the Wonderworker of miracles says in his life, “The monk should fast until the ninth hour at least.”²¹ All our holy fathers say the same thing, that fasting should always take place apart from the fasts of Our Lord.

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I have gathered these things together and set them out clearly for you in the present rule, my brothers, for this reason that you may strive to carry out with enthusiasm and by your wholehearted choice what has been prescribed for you. For I did not write things of my own choice or wish or devising, but what we have received in writing from our holy fathers and what we have learned from experience itself to be true and immutable and unchangeable and without which it is impossible to follow the path of the monastic life.

17. Concerning when the fast should be broken.

Unless it happens to be a great feast of Our Lord, or a commemoration for one of the twelve Holy Apostles, or some other one of the great and illustrious saints, on these days of fasting, that is on Wednesday and on Friday, [everyone should fast] except brothers who are weak and ill. For we instruct the superior to care especially for such [brothers] with all his heart and assist the sick on fast days with both wine and cooked food and with all his heart be anxious about their comfort and recovery of strength. For it is impossible to break these fasts otherwise, for those who break them will be judged by God as transgressors.

18. Concerning the amount of food and drink, the time for them, and their quality.

Since it is necessary to pass on to you also the differences in the feasts, which of them must be celebrated and which not, and concerning the difference in the food, see, I also give this instruction. If before the letters [of the names] of saints whose commemorations have fallen on the days of fasting, that is Wednesday and Friday, you find *kentemata*, we fast according to the tradition in the divine rules. But if you find crosses, we break the fast with cooked legumes, vegetables and olive oil and nothing more. Concerning wine, as I have discovered by searching all the *synaxaria* of the saints and the rules of monasteries, both those on the Holy Mountain²² and the [p. 29] rest, they say that three [measures] should be drunk at the midday meal and two at the evening meal whenever they drink it.

It is necessary also to make arrangements concerning our officials who provide us with no small help, that the important officials who carry out onerous offices, when those who are not working eat once in the day, should be given a second meal when they are carrying out their offices and are working hard. But whenever they are not working, they too should be treated the same as the rest. For a monk who fasts is like the flower of the palm tree, called *halation*, because on the outside it is dingy but on the inside it is the color of snow and is very fruitful; in the same way he who fasts is outwardly gloomy but inwardly he is radiant. Therefore fasting not only consists in eating slowly but also eating small amounts, and this is how to practice it, not to eat two courses and avoid eating a variety of food. For practicing it is to have a table reduced to one form of food, whereas unreasonable fasting is that which waits for the appointed time and at the time for food rushes without any control to the table and through the flesh binds the mind to the pleasure of what has been set out.

I know for certain that many of you, and especially the careless, receive such instructions with disgust saying, "You labor for nothing and to no purpose, no one will carry out these instructions when you have died." Behold, I say to you that the word of the apostle forces me to do and say these things. For it has been written, "Obey your leaders and submit to them; for they are keeping watch over your souls, as men who will have to give account" (Heb. 13:17). Even if I said

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it before, yet I will not be silent now. For the fear of that threat continually disturbs my soul, for if it is better for the person who has caused only one very little person to sin to have a millstone hung around his neck and be drowned in the sea (Matt. 18:6), what on earth will they all suffer and what penalty will they receive who sin against Christ himself wounding the consciences of the brothers (I Cor. 8:12), having brought about the destruction not just of one or two or three, but of so many multitudes? For it is not possible to blame inexperience, nor have recourse to ignorance, nor put forward compulsion and force as an excuse, but if it were possible, one of the subordinates would sooner have used that recourse in the case of his own sins than the superior in the case of those of other people.

Why is this? Because since he has been appointed to correct the ignorance of other people and forewarn them of the approach of danger from the devil, he will not be able to put forward ignorance as an excuse nor say, "I did not hear the trumpet nor did I know there was a war." For this reason Ezekiel took up residence, he says, to sound the trumpet for others and foretell the distressing things that were to come, and because of this punishment is inevitable even if one person happens to perish; "for if when the sword comes the [p. 30] watchman does not blow the trumpet for the people," he says, "nor gives a signal, and the sword comes and takes away a life, his blood I will require at the watchman's hand, but that man was taken away in his iniquity" (cf. Ezek. 33:6).

For this reason, even if those who are being instructed after the exhortation remain in fact without any benefit from their instruction, yet even so we will not give up our advice to them. For fountains still flow, even if no one fetches water, and springs still bubble up, even if no one draws water, and rivers still run, even if no one drinks. So then, the one who speaks must fulfill his role, even if no one pays any heed. For the law for us who have been entrusted by the merciful God with the ministry of the word is never to neglect any of our duties, nor be silent, whether someone listens or passes by unheeding.

Jeremiah indeed, when he was issuing many threats to the Jews and prophesying the terrible things that were going to come, and was mocked by his hearers and laughed at throughout the whole day, once decided to cease that prophecy, experiencing a human feeling and not putting up with the jibes and the abuse, and he says, "I have become a laughing stock all the day. I said I will not speak nor will I mention the name of the Lord, but it was as burning fire flaming in my bones, and I am utterly weakened on all sides and cannot even bear up" (cf. Jer. 20:7-9). What he means is this: I decided to cease my prophecy, he says, since the Jews were not listening, and at the time that I made my decision the force of the Spirit fell on my soul like a fire and burnt up all my internal organs, consuming and eating up my bones in such a way that I was not able to endure the conflagration. But if the man who was mocked and derided and abused each day endured such great retribution when he decided to be silent, what pardon would we deserve when we have not suffered any such thing yet, but have lost heart through some people's laziness and ceased from teaching everyone else, and more so whenever the majority are paying heed?

I say these things not as encouragement for myself nor as an exhortation, for I have convinced my own soul to fulfill this service, while I breathe and God decides that we should be in this life, and to do what I have been ordered whether anyone pays heed or not. But since there are some people who make the hands of the many feeble, and in addition to bringing nothing useful into our

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lives weaken the zeal of others and deride and ridicule saying, [p. 31] “Cease your advice, stop exhorting; they do not wish to heed you; have nothing to do with them”—since there are some people who say that, I am extending my discourse, wishing to cut from the souls of the many this unmerciful opinion and plot of the devil. For I know that many have said these words, since I have seen some of you not receiving my teaching with enthusiasm, but laughing and deriding it, saying to me, “They were completely persuaded, no one scorns your instructions; all were chastened.” Why do you say this, man? Did we promise to make everyone a captive in one day? For if only ten were persuaded, if five, if one, is it not enough as a consolation? But I now put an extreme case; let it be assumed that no one has been persuaded by our words, which is impossible. If we sow a word in so many ears, is it possible for it never to bear fruit? But let it be assumed that it is so, not even then is the word fruitless. For if they do not receive it with enthusiasm and if perhaps they break the rules laid down for their meals, which I am not persuaded happens, however not with the same shamelessness, yet at the table itself they will remember our words, the censure and the rebuke, and when they have remembered they will grow ashamed, they will blush in their minds, and will do what they have been accustomed to do, but not with the same recklessness. This is the beginning of salvation, even just to condemn what is being done.

In addition to this there will be another gain and one no less great. What is this? The making of those who behave prudently more venerable and persuading them through what has been said that they have made the best decision of all in many ways. I did not raise up those who were sick but I made the healthy more secure. The word did not lead people away from wickedness, but made those who live in virtue more scrupulous.

Let me say a third thing in addition to these; I did not persuade anyone today, but perhaps I will be able to persuade someone tomorrow, but nor even tomorrow or the day after. Perhaps the person who heard it today and rejected it will hear tomorrow and receive it, and the one who despised it today and tomorrow, perhaps after some more days will pay heed to what is said. For a fisherman often after drawing up his net empty throughout the whole day, in the evening when he wished to leave went away having caught the fish that eluded him all day. If we were to cease our ministry because of misfortunes which always occur, and give up all our work, our whole life would be ruined and it is not only spiritual qualities that would be lost. For if the farmer were to turn from his farming because of unevenness in the weather occurring once or twice or often, we would all quickly perish with famine. If a helmsman were to flee from the sea because a storm occurred once or twice or often, we would not sail the sea and life would become useless, everything would be utterly ruined, and the earth uninhabited. Therefore, knowing all these things, whether they happen once, or [p. 32] twice, or often in the course of the activities in which they are involved and spend their time, they undertake them again with enthusiasm for them.

Therefore, let us not utter this and say that though so many words are scattered by us there will be no benefit from these words. For the husbandman who sowed the same piece of land once or twice or often and failed to reach his goal, worked it again and often in one year he recovered the loss of a [life]time. A trader who often suffered shipwrecks did not forsake the harbor, but even launched a ship and hired sailors and borrowed money and applied himself to the same activities, and yet the future was equally uncertain. Each of those who go in search of anything, are accustomed to act in that way, like the farmer and the trader. They then would show such zeal concern-

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ing worldly things, but will we give up at once if we are not listened to when we have spoken? What excuse will we have or what defense? Yet in their failures there is no one who relieves their loss.

For example, if the sea overwhelms the ship, no one will make good the poverty of those who are shipwrecked. If rain pours down on the piece of land and suffocates the seed, the farmers are forced to go away empty-handed. But in the case of us speaking and exhorting, it is not so, but if I scatter the seed and you do not accept it or bear the fruit of obedience, I will gain from God the reward of my advice and will receive as much of a recompense as I would have received if you had listened. For I have fulfilled the whole of my task.

For we are not responsible for not persuading those who listen but only for advising them. For our task is to advise, yours is to be persuaded. Just as in the case that we did not advise, if you perform countless good deeds, the reward will be yours alone, and there will be no gain for us since we did not advise. So supposing we did advise, if you did not pay any heed the whole retribution will seize you and no blame will be attached to us, also great will be the reward that will come from God; for I fulfilled my whole task. For we are ordered to invest our money with the bankers (cf. Matt. 25:27).

Also John Chrysostom says, "Speak, exhort; but did they not listen? But you have your reward completed. Do not give up until you breathe your last. Let the end of your advice be the obedience of the one who receives the advice. So whenever you see your brother obdurate and obstinate, not paying any heed, say to yourself, 'I wonder if we may be able to persuade him in time?' Paul also gave this command, 'The Lord's servant must not be quarrelsome but kindly to everyone, correcting his opponents with gentleness, in case God may perhaps grant them true repentance (II Tim. 2:24–25).'"²³ [p. 33]

The same Chrysostom in one of his homilies says again, "The wounds that are inflamed do not bear any application of a hand or endure too rough a touch; therefore doctors who are wise wipe such wounds with a soft sponge. Therefore, since people who sin have an inflamed wound in their souls, so by pouring all our words over them as if we were applying soothing and fresh water with a soft sponge, let us try to reduce their swelling and take away the whole tumor. Do not abandon your cure, my loved one, whether they become insolent or spit or kick out or no matter what they do. For those who treat a crazy person must put up with many such things, nevertheless not even then must you give up."²⁴ That [is enough] about those matters.

But it should be known that, with regard to those feasts of the great saints prescribed previously,²⁵ whenever you find a cross preceding the letters, there are no fasts at all, but we break the fast. If one of the days concerned happens to be one of the days for fasting, that is Wednesday and Friday, we break the fast with cooked food only, that is legumes and vegetable prepared with olive oil.

19. Concerning the fact that fasting on Wednesdays or Fridays should not be broken.

We do not eat cheese or fish or eggs, even if the birth of Christ our God should occur. This applies on the first day of the feast; and if the day after the feast [falls on a Wednesday or Friday] the same fast is observed. So then, we fast every Wednesday and Friday, abstaining from cheese and eggs and fish. This applies also on those Wednesdays and Fridays during Pentecost and Christ-

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mas, and in the week before Meatfare and during Cheesefare because of the rule of the Holy Apostles mentioned above, and because of the rule laid down by the martyr St. Peter, archbishop of Alexandria. For in his fifteenth rule he says this, “No one will bring an accusation against us if we observe Wednesday and Friday, on which it has been laid down with good reason according to tradition that we should fast, on Wednesday because of the evil counsel entered into by the Jews in the matter of Our Lord’s betrayal, and on Friday because he suffered for us.”²⁶ Therefore, strive to carry that out both because of the exhortations of the saints and because of the bodily weakness and temptations of the flesh which are present in us who strive.

For those who abstain from these through a religious life and are eager to subdue the flesh to the spirit, do well. For the great apostle Paul says, “For the kingdom of God is not food and drink but righteousness” (Rom. 14:17) and a religious life and sanctity. Again it has been written, [p. 34] “Fasting is useful all the time, and the person who strives practices abstinence in everything; for those who serve God in this way are pleasing to him.” The rule of the holy and blessed apostles instructs us to fast every Wednesday and Friday, and not to fast on one and not on another, but on every one.

This rule is observed not only by monks but also by lay people; and if lay people fast in this way, what more is being asked of you than of them? For believe me, my beloved brothers, when I say truly, that if someone is obliged to put into practice the sense of the holy rules strictly, he will never concede that any Christian should break the fast on Wednesday or Friday during the whole year even just with a cooked dish, except for some physical weakness. But I have judged myself in advance to be condemned by God because of your weakness and suggest to you that you break the fast with a cooked dish when it is the day of a great feast; but if it is not a great feast, observe the fasts that have been handed down to you because of the Lord. But anyone of you who wishes not to touch even a cooked dish on any Wednesday or Friday throughout the whole year, even on the great feasts themselves, should not be prevented, but he should have the blessing of me the sinner also as his helper in this. But if afterwards the heresies of the Armenians and of Jacob²⁷ and the *Tetraditai* arose, why do they concern us, when we happen by the grace of Christ our God to be orthodox and obey the rules that have been handed down by the Holy Apostles and the Holy Fathers to the holy catholic and apostolic church of God?²⁸

But if anyone visits our monastery on the days before Meatfare week or during Cheesefare and disagrees about this matter, eat a little cheese, all of you, for the apostle says, “If I partake with thankfulness, why should my liberty be determined by another man’s scruples?” (I Cor. 10:29–30). This has been written in the life of Symeon, our father and the worker of miracles, in these very words, “The holy man explained to his disciples what had been revealed to him concerning the holy period of Lent, speaking as follows: ‘When I was young and was standing in the first place of my standing, I heard that people were not observing the holy period of Lent, but were eating cheese and eggs, and when I fell into a trance at this, an angel of God appeared to me holding a bowl and a kid and a knife. Taking it he killed it in front of me and caught its blood in the bowl, and I looked and behold, the blood had coagulated and became cheese as if it had been milk. He said to me, ‘Behold the cheese which people eat during the holy period of Lent, it is the blood of kids. [p. 35] Therefore, when settling this matter lay it down for the assembled brotherhood that no one should eat cheese or an egg during the holy period of Lent or on Wednesday or Friday. For

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these are like the product of snakes and serpents, formed from all uncleanness.’ Coming to myself, I remembered the prophet Isaiah saying, ‘He broke viper’s eggs and a web of the weaving spider, and the man who was going to eat some of their eggs when he crushed them found a wind-egg and inside it a viper’ (Is. 59:5). I was compelled to say these things, not classifying ‘as common objects which God has cleansed’ (cf. Acts 11:9)—for you must not consider them common in any way, since they are sanctified by those who partake of them faithfully, when they should, through the word of God and prayer—but I have explained these things for your benefit as if to monks, so that you would increase your sanctity very much more on the days of the holy fasts, just as I trained those who lived with me before you to be on their guard.’²⁹ These are the words of the worker of miracles.

This also is written in the *Gerontikon*, “A dead body was being carried along the road, and when father Pachomios met it, he saw two angels following the corpse behind the bier, and thinking about this he begged God to reveal to him what had happened. The two angels came, and he said to them, ‘Why do you, who are angels, follow the corpse?’ The angels said to him, ‘One of us is the angel of Wednesday and the other of Friday, and since this soul did not cease from fasting on Wednesday and Friday until he died, for that reason we followed its body because until its death it observed the fast. So for that reason we honored it, since it strove in the Lord.’”³⁰

Did you hear, my brothers, how even lay people fast? What suffering are you obliged to endure if you abstain from cheese and fish and eggs on all the Wednesdays and Fridays only of the whole year, when you must break your fast? Are you not perfectly aware that we often abstain from these even on the holy days of Sunday themselves, as a result of not having these articles? What loss is it? Does not God, Our Master and the Lord of all, nourish us with other food and we thank him?

For these reasons, therefore, my fathers and brothers, I, the least, the insignificant one, “who owes ten thousand talents” (Matt. 18:24), the one more sinful than any sinner, beg you, trust in this very fine advice; heed this as it is blameless in every way, so that you may not be ashamed. “Take note of those who create dissensions and difficulties, in opposition to the doctrine which you have been taught; avoid them. For such persons do not serve Our Lord Christ, [p. 36] but their own appetites, and by fair and flattering words they deceive the hearts of the simple-minded” (Rom. 16:17–18). Let me pluck up courage and speak in the words of the apostle, “Let not him who abstains despise or pass judgment on him who eats; for God has welcomed him. Who are you to pass judgment on the servant of another? It is before his own master that he stands or falls” (Rom. 14:3–4). Let each of you be assured in his own mind that, “as in one body we have many members, and all the members do not have the same function, so we, though many, are one body in Christ, and individually members one of another” (Rom. 12:4–5). Because of this strive to edify each other, and if anyone should ever turn away from the things that have been handed on to you here, hasten to correct him. Cast far from you vain enquiries and disputations which come to you from outside, for by doing this, you will appear reliable in this present age, and will not be cast out of the kingdom of heaven in the age to come.

In the month of September is the beginning of the indiction and [the commemoration] of St. Symeon; + [the commemoration of] the commander of the heavenly armies [St. Michael] on the 6th; + the Birth of the Mother of God;³¹ + the Exaltation of the Venerable Cross;³² + [the commemoration of] St. John the Theologian on the 26th.

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In the month of October is [the commemoration of] the holy apostle Thomas on the 6th; + [the commemoration of] St. James, the brother of God, on the 9th; + [the commemoration of] St. Demetrios on the 26th; + [the commemoration of] the holy apostle Luke on the 18th.

In the month of November is [the commemoration of] the Holy *Anargyroi* on the 1st; + [the commemoration of] the Incorporeal Ones [the Archangels, Michael and Gabriel] on the 8th; + [the commemoration of] [St. John] Chrysostom on the 13th; + [the commemoration of] the holy apostle Philip on the 14th; [the commemoration of] the holy apostle Matthew;³³ + the Entry of the Mother of God [in the Temple];³⁴ + and [the commemoration of] the holy apostle Andrew.³⁵

In the month of December is [the commemoration of] St. Nicholas on the 6th; + the Conception of St. Anne, the mother of the Mother of God;³⁶ + [the commemoration of] St. Ignatios;³⁷ + the Birth of Christ Our God.

Until the Holy Epiphany no fasting or genuflections at all take place either in the church or in your cells.

+ The Holy Epiphany; + [the commemoration of] [St. John] the Forerunner; + [the commemoration of] St. Gregory the Theologian; + the Presentation of Our Lord in the Temple; + [the commemoration of] St. Symeon the Receiver of God; + the Discovery of the Venerable Head of [St. John] the Forerunner; + [the commemoration of] the Forty Saints; + the Annunciation of the Mother of God; + [the commemoration of] St. George; + [the commemoration of] the holy apostle Mark; + [the commemoration of] the holy apostle James, the son of Zebedee; + [the commemoration of] St. John the Theologian; + [the commemoration of] St. Symeon the Wonderworker; + [the commemoration of] the holy apostles Bartholomew and Barnabas; + the Birth of the Venerable [St. John the] Forerunner; + [the commemoration of] the holy all-blessed apostles Peter and Paul; + [the commemoration of] the Twelve Apostles; + [the commemoration of] the Holy *Anargyroi*; + the [adoration] of the venerable Robe of the Mother of God; + [the commemoration of] Gabriel, the commander of the heavenly armies; + [the commemoration of] the holy prophet Elijah; + [the commemoration of] St. Panteleemon.³⁸

In the month of August is the [p. 37] feast of the Transfiguration;³⁹ + the Dormition of the Holy Mother of God;⁴⁰ + and the Beheading of [St. John] the Venerable Forerunner.⁴¹

In the week before Meatfare, during which the Armenians fast [in honor of] Artzibourios, there is no fast whatsoever with us, neither on Wednesday nor on Friday, neither as regards eggs nor anything else, since we reject the teaching of the Armenians, as some people hand it down. Similarly on Wednesday and Friday during the week of Cheesefare, in accordance with the tradition of the holy fathers, after the liturgy of the Presanctified [Gifts], cheese and eggs are eaten. This is likewise done because of the decree of Jacob and the heresy of the *Tetraditai*.⁴² For [our practice] rejects such heresies, as are contained in the canon of St. Nikephoros of Constantinople.⁴³ We do not eat dry food on those days, but we eat a cooked dish only, and we do not eat cheese and eggs and fish, as we said above.

If the vigil of Christmas or the Epiphany should happen to occur on a Saturday or a Sunday, we celebrate the customary liturgy early in the day as always and then partake of a collation in the church. But in the evening we eat legumes and vegetables prepared with olive oil, and we drink wine, because we received [the instruction] from the *Address* of Theophilos the most holy archbishop of Alexandria, speaking as follows in his own words: "Custom and propriety demands that we should honor every Sunday and rejoice on that day, since on that day Our Lord Jesus Christ

brought about resurrection from the dead. Therefore, in the Holy Scriptures it is called the first day, since it is the beginning of life for us, and the eighth, because it has transcended the sabbath observance of the Jews. Therefore, since it has turned out that the day of Holy Epiphany is a fast day, let us act with discretion and advance knowingly in both directions, so that by eating a few dates we may at the same time shun the heresies that do not honor the day of Our Lord Jesus Christ's resurrection and render what is due to the fast day by waiting for the evening service."⁴⁴

We are obliged to perform the vigils in accordance with the rule both on every Sunday and feast of Our Lord and at any commemorations for the other saints, which we will learn from the *synaxarion*. During these I exhort your devotion to do this also; after the completion of the canons of the night office stand in the middle of the church and sing the following *stichera*: in honor of [St. John] the Holy Forerunner, [the *sticheron*] "Light incarnate" in the second plagal mode; in honor of St. Symeon, "Father worthy of admiration" in the same mode; and another in the same mode "On the wood of the cross, she"; and another in the same mode "Good Father, I was separated from thee"; [p. 38] and another in the same mode "O, what a time and day it will be then." At the "Gloria" [you must sing] in the same mode "Fearful art thou, Lord, and who shall stand"; [and at the] "And now" [you must sing] in the same mode "Lord, enmeshed by sins."

20. Rule for the quantity and nature of the food.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 325–36]: **It should be the right time now to mention the table and food and the other things that supply nourishment to the body. For as we are made up of two parts, I mean soul and body, so also are the activities of the monastery. The whole daily divine office expressed in the singing of psalms could reasonably be thought of as the soul of the monastery, whereas the monastery itself and all the things that benefit our bodies could be considered its body. So then, since with God's help we have said enough already about its soul, it is right that we should also speak about matters which concern its body, by prescribing the diet and setting out for you more precisely all the other things that secure a more lasting continuance of the monastery, as the one who wishes to be concerned about the salvation and comfort of his brothers must be no less concerned about these things. So then, these things also should be said and should of course be imparted to my dear fathers and brothers.**

21. Concerning good order in the refectory.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 337–64]: **After the customary collation has taken place in the narthex, when the divine liturgy has already been completed, all the monks should sit together there waiting for the summons to the table which is given by the striking of the refectory semantron. When the semantron has been struck, going out at once with the priest who officiated at the liturgy, you should make obeisance to the superior and then beginning to recite audibly the customary psalm, walk to the refectory, that is the superior himself and all those without exception who have been instructed to sit down at the table during the first sitting. Then entering the refectory and completing the above-mentioned psalm and the short prayer that accompanies it, you should sit down in the order laid down by the superior and gratefully partake of what has been set before you. Then anyone who was late for the psalm**

and the thanksgiving should be reported by the refectorian to the superior, and he should enquire the reason for his lateness and grant him pardon if it seems reasonable, but if not, he is to perform as many genuflections as the superior wishes.

Moreover, the traditional reading must take place during the sittings in the customary way, with no one making a noise or causing a disturbance or destroying the benefit which comes from that, with worldly conversations and idle chatter. The superior only may speak sparingly [p. 39] if he wishes, and perhaps the one asked by him may answer similarly with some words and brief phrases, if possible. But if someone causes a disturbance or is disturbed, is noisy or causes a noise, and ruins the reading by untimely and improper conversation, he is to be silenced by the refectorian. But if, something I hope does not happen, when he silences him the noisy person pays no attention, he is to be removed from the refectory even if he is unwilling, and subjected to the penalty of going without his food or made to learn self-control in another way as the superior wishes.

22. Concerning the fact that there must be no quarreling in the refectory about precedence in seating, but they should sit down in the order in which they happen to be.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 364–403]: **So we completely refuse to speak about seating. For how could this be acceptable, that men who are living according to God’s will should quarrel at all about seating, like those who are keen to show themselves in a worldly way superior to everyone else in this, as those who are excited by glory that is vain and hated by God? For “Everyone that is proud in heart is an abomination to the Lord” (Prov. 16:5) says Holy Scripture, “And the Lord resists the proud but he gives grace to the humble” (Prov. 3:34). So this will not happen among you, it will not. For if you are in your right minds, you would never choose to be an abomination to the Lord rather than to receive favor from him and have him near you, as those who are of a contrite heart, (Ps. 33 [34]:18) or, to speak truly, to be his dwelling and beloved of him. But if any of you is found, alas, causing annoyance in this matter, putting forward as an excuse perhaps age or sphere of work, and does not abide by the command of the superior nor is satisfied with the place allocated to him, I command in the Lord that he be allocated the last place and taught to leave the world and the habits of the world. But if, something that is in every way detestable and disorderly, he still disagrees and objects, persisting after the second and third admonition in being totally incorrigible and completely incurable, he is to be driven out of the monastery, and like some cancer be thrown out somewhere far away from you, so that he may not also infect the rest of you with his filth: for, as some wise man said, “taking part in evil is much easier than in virtue.”**

When you are eating a meal you must not share with each other any food or drink, even as much as a small drop to cool the wine [mixed with water], but the person who at the time is in need of any of these things should raise himself a little very respectfully and ask the superior reverently, speaking as follows, “Bless me, father, I need this.” So if the superior gives permission, he is to receive what he needs, but if not, he is to sit down again and sit thankfully in silence. We do this indeed not through any meanness and stinginess, as some people think—for we will not be so wrapped up in things that are transient as to prefer them

to the comfort of our brothers; for why should we, my brothers, be keen to possess these things if they do not contribute to [p. 40] our service, as has been said? But we do this securing for ourselves reverence and orderliness in this also, that the laxity of the majority may not find an opportunity from this to ruin the whole orderliness of the table, and we become no better than those who are undisciplined and irreligious, who are indulgent, and entertain each other by drinking toasts and replying to toasts. Not only are we curbing the inclination of the will but furthermore we are rooting out the lack of self-control of the majority, and teaching them to be satisfied with a few necessities and thereby at the same time plaiting for you crowns for self-restraint. Also we are keeping you away from committing unintentionally a secret deed of darkness, not to say one of stealth.

23. Concerning the fact that there must be no eating in secret.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 403–16]: Well then, is not something done in secret a deed of darkness? This is of course very obvious and the divine gospel of John makes it clear as follows, “Everyone who does evil does not come to the light, lest his evil deeds should be exposed by the light” (John 3:20). The apostle also says, “Anything that is exposed is light” (Eph. 5:13), the statement showing that what is not exposed is complete darkness. So for what purpose do you reject the deed of light and do the deed of darkness, my brother? “I am ashamed to ask,” he says. So while you do the opposite and something which God hates you are not ashamed and you hesitate about what is good. Do not, I beg you. However I know that many do this, trampling their consciences underfoot, and think that they are not noticed, which touches me to the depths of my heart, and I do not cease from weeping over them because they neither realize that they are in that evil plight, alas, nor acknowledge their passion. May the Lord have pity on them and guide them for their good as he manages all things for our good.

Since I have been reminded of this, come, I will explain to you briefly how you must conquer the wickedness of this demon, who does not allow us to follow the way of truth in purity. I heard some of you wrongly interpreting what was rightly said in divine Scripture, “It is [more] blessed to give than to receive” (Acts 20:35), and distorting it for your own deception and with a deceitful desire for covetousness misrepresenting the meaning of the statement and the teaching of the Lord, which says, “If you would be perfect, go, sell what you possess and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me” (Matt. 19:21). They judge that it is more blessed to exercise control over one’s wealth and give to those in need from the abundance of this than to live in poverty. [p. 41]

24. Concerning the fact that exercising control over one’s own wealth for almsgiving must not be considered better than a life of poverty.

So then such people should be known as those who have not yet renounced the world, nor reached monastic perfection, in so far as they are ashamed to accept glorious poverty along with the apostle on behalf of Christ, and by the work of their hands serve each other and those in need. But if they really desire to fulfill the monastic way of life and be glorified with the apostle, after scattering their old wealth, let them fight the good fight with Paul “in hunger and thirst and cold

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and exposure” (I Tim. 6:12; II Cor. 11:27). For if the possession of old wealth had been more necessary for perfection, the same apostle would not have despised his first rank, for he says that he is distinguished and a Roman citizen (cf. Acts 21:39; 22:27–28). Also those in Jerusalem, who sold their houses and lands and placed [the money] at the feet of the apostles (cf. Acts 4:34), would not have done that if they knew it had not been decided by the apostles that people should be fed by their own money and not by their own toil and the almsgiving of gentiles.

The aforementioned Paul explains these matters more clearly in the things he wrote to the Romans, when he says the following, “At present, however, I am going to Jerusalem to aid the saints; for Macedonia and Achaia have been pleased to make some contribution for the poor among the saints at Jerusalem; they were pleased to do it, and indeed they are in debt to them” (Rom. 15:25–27). Also, when he himself was often afflicted with bonds and imprisonments and the effort of his journeying, and was hindered as a result of this, as it seems, from providing for himself by his own hands, he explains that he received these necessities from the brethren who came to him from Macedonia, as he says, “For my needs were supplied by the brethren who came from Macedonia” (II Cor. 11:9). When writing to the Philippians he says this, “For you know, Philippians, that when I left Macedonia no church entered into partnership with me in giving and receiving except you only; for even in Thessalonica you sent me help once and again for my need” (Phil. 4:15–16).

So then according to the opinion of the covetous, these people should be more blessed than the apostles, since they supplied his needs from their own substance; but no one will be so utterly foolish as to dare to say this. So then, if we wish to follow the commandment of the gospel and of the apostle and of that whole church founded in the beginning on the apostles, let us not obey our own thoughts nor distort what has been well said, but throwing away the lukewarm and untrustworthy [p. 42] opinion, let us accept the exact sense of the gospel. For in that way we will be able to follow in the footsteps of the fathers and never stray from a knowledge of community life and truly renounce this world.

It is right to mention some holy fathers at this point in the discourse. The following remark is reported of our holy father Basil to some senator who had renounced the world in a lukewarm fashion and withheld some of his own money, “Though you have destroyed the senator you have not made a monk.”⁴⁵ So then we need to cut out of our souls with all zeal the root of all evil, which is the love of money, knowing for certain that if the root remains the branches grow readily, and that is difficult for those who do not live in a community to achieve that virtue. For in it we are free from anxiety even concerning necessary needs themselves. So keeping before our eyes the condemnation of Ananias and Sapphira, let us shudder to leave behind any of our old wealth for ourselves (Acts 5:1–5). Similarly let us fear the example of Gehazi, who through his love of money was handed over to everlasting leprosy (II Kings 5:20–27), and let us be on our guard against gathering up money for ourselves, which often we did not have even in the world, taking into consideration as well Judas’ death by hanging (Matt. 27:5). So let us fear something which we despised when we were renouncing the world. In all these things let us keep before our eyes the uncertainty of death, lest Our Lord should come one day at a time when we do not expect him, and find our consciences stained by the love of money, and say to us the words that were said in the gospel to the rich man, “Your soul is taken from you; and the things you have prepared, whose will they be?” (Luke 12:20)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 418–29]: **We must now return to the point from which we digressed. So after you have eaten and said the customary grace and risen, you should sing the specified office with the prayer and then go away to your own cells. At supper also, if someone who wishes to have supper arrives after grace, he will incur the same penalty as he who was late at lunch time, if of course he does not have a reasonable excuse when he is asked. However, the one who because of abstinence does not come to the supper incurs no blame. Then when you are at supper, bread will be set before you and that in small quantities; but if there are some small fruits, you should gratefully partake of these also by the decision of the superior. Drink, moreover, will be distributed to you with the larger wine measure as is prescribed. But if a feast happens to be celebrated by one of the brothers, with the knowledge of the superior this regulation should not be observed at supper, but you should act in whatever way the one celebrating the feast wishes.** [p. 43]

25. Concerning the fact that they must not spend time or talk with chance people in an unguarded way.

It is good and very useful for you to know this, just as we have learnt it from the saints and experience itself has taught us, that you should not pass time with any people in an unguarded way nor sit with them at your meals, neither inside nor outside the monastery, wherever you happen to be. The wise and great Basil bears witness to my words and this teaching by saying the following, **“It is fitting that you should neither confide in any people nor disclose things nor reveal them in an unguarded way. For the man who lives in accordance with God has many enemies lying in wait for him and often [they are] the closest observers of his life.**

So then it is fitting not to have untested meetings with people from outside. For if the Savior, as the gospel says, did not trust himself to everyone (cf. John 2:24)—for the Just One himself [the gospel says], he who is complete virtue—how will we sinners, who easily slip, who are not always guided by the aim, partly because of physical weakness and partly because of the one who wrestles wickedly and unceasingly against us, not bring upon ourselves wicked slanders and set up for ourselves occasions for sin, if we entrust ourselves to inquisitive people? For often wicked people attempt to slander what is being carried out well and they refuse to leave even the smallest of faults unreviled.

So then it is necessary that conversations with people from outside should be guarded against. For a different emotion comes over them through inexperience of the thoughts of those who have retreated from life. For they suppose that the mind of those who have changed their way of life was not changed, but their human nature has been changed. They do not discern that those who practice the religious life live with the same passions but control them through the power of their soul and the fact that they have cut themselves off from pleasures, but they think that the natural passions of their bodies have been completely removed. As a result, if the spiritual man fails in what is good even by a small amount, at once all those former most ardent supporters and admirers become bitter accusers and they prove that they did not confer true praise even previously. For just as when some athlete has slipped, at once his opponent rises up against him striking him down, so they, whenever they see the one who is living by the practice of virtue has failed a little in goodness, they attack him with

abuse and slanders as if they were striking him with arrows, not thinking that they themselves are wounded each day by the countless darts of their passions, but the champions of piety, although they are besieged by the same passions, are often injured by them to little or no extent, and that too [p. 44] though they accept a more vehement opponent than they do, since they agreed to fight against him and it is a great thing for the Wicked One to gain a victory against them; but on the contrary his defeat has given him a mortal wound, so completely has he been defeated by all kinds of virtue. But the war is scorned [by him] in the case of those who have dedicated themselves to this life, partly because most of them spontaneously run to their defeat, enticed into sin by various pleasures and desires and providing him with an effortless victory against them, and partly because though they seem to be putting up a small resistance to the various temptations to sin, they are easily distracted from the struggle, and turning their backs and being struck unceasingly they bear many disgraceful marks of their defeat.

If some people somewhere, being compelled to face the forceful temptations of this world, have plunged into the war against evil, yet not even these people have endured such struggles as those endured by people practicing the religious life, but ones to a great and infinite degree inferior. For the one is eager to have control over his own property and ambitiously strives to settle the disputes concerning the things of this life; but the other yields even what is rightfully his own to those who dispute it, fulfilling the command, 'Of him who takes away your goods do not ask them again' (Luke 6:30). The one when struck has struck back and when wronged has done wrong in return, and in that way supposes that he has equality; but the other endures until he grants his fill to the one wronging and striking him. The one is eager to gain control over all bodily pleasures; but the other lives with his fill of pleasures. So how could the man of this world be considered a combatant when compared with the man practicing the religious life?

Consider another thing also which those who devote themselves to this present life customarily experience whenever they examine the life of those practicing the religious life; for whenever the man practicing the religious life thinks it right to support his body with food after a long period of hunger, either they do not wish him to partake of food or just the smallest amount, as if he were something spiritual and immaterial. Whenever they see the man who practices the religious life not disregarding his body in every way but supplying his existing need for something, they abuse and slander [ascetic men], calling them well-fed and greedy people, extending their insults and abuse of one man to all, not considering that they themselves twice a day, and some of them three times, feed on the grossest and richest of food, filling themselves with an infinite amount of meat and pouring for themselves a boundless amount of wine, and even so they gape at their tables like dogs released from confinement after a long period of hunger. But those who truly practice the religious life use the driest of food having in its weakness little nourishment and [eat] once during the whole day. They know how to live in an orderly way, feeding themselves with moderation and understanding, and they supply the need of their bodies at the time for food in a reasonable manner with a confident conscience.

For this reason it is [p. 45] fitting that our freedom should not be judged by someone

else's conscience. For 'if we partake with thankfulness, why should we be denounced because of that for which we give thanks,' (I Cor. 10:30–31) for choosing hunger and inferior food with such gladness as they do not even have for the very sumptuous and varied provision of their luxurious table?"⁴⁶ So much concerning not spending time with lay people. Let us speak now about the condition of the refectory.

26. Concerning good order in the refectory.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 430–36]: **The disciplinary official should go in during the second sitting and, if there are some who should have eaten at the first but missed it, he should enquire the reason for their absence. If their excuse is reasonable, they are excused, but if it is unreasonable, we instruct him not to allow them to eat. For to be late for meals for no reasonable cause is not something to be approved of, and therefore this practice must always be punished and discouraged as much as possible. This is the procedure on the ordinary days of the year, but not the procedure during the holy fast days.**

27. That on Monday of the first week they should not take any care at all with their table.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 437–42]: **Especially during the first and greatest fast, on the first day, that is Monday of the first week, the liturgy should not be celebrated nor should care be taken with the table or food. However on the subsequent days of the same week after the conclusion of the whole liturgy, attention should be paid to the table, and whoever chooses should partake of food.**

28. Concerning how they must regulate their diet during Lent.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 442–502]: **This will be composed of legumes soaked in water and perhaps some raw vegetables and fruits, and the drink will be hot water seasoned with cumin.** But those who are engaged in the struggle, fast either until Wednesday or even Friday as each one has the strength. For this medicine greatly benefits sinners like me. This applies until Saturday, but **on this day you should eat two dishes of food cooked with olive oil, and drink a better wine distributed in the larger measure because of the feast of the great martyr St. Theodore,**⁴⁷ **which the superior must celebrate as a duty and give you refreshment. But if someone else of you wishes to celebrate this feast, we give him permission to feed the brotherhood with some shellfish on the Saturday, but we will not eat fish. You should carry out the first week of the great and holy fast of Lent in that way.** [p. 46]

On all Saturdays and Sundays of the same holy fast two cooked dishes containing olive oil should be set out for you and for your drink the customary large measure of wine should be distributed. The same thing should take place also on Thursday of the great canon. But on Tuesdays and on the other Thursdays two cooked dishes will be set out for you, but only one not both of them will have olive oil; and wine will be measured out with the smaller measure, that is half of the larger one.

This is because of your weakness and the toil you have both in the church and from your manual tasks, since the fiftieth canon of the Council at Laodicea in its own very words says this, "That in Lent they must not break the fast on the Thursday of the last week and dishonor the whole

of Lent, but must fast for the whole of Lent by eating dry food.”⁴⁸ Blessed is that one of you who will be eager to fulfill this canon; for he will have born fruit a hundredfold and be shown to be one who fulfills the commands of God. Let the man who wishes to, fast like that, not hindered by anyone, having the blessing of me, the sinner, as his helper.

Then on the rest of the days, I mean Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, you should not partake of anything cooked nor wine but only boiled beans and some small fruits, if there are any, and hot water flavored with cumin. But if the commemoration of the discovery of the precious head of the Forerunner or the remembrance of the Forty Saints⁴⁹ should happen to fall on one of these days, then you should celebrate it and have as a refreshment not that of the aforementioned days, but only wine of the larger measure and gruel. But on all the other days of the holy fast you are not allowed to eat fish at all, not even if perhaps some refreshment is sent you by someone. If, however, the person who is providing you with the refreshment should come himself to eat with you, then the fast should be broken on this occasion because of this special treat. On Saturday and Sunday we eat shellfish, but not on other days.

When the feast of the Annunciation falls,⁵⁰ you should celebrate it as splendidly as possible, partaking of fish provided by the monastery and drinking wine of the larger measure. Furthermore on the next day (if it is not a Monday or Wednesday or Friday) you should eat anything left from the table of the previous day, and in the same way drink the wine. If no fish has been left, then you will have two dishes with olive oil. The procedure of the feast should be carried out as for days free from fasting. We will eat fish during this holy [p. 47] feast, as has been said, if it does not fall during the great holy week. For at that time we will use shellfish, rather we will receive a refreshment because of the feast, because it is fitting that we should pass the whole of that holy week in the same way as the days of the first week, content with some legumes soaked in water, raw vegetables, fruits that happen to be at hand, and hot water flavored with cumin. Those who are able fast completely. **If the aforementioned holy feast should fall on those days, we shall not partake of fish but of shellfish, as we said, and we shall drink wine of the larger measure, and we will do everything appropriate for the feast even if it should fall on Holy Thursday, or Good Friday.** However, on Good Friday those who are able should not eat at all,⁵¹ and likewise on Holy Saturday, even if the commemoration of the Mother of God should occur. **But all anxiety that produces distraction in us must be avoided, and there should only be a collation, as is customary, in the holy church after the holy communion, at the sixth hour of the night on Holy Saturday.** For that is the hour which the holy fathers have handed down to us.

For there is a canon of the sixth Ecumenical Council, the eighty-ninth, which says this, “The faithful must spend the days of the Savior’s passion in fasting and prayers and heart-searching, and break their fast about the middle hour of the night on holy Saturday, as the divine writers of the gospels, Matthew and Luke, assure us that it is late in the night, the one with the phrase ‘after the Sabbath’ (Matt. 28:1) and the other with the phrase ‘at early dawn’” (Luke 24:1).⁵² That is the way the holy Ecumenical Council and the other holy councils and other different fathers have spoken about this matter.

One of these is Dionysios the archbishop of Alexandria of blessed memory. For he, when

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writing to Basileides his beloved brother and fellow minister explains to him about when he should break his fast, since Basileides was inquiring about the exact time, and among other things he says the following, “This being so, we reveal this to those who are making precise enquiries as to what hour or even what half hour or quarter hour it is fitting to begin rejoicing for the resurrection of Our Lord. We censure as neglectful and lacking self-control those who are too hasty and cease before the night is already halfway through, bringing the race to an end a little too soon, for a wise man says ‘The least thing is not little in life.’⁵³ We will commend as noble and conscientious those who wait until later, continuing for a very long time and persevering until the fourth watch, at which [p. 48] time Our Savior appeared walking on the sea to those who were sailing. (Matt. 14:25) We are not very troubled by those who ceased at an intermediate time as they were impelled or lost their strength. Since all perhaps do not endure the six days of the fast equally, but some continuing without food go beyond all the days, others [fast for] two days, others three days, others four days, others none, a too-hasty tasting of food is pardonable in the case of those who have toiled very much prolonging the fast and then are very weary and almost fainting. But if there are some who far from prolonging the fast did not even fast at all, but fared sumptuously for the four preceding days, then when they come to the final two days, the Friday and the Saturday, and try to go beyond these, only think that they achieve something great and glorious if they continue until dawn. I do not think that they have engaged in the same struggle as those who have competed for the greater number or days.”⁵⁴ That is what Dionysios says.

The holy apostles in the *Constitutions* prescribe that fasting should last until cockcrow. For among other things they also say this, “Observe the feast days of Our Lord, firstly his birth and after it his epiphany, then the fast of Lent which includes a commemoration of Our Lord’s way of life and lawgiving. This fast should be completed before the fast of Easter. It begins on Monday and is completed on Friday [of the first week of Lent]. After you have finished this fast, you begin fasting [again] during the Holy Week before Easter, fasting for the Jews who are lost. For thus Our Lord exhorted us to fast for these six days because of the Jews’ lawbreaking, commanding them to mourn for their destruction; for he himself wept for them. Fast during the days [before] Easter beginning from Monday for six days until Saturday, using only bread and vegetables and water; for they are days of grief and not a feast. Fast also on Saturday itself, not because we must fast on Saturday since there was [on that day] a rest from creation, but because we ought to fast since on that day the creator is still under ground. For they detained Our Lord during their own feast, so that the statement might be fulfilled, ‘Their signs were set up in the middle of their feast and they did not recognize them’ (cf. Ps. 73 [74]:4–5). Moreover, fast for the whole of Friday and Saturday until cockcrow. But if someone is not able to observe both of the two days, he should just observe the Saturday. For the Lord also speaks about this, ‘Whenever the bridegroom is taken away [p. 49] from them, then they will fast in those days’ (Luke 5:35). Therefore, on those days he was taken away from us by the lawless Jews and nailed on the cross; wherefore we exhort you to fast during those days, as we fast. On the remaining days before Friday each person should eat in the evening or in whatever way he can from Monday [through Saturday] until cockcrow, breaking the fast as the first hour of the Sabbath dawns, which is Sunday, keeping a vigil and praying and reading the law and the prophets and the psalms until the cockcrow. When you have ceased from your grief, beg God that Israel may be converted and receive him, the means of repentance and forgiveness

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for their ungodliness. For Pilate when he had washed his hands said, 'I am innocent of this righteous man's blood; see to it yourselves.' Israel shouted, 'His blood be on us and on our children' (Matt. 27:24–25), and 'We have no king but Caesar' (John 19:15). When the Lord has risen, offer your sacrifice, about which he gave you an instruction through us saying, 'Do this in remembrance of me' (Luke 22:19). Then break your fast, happily celebrating the feast, because the pledge of our resurrection, Jesus Christ, has risen from the dead. This is for you an everlasting ordinance until the consummation, until the Lord comes."⁵⁵

Again, counting from the first Sunday, celebrate the feast of the Resurrection of the Lord for forty days, and ten days after the [feast of the] Ascension, on the sixth [Sunday] after the first Sunday is the [feast of] Pentecost, which should be a great feast for you, for on it at the third hour the Lord sent to us the gift of his Holy Spirit.⁵⁶ After you have celebrated the feast of Pentecost, keep the feast for a week, and after that, fast. For it is right that you should be glad at the gift from God and that you should fast after the refreshment. For both Moses and Elijah fasted for forty days⁵⁷ and for three weeks Daniel "ate no pleasant bread, and no flesh or wine entered into my mouth" (cf. Dan. 10:2–3). After that fast, we instruct you to fast on every Wednesday and Friday and to distribute your surplus [food] to the poor, as has been said.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 503–5]: **In this manner your diet for the great and holy period of Lent must be kept, though care should be shown to the sick at the discretion of the superior. The procedure for the fast of the Holy Apostles will be laid down immediately next.**

29. Concerning the fast of the Holy Apostles.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 509–17]: **After the completion of the whole canonical office of the hours and the divine liturgy as the *synaxarion* prescribes in detail, you should be summoned to the refectory [p. 50] at the seventh hour in accordance with the rule laid down above, and there you should eat two dishes cooked with olive oil on Tuesday and Thursday and drink wine of the larger measure at the midday meal. However, we will not eat fish provided by the monastery; but if some were to come as a refreshment, then we should partake of it gratefully, for it is not right to forbid this during these two lesser fasts.**

30. Concerning the fast of the Holy Nativity.⁵⁸

[= (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 518–25]: **The fast of the Holy Nativity will be similar to that of the Holy Apostles in both food and drink, after the completion of course of the whole canonical office according to the *synaxarion*. It will differ from it in these two points only—in not performing the divine liturgy each day during the period of the fast, for the day being short does not provide enough time, and in eating once. For your food should be set out for you at the ninth hour during the period of a fast, as has been said; and it will always be a fast on Monday and Wednesday and Friday, when we sing "Alleluia."**

31. Concerning the fast of the Dormition of the most holy Mother of God.

In the same way we must also speak about the fast of the Dormition of the most holy Mother of God, because we have received [the regulation] that this fast should last from the beginning of August until the very day of the holy Mother of God,⁵⁹ with neither cheese nor eggs nor fish being

eaten, from the *Tome of Union*⁶⁰ in its rebuke of the three-times married, and similarly also from the discourse of John the Metropolitan of Nicaea against the Armenians.⁶¹ For he counts up all the fasts and this one is included with the other fasts that were handed down by the holy fathers. However you, during this fast, break the fast on Saturdays and Sundays because of your weakness [but] only with fish. So these rules should be kept in this way.

32. That all the feasts of [St. John] the Holy Forerunner must be celebrated in a splendid manner, but [that for] his beheading more splendidly.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [11], ed. lines 528–35]: So **all the divine patronal feasts** of our patron, John the venerable Forerunner and Baptist, **should be celebrated by you in a manner** which surpasses the others, **in the lighting of lamps, I mean, and the singing of psalms and in your own meals.** But the feast of his death, which we in fact call his beheading, **should be celebrated by you in a splendid and sumptuous manner. For it will be the feast of feasts and the festival of festivals, during which we order a distribution to be made at the gate of as much as we are able, and may our hand be generous.** But not only do I give my beloved brothers this instruction, but also [order] the whole brotherhood during [p. 51] this feast to sing the psalm “Blameless” [(Ps. 118 [119]) with heads uncovered, holding lighted candles with great care and in the fear of God, as if [St. John] the glorious Forerunner and baptizer of Our Savior were present with you himself as you give him glory and praise. I exhort you to sing the liturgy of this feast until the fifth of September.

33. Concerning the fact that the monastery is to be under its own control.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [12], ed. lines 538–57]: **We instruct all in the name of Our Lord God the Ruler of All that this holy monastery is to be independent, free of everyone’s control, and self-governing, and not subject to any rights, be they imperial or ecclesiastic or of a private person, but it should be watched over, steered, governed and directed only by John, the all-holy Forerunner and Baptist, by the prayer of our most blessed and holy father, and by the one acting as superior in it. If anyone ever at any time and in any way wishes to gain control over this monastery or place it under someone’s power, whether he be an emperor or a patriarch or some other member of the clergy or of the senate or even the superior of this monastery himself or its steward or simply one of its brothers, prompted by an attack of the devil, not only will he be held responsible for the divine body and blood of Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ and to St. John, his baptizer and our patron, but also “Let him be accursed” (Gal. 1.8) as the Holy Apostle says, and let him inherit the curse of the 318 holy inspired fathers and share the lot of the traitor Judas and be counted with those who shouted “away with him, away with him, crucify him” (John 19:15), and “his blood be on us and our children” (Matt. 27:25), because** the various *charistikarioi* reduced to nothing the monastery which was once great and famous and admired, for as many as 170 monks, as we have learned from those who know accurately and were practicing the religious life here at that time.

From among these came two patriarchs at different times, Menas and Eutychios,⁶² and many other luminaries blazed out from their number here, whose honored relics have been pouring forth healing of all kinds to this day. For this monastery was built at the time of Leo [I (457–474)] the

great emperor, the father-in-law of Zeno [(474–491)] and Anastasios [I (491–518)]. But you, maintain strictly just the commemoration of the patriarch at the time and the *sphragis* [by him] of the superior, as the memorandum by the famous and holy patriarch lord Nicholas⁶³ on our independence describes. [p. 52]

34. Concerning the installation of the officials.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. lines 572–74]: **It will be useful now to mention the installation of officials, of which the most important will always be the most important, I mean that of the superior.** But a description of how he should be installed is necessary.

35. Concerning the appointment of the superior.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. lines 605–10, 624–31]: **After I have completed this mortal life, the one who is left by me as superior should consult with a few of you, those, that is, who always surpass the others in their conduct, manners, intellect, character, discipline, and their spiritual state and way of life, and he should choose the one who surpasses everyone in all these points and install him as steward; and he should install him in the following way.**

If this steward carries out his office faultlessly, proving to be reliable in the sight of God and you, and being judged by you as fitting for the office of superior, should the superior know in advance of his own departure from here to the Lord, he should appoint him to leadership over you, since his faultless actions as steward have already been enough to act as a test and selection and, as has been mentioned before, his mode of life has been spiritual in every way. But if the superior should die without knowing in advance, then you, that is those who are preeminent and the most devout, will install this man. Then again he and you should choose the one who surpasses you all in virtue and appoint him as steward.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [14], ed. lines 661–87, 694–707]: **So if the steward continues unchanged, properly maintaining his virtue through which he was thought worthy of that rank, he will not be removed from his office but remain firm. Furthermore, he will rise to the office of superior since he is worthy of it. But if time proves him to be unqualified and unsuitable, then another person should be found, someone who abounds in all goodness and is superior to him in virtue and is unimpeachable. He will be preferred to the other in every way and will be promoted to the office of steward and even that of superior; the other will be removed and made subordinate again.**

That applies then while the superior is alive and is peacefully guiding your devotion. But should the superior suddenly die and has not removed this bad steward, if there is someone who surpasses him in good qualities and is pleasing to you preeminent ones, whom we have told the superior to use as advisers, and if you agree on him and are all unanimous, then he should be selected by you and immediately raised to the office of superior, and with him you should take thought about another better steward. But if, something I pray God does not [p. 53] allow, you yourselves resort to strife and discord, the bad steward himself will become your superior to avoid uproar and dissension. For when two evils lie before us then the less bad one is preferable. If he should ever take stock of himself and give up his evil ways that were clear to all, and embark on the road that leads to higher things and salvation, let him

stay and be your superior even if he is not completely satisfactory. But should this same man still not give up his evil ways but in fact indulge in them more widely, if you were unanimously agreed on one man, someone clearly better, then we instruct you to remove that worthless man from leadership over you and raise the one you have selected to the position of superior.

The one removed from office may, if he wishes, reside in a cell of the monastery and be accorded the rank and seat of second to the superior, in the refectory I mean, and at the other gatherings, being content with the food and drink and all the rest of the community's way of life. However, we do not allow him to leave the monastery and following his own inclinations go where he wishes, but this matter will be for the superior to consider.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [15], ed. lines 737–49]: **I plainly instruct you all, my brothers, that as soon as your superior has been appointed, you should take him to the most holy patriarch and he is to receive from him the *sphragis* as has been said.⁶⁴ Then you should hurry to confide to him all the stirrings of your souls and confess the thoughts that harm your souls, so that he may form an idea of the quality of your attitude and relationship with him. By thoughts we mean not those that have been confessed to preceding superiors but those that trouble you day by day and hour by hour. For it is not possible, no, it is not possible that we, being human, should not think something wicked at some time. Do not put off something that is good, a thing you should not do, but run to it with all eagerness and speed, so that you all may be “one” (John 17:21) “being of the same mind” (Phil. 2:2), thinking the same thing, shepherded and guided by one and the same shepherd, attached and bound to one another like a chain of gold, and “fitted together into one body under one head” (cf. Eph. 4:16), as the holy apostle says, with the Spirit as the master builder.**

36. Concerning the fact that the monks in the monastery must not make their confession to anyone else except their own superior.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [15], ed. lines 749–60]: **But if there should be someone who is obdurate and implacable, stubborn and obstinate, who follows his own will and does not wish to make confession to his superior but would acknowledge someone else and not this man as his spiritual father [p. 54] and would endeavor to confide his thoughts to him, he should be put out far away from our flock. He should be chased out at once, receiving neither mercy nor pity but as someone who removes himself by his own evil—O eyes of God “that behold all things” (cf. Sir. 15:19)—evil and very dangerous decisions, he should be utterly rejected from the monastery and removed and counted a stranger to our group and community, our way of life and fellowship, as being the cause of dissension and discord and all other kinds of instability, disorder, and serious harm. That man should be treated thus.**

[= (22) *Evergetis* [16], ed. lines 763–65, 770–71, 772–77]: **You, that I may turn my attention on you again, should reserve, I beg you, for your superior all honor, all affection, all reverence and unwavering submission, and all obedience** obeying the holy apostle when he says, “Let every person be subject to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been instituted by God. Therefore he who resists the authorities resists what God has appointed, and those who resist will incur judgment. For rulers are not a

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terror to good conduct, but to bad. Would you have no fear of him who is in authority? Then do what is good, and you will receive his approval, for his is God's servant for your good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, for he does not bear the sword in vain. He is the servant of God to exercise his wrath on the wrongdoer. Therefore, one must be subject, not only to avoid God's wrath, but also for the sake of conscience" (Rom. 13:1–6). Again he says, "But we beseech you, brethren, to respect those who labor among you and are over you in the Lord and admonish you, and to esteem them very highly in love because of their work" (I Thess. 5:12–13). Again, the same writer says, **"Obey your leaders and submit to them; for they are keeping watch over your souls, as men who will have to give account"** (Heb. 13:17).

Do you hear, brothers, how those who are over you are obliged to render account to God for each one of you? Therefore, wholeheartedly and with all eagerness show your obedience to them and you will have a good defense at the fearful judgment seat of Christ. **Also maintain love, peace, and harmony in your dealings with one another, burn with a tender affection for one another, supporting one another, "instructing, comforting, and forbearing one another"** (Rom. 15:14), and, to put it simply, **exerting yourselves strongly to establish whatever is good, praiseworthy, virtuous or brings salvation.**

"Rejoice in the Lord, rejoice. Let all men know your forbearance. The Lord is at hand. Have no anxiety about anything, but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known to God, and the peace of God which passes all understanding will keep your hearts in Christ [p. 55] Jesus. Finally, brethren, whatever is true, whatever is honorable, whatever is just, whatever is pure, whatever is lovely, whatever is gracious, if there is any excellence, if there is anything worthy of praise, think about these things. What you have learned and received and heard and seen in me, do; and the God of peace will be with you" (Phil. 4.4–9).

[= (22) *Evergetis* [17], ed. lines 785–99]: **You, spiritual father and guide of this holy flock, be moderate with the brothers, and in your concern maintain in everything a spiritual affection for them. I entreat you, care for them all, have concern for them all, forebear with them all, support them instructing, comforting, teaching, advising, healing the sick, supporting the weak, encouraging the faint-hearted, restoring those who sin, forgiving "seventy times seven" (Matt. 18:22) in accordance with the word of Our Lord. For it is better that you, who are imitating the Lord himself, be judged considerate [even though] a little remiss perhaps in what you ought to do, than by maintaining utmost righteousness you be condemned as heartless and haters of your brothers. Also, to omit the rest, the great Basil says, "And the superior himself, as a father caring for true children, will watch over the needs of each one and will bring them suitable healing and care as far as he can, and will support with love and fatherly affection the member who is truly weak whether spiritually or physically."**⁶⁵

I give you this instruction also, spiritual father, to go into the refectory each day and for the cellarer to set out the food of the brothers in your presence, and you should observe carefully what is set out for the brothers and look after those of the brothers who are weak as if they were a limb of your own that is hard to cure. When you do this, you will realize the reason for this instruction, for it is very necessary and beneficial.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [17], ed. lines 800–814]: **If you always live like that, there will be no one who will usurp unworthily the office of superior or steward, making a display perhaps of his**

seniority or his sphere of work or his noble birth or rank or his offering of property or money, but that man should be preferred in these offices who has been selected by all of you who have been chosen to consider and advise the superior, and by the superior himself, even if he has been recently tonsured, or is unlearned and without experience in worldly things. For not one bit of harm will come to the monastery through this. For “God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham” (Matt. 3:9) and to give wisdom to the blind and to supply reason to those without reason, he who takes more pleasure in these people than in those who glory in their own wisdom and power and [p. 56] wealth and nobility. As a witness of this the truly divine and great apostle St. Paul clearly expresses it in the following words, “God chose what is foolish in the world and weak and despised to shame the wise and strong and lofty, and things which are not to bring to nothing things that are” (I Cor. 1:27–28).

37. Concerning the fact that the superior must not be questioned by the monks about the income or expenditure of the monastery.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [18], ed. lines 823–28]: **The brothers will not question their superiors, nor yet will they ever demand from them an account of the things for which they take in and pay out money. For this is unworthy and harmful, breeding a great deal of mistrust and producing discord, instability, and every other cause for sin. But neither will the superiors themselves spend the wealth of the monastery in doing favors for their own relations and friends. For by acting in that way they will not be taking part in the divine mysteries “in the Holy Spirit” (Rom. 9:1), until they refrain from such an action.**

38. Concerning the fact that everything that has been dedicated to the monastery is to be inalienable.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [19], ed. lines 841–60]: **We wish the sacred vessels and liturgical cloths, the holy icons and books acquired by us to be inalienable—for it is unnecessary to speak about the immovable property—and not only inalienable but also completely safe from theft and removal by anyone at all, because they were dedicated as offerings to John the venerable Forerunner and Baptist. For neither you nor any other sensible person could define any reasonable excuse for removing these objects or handing them over, except a calamity resulting from a chance occurrence, perhaps one arising from a fire or a raid by some enemies who have perhaps burnt down the monastery or destroyed it to the foundations again as before or even a destruction caused by an earthquake, and then because a great deal of expense is needed to save it or even to rebuild it. For then they will be removed or handed over with good reason. They will be removed if perhaps there is not sufficient money to save what should be saved. This is not all, but it should not be done secretly or by one man and without reference to anyone, but openly and publicly when the superior, the steward, the ecclesiarch, and the other preeminent officials have gathered together for this purpose, and the removal of what is necessary should be done in the presence of all these people by the one who is managing the income and the expenditure at the time, if he intends to avoid reproach to himself and to inform everyone.**

39. Concerning the fact that there must be no idle chatter.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [21], ed. lines 877–88]: **If any of your number should gather on some manual task or other service and amuse themselves with idle conversations—for this is usual at gatherings—and then turn to obscene talk—for “By a multitude of words,” he says, “thou shalt not [p. 57] escape sin” (Prov. 10:19)—they should not reject the admonition of the superior. For we instruct him to do this very thing in love and persuade them to give up topics which harm the soul, and either discuss matters from Holy Scripture that help the soul or be silent. “For,” the author of the Book of Proverbs says, “if thou refrain thy lips thou wilt be prudent” (Prov. 10:19). Also those who happen to be on a journey and are afflicted in the same way should be cured by the same method. For these people especially must take care to guard their mind at that time, knowing how easy it is of course for the adversary [the devil] to attack them and make them fall, which I pray may not happen, seeing that they are separated from their sheepfold, flock, and shepherd.**

40. Concerning the fact that they should not spar with each other verbally.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [21], ed. lines 888–96]: **Furthermore they are not to resort to mutual rebuking or verbal sparring. For he who does such a thing will be liable to excommunication, and if he does not repent and beg for forgiveness “with a contrite heart” (Ps. 50 (51):17), he will be punished. For we prefer that you should always be loving and peaceful towards one another and, instead of something that provokes quarrels, learn to say “Bless and forgive me, brother.” Those who form idle gatherings and visit people’s cells with no good reason, without any pressing cause, or the knowledge of the superior, when they are admonished and do not desist from their evil behavior, they will be punished.**

41. Concerning the fact that no one should possess anything in contravention of the rule of the monastery, and should not eat in secret or receive messages from anybody.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [22]]: **Those who acquire some possessions contrary to the rule of the monastery, even so much as an obol or a piece of fruit, without the knowledge of the superior, will be liable to punishment. Similar to them is the person who eats and drinks in secret, unless he confesses, and the person who receives messages from friends and relatives, and replies to them. But the person who purloins something from the monastery and does not make amends will be expelled completely.**

42. Concerning the number of the monks.

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [23], ed. lines 908, 911–15]: **This also should be added to what has been said.** I wish your number to be up to twelve who are educated in accordance with the description in our report, both because to live with a few good people is good and beneficial for souls which are striving and because poverty is more easily achieved among a few educated people than among the uneducated majority who do not fear the Lord “but serve their own appetites” (Rom. 16:18). But if the Lord will wish for this monastery to be enlarged, you will number as many as you have sufficient food for, and as many of you as promote the strict observance of this rule, and as many

of you as think that love, reverence, and [p. 58] harmony should be preferred to everything else, and **obey your superiors “in all patience” (II Cor. 12:12) and lowliness of heart, and are keen to carry out their instructions devoutly. The rest should be sent away, even if you have to be reduced to small numbers. For “one person doing the will of the Lord is better than ten thousand transgressors” (cf. Sir. 16:3).**

43. Concerning the fact that they should not have servants.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [24]]: **It will not be possible for you to have servants, but it is very good and beneficial in many ways that in the cells there should be three of you, being of one and the same mind. For it is harmful for novices to be only one in a cell, whereas it is helpful that in the cells there should be three of you, being of one and the same mind and united by the law of spiritual love, really living together as brothers in harmony, bearing the same yoke of the Lord wholeheartedly, being subservient to one another in peace, proper care and reverence.**

But even in this matter also, it is necessary to make specific distinctions, namely, that the novice should defer to the one who is more advanced, the more unlearned to the more educated, the more uncouth to the more sophisticated, and the younger to the older. But if the superior should decide that some should be alone in their cells, he himself may sanction the arrangement.

44. Concerning the fact that the cells of the monks should not be locked.

Keys should never be hung in your cells, for this is not fitting in the case of monks. For the things that are locked up are all secret and their owner does not wish them to be revealed. But all your possessions are in common and are open, and therefore there will be no need among you for the use of keys. It should be recognized by everyone that the person who does this is a thief and does not wish what is hidden by him to be revealed and for this reason he uses a lock. This [instruction] should be observed among you for the Lord’s sake, and if you live like that, none of you will be overpowered by this passion.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [25]]: **We prescribe that garments be bought and deposited in the storehouse so that when you need them you may receive them; and it is good to take care of your old garments as much as you can and use them. For only a use that is necessary should be sought, and a surplus should be hated as being of the devil. We give the same instruction also in the case of cloaks and vests and shoes, and in short, all necessities. So whenever anyone has a pressing need to receive a new item of these articles, he must bring the old one of course to the storehouse and hand this over and receive another one with the knowledge of the superior. For otherwise, if you do not bring the old garments, we order that you be not given any. [p. 59]**

45. Concerning the fact that everyone should have the same food and drink and clothing.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [26]]: **In addition to these we give you this instruction before God and our patron himself, the venerable Forerunner, that you should all have the same food and drink, clothing and footwear, and that there should never be any difference in these things among you. But you will all use the same—I mean the superior, the steward, the ecclesiarch, those**

who are distinguished in age and virtue and in their exalted station in life, and those who are inferior to them in these matters. For you should only help and take care in every way of those who are clearly afflicted with illness, and for this reason perhaps need better food and drink to sustain their unfortunate bodies. For I think that this shows discernment and preserves the conscience of everyone else free of offense.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [27]]: **The superior must do this also, that is, he should enter your cells once a month whenever he wishes, and if any have extra items, he should take them away and deposit them in the storehouse or give them to those in need.**

46. Concerning the fact that they must not bathe.

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [28]]: **You should live completely without bathing,** and the sick only must be comforted in this way.

47. Concerning how the officials must be installed.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [29]]: **The installation of officials must take place in the manner of the steward's installation, that is, the keys should be placed before Christ or [St. John] the venerable Forerunner, and after a *trisagion*, the one who is being installed after the three required genuflections should take the keys from there with his own hands, then bow his head to the superior, and receive from him the blessing in the following words, "The favor of John, the venerable Forerunner and Baptist, through the prayers of the holy fathers appoints you steward" or this or that. However for the installations which do not involve keys, the kissing of the divine icon and the *sphragis* of the superior will be sufficient for the installation.**

[= (22) *Evergetis* [30]]: **It is fitting therefore that there should be three treasurers, of whom one should look after the sacred vessels and liturgical cloths and in short anything that is important, and he should be called the sacristan, the second should keep the money for expenditure, and the other one should distribute to the brothers necessities from the storehouse, I mean clothing and footwear etc., and see to the comfort of visiting brothers in their bedrooms as far as he is able. The common table of course will minister to their need for food to meet the occasion and the person.**

48. Concerning the fact that there must be a disciplinary official in the monastery.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [31]]: **It is necessary that there should be [p. 60] a disciplinary official observing the brothers both as they enter the church for the singing of psalms and as they gather for meals, and in the same way at every hour correcting any who sit down together without good reason and chatter idly or do nothing or do something improper and foolish, persuading them to go to their cells and devote themselves to prayer and handiwork.**

Furthermore, there should also be a refectorian, attending to whatever the cellarer supplies him with, and going round the refectory at meal times reminding those brothers who are noisy perhaps or are whispering of the need for silence and that each of them should be reciting the fiftieth psalm in his mind. Also he should question visitors and sit them down at the table in a fitting position, and he should observe the entry of the brothers into the refectory and note which of them was absent during grace and which during the meal and report

these to the superior. For he who does not do this will be punished as one who is not carrying out his office wholeheartedly.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [32]]: Naturally it is just to leave unchanged those who have been appointed to each of the offices while they are performing them in a careful and devout manner, but those who neglect or despise them and perhaps even behave deceitfully in them should be removed and others appointed. If one of these people were to appropriate something, anything at all, he will be answerable to our Lord Jesus Christ and his all-pure mother and to our lord, John the venerable Forerunner and Baptist, from whom in fact he received his keys, promising to carry out his office eagerly and without deceit.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [33]]: So I entreat the cellarers, the bakers, the cooks, those who look after the mules, those responsible for the dependencies, those acting as stewards in the monastery's properties, those sent to the City [of Constantinople], those going away elsewhere on the instruction of the superior or the steward, in short all those carrying out offices, to apply themselves to their offices wholeheartedly since they expect no small recompense from them. As regards those among them who are unlettered, the diligence and care they show in their office will be totally sufficient as their defense before God and us, but we exhort those who are educated but are perhaps prevented by the busy nature of their office from carrying out the daily cycle of prayers and from meeting with the brothers in the services not to be neglectful or despairing, as if they had lost the benefit to themselves, but be more cheerful and joyful because the Lord has given them the strength to serve their brothers in imitation of him, who says, "I came not to be served but to serve and to give my life as a ransom for many" (Matt. 20:28). [p. 61]

You see, my brothers, what work you perform? You see whom you imitate? You see that you are putting into practice the greatest of all good, love? Why then do you grieve and are sorrowful when you miss the service? Do you not think that you "are laying down your lives" (John 10:11, 15) for many like my Master, Christ, so that of course you may bring comfort to your brothers? So, you should be happy and rejoice because you yourselves are accomplishing each day by your work what could scarcely be achieved by those who devote themselves to prayer. You are blessed in that occupation and to be envied. For prayer is indeed a fine thing, a very fine thing, bringing us into contact with God and raising us from earth to heaven, but love is of course greater and much more important. For the former is a part of virtue and an element and section of the whole body of sanctification that brings perfection, but love is its crown and consummation. For joined to itself it displays humility that exalts (Matt. 23:12), mercy, and love of mankind, because of which God indeed became man and is called God, and through which man is revealed as God and like the Heavenly Father (cf. Matt. 5:48). So why do you give up the treasure house and culmination of all these good things and run to what is inferior and to the possession of one thing, when thus having reached the summit easily you should hold on to it securely and do everything so as not to be thrown down from it? "We are afraid," they say, "because of our failure to carry out the rule;" but do not be afraid, for sincere confession will make up to your failure in this, justly granting you pardon. Only let it not be a failure caused by indolence. Fear this, be on your guard against this; but if this is not the case, then rejoice, I beg you, attending to your

offices wholeheartedly and eagerly. Those with offices who have been sufficiently advised by this will be devoted to their office and will carry it out well.

49. Concerning the sort of people who must be sent out to the properties of the monastery.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [34], ed. lines 1063–67]: **Since then as a consequence of our weakness the emperor who long ago built this monastery also gained possession of some pieces of immovable property, some small worthless pieces of which are still left since many of them have previously been snatched away by different people, the superior must have concern for them also, and he should be as careful as he can as to what sort of people are sent to have the oversight of them, that is they should always be reverent and discreet, and elderly if possible, unaffected by passions because of the attacks of Belial (II Cor. 6:15).**

50. Concerning the dead.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [34], ed. lines 1068–69]: **Since we have now dealt in a fitting manner and at sufficient length about matters that concern the monastery, we will discuss therefore our fathers and brothers who have died. [= (22) *Evergetis* [35]]: It is fitting that we should celebrate with a feast the remembrance of our thrice-blessed and glorious father and founder Lord John⁶⁶ in a [p. 62] splendid manner and with the chanting of psalms all night. This falls on the 16th of December, and it will of course be celebrated without delay on that very day on which it falls, unless it is a Sunday.** The sequence of psalms that will be sung will be that which you will find drawn up in the paper book.

In the same way [we will celebrate] the commemoration for the all-holy lord Luke, who was metropolitan of Mesembria and superior of this monastery, my holy father and sponsor.⁶⁷ If you wish to learn of the reward of his spiritual labor, endurance, humility, and infinite tears, approach his honored and holy relic in your sickness, and anointing yourselves with the oil from his lamp, you will realize the sweet fragrance and grace of healing which was given to him by God.

Furthermore, commemorations should take place every year for all those who have accomplished for the monastery something worthy of remembrance and have specified that they should be remembered by you, namely, those for *sebastos* lord Nikephoros Botaneiates⁶⁸ of blessed memory, who was son-in-law of the glorious lord Isaac *Sebastokrator*,⁶⁹ and when he put on the divine and angelic habit, changed his name to Neophytos. Similarly, those for *sebaste* lady Eudokia Komnene,⁷⁰ his wife, and their children, that is, their son and our fellow-brother the monk Ioannikios.⁷¹ Similarly, the commemoration for the holy *despoina* Lady Maria.⁷² Similarly, that for the most holy and ecumenical patriarch lord Nicholas [Grammatikos]. Along with him the commemoration for our benefactor lord Leo, son of Hikanatos, and his wife Anna and their children. Along with them, that for our beloved brother the *chartouliarios* lord Constantine, the nephew of the [metropolitan] of Zikchia. In addition to these also the commemoration for [the grandparents] and parents of me, the sinner. Their names are these, Nikephoros and the nun Theodoule, Christophoros and my sanctified mother the nun Maria, so that along with me they may find pity on the fearful day of judgment.

I instruct you in the Lord to carry out the commemorations of these people once a year, that is on the twenty-fourth of September. But then a second founder after God appeared for us, lady

Eudokia Komnene, *sebaste* among *sebastai* and nun among nuns, the daughter of the glorious *sebastokrator* lord Isaac, who changed her name to Xene and often bestowed many gifts and acts of kindness on us and our monastery.

Furthermore just now, that is in the month of October of the seventh indiction and the six thousand six hundred and fifty-second year [1144 A.D.], she had given us and our monastery gold *nomismata* of [Constantine IX] Monomachos bearing crosses, weighing four *litrai*, for the [p. 63] acquisition by purchase of some immovable property, and we agreed to carry out each year on the first of January a personal night office and liturgy on behalf of her husband of blessed memory, and in the same way to carry out a personal night office and liturgy on the second of June on behalf of her son of blessed memory, the monk lord Ioannikios, and furthermore, in the case of herself, while she is still alive, to carry out a night office of intercession and liturgy on the twenty-second of November, and after her death to carry out the same things on the date of her death. In addition to this, [we agreed] to carry out a night office and liturgy on the Thursday of Meatfare week on behalf of all those who died before them, always at our own expense, [that is], the expenditure of our monastery.

I exhort you, brothers, those of you alive now and those who will come after us, that as long as our monastery exists they observe these instructions in such a way that they do not fall into condemnation as a result of transgression.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [36]]: [These things should be] **equally [done] for those brothers whose names were and will be inscribed on the diptychs. In addition, whenever one of our brothers has recently died, he should be remembered during each service, and I mean during matins and the liturgy and vespers, in *ekteneis* until his commemoration on the fortieth day, during which also every day an offering will be made on his behalf. In addition to this the ecclesiarch must note down the commemorations of those who die so that you may not forget them and may perform them without fail.**

Yet on this matter I must prescribe something more practical: for as the numbers of brothers dying increases, it is possible that sometimes the commemorations for three or four or even more will fall in the same week and it is necessary always to carry out the commemoration for each brother during the night offices, which are an obligatory duty for you each day, and chant the canon for the deceased. So that this may not happen, we command that, if some of the brothers should prefer to go away and chant the funeral canon, while the rest carry out that laid down for the night office of intercession, that should be carried out and is acceptable to us and, I think, to God. But if perhaps because of winter or even illness, that I may not mention laziness, you would not want to do this, then you must observe all the commemorations that you know occur together in one and the same week, and carry them all out for all of the people at the same time during one night office, unless there is a commemoration for one of your former superiors. For his commemoration must be carried out on its own, since he will be rendering account on behalf of you all. In that way you are satisfying your obligation to commemorate your brothers and you are not failing in the canon. So in both the night offices, and in the liturgies on their behalf, it is fine that commemorations should take place [p. 64] at the same time during one service as long as offerings are made for each one, and they should be carried out either as the priest officiating that day wishes or rather as he is able.

As regards the distributions at the gate on behalf of certain person, who as has been mentioned has left or will leave something worthy of remembrance to the monastery, on behalf of whom it has been or will be agreed that something be distributed for their commemoration, we urge that these be carried out generously.

However as regards the diptychs we command in the Lord both the priests themselves and the deacons to consult them at every liturgy in order to commemorate those who are listed on them, so that they themselves may not bear the accusation of having forgotten and neglected them. Enough has now been said also about these matters.

51. Concerning how those who are tonsured must be tonsured.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [37], ed. lines 1123–35]: **I must speak also about those who are tonsured. If they are distinguished people or of people known to us for a long time and have a close knowledge of our way of life**, when they have first read the procedure in this rule and have promised to observe everything drawn up in it without infringement, **they should be tonsured within the customary period of time, if perhaps they themselves ask for this and are accepted. But if they are common and unknown, after an interval of seven days after their arrival here they should assume the [novice's] rags and put on the monastic headdress, and they should be appointed to tasks according to their abilities and observed to see if they carry out these with perseverance and humility. If they persevere in this attitude for three years, then they should be enrolled among the brothers after being tonsured and should receive the pledge of the divine and angelic habit. But if they perhaps appear to have grown tired, grumbling and being negligent about instructions, it will be the responsibility of the superior whether they should be accepted or not.**

52. Concerning not receiving any monks from another monastery.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [37], ed. lines 1135–36]: **Furthermore**, you must take care that you do not in any circumstances **accept any monks** or unknown people **coming from a different [monastery]**, observing also in this the tradition of the holy canons. But if you disregard this, you will suffer much grief and from this action there will come to you great harm and punishment of both a spiritual and physical kind.

53 [A]. Concerning the fact that no entrance offerings or renunciation offerings should be demanded from those being tonsured.⁷³

[= (22) *Evergetis* [37], ed. lines 1137–61]: **Then those who have been judged worthy to be accepted should not be put under any compulsion concerning a renunciation and an entrance offering. For one must not [p. 65] traffic in the grace of God or sell it for money, lest shame and reproach is caused thereby to those among us who have been tonsured without payment, and lest that evil and accursed expression is introduced, that is, mine and yours and greater and smaller, and that the one who has made an offering is thought to be more important than the one who has not. May it not happen, may that not happen among you ever. But if the one who is to be tonsured himself willingly chooses to offer something, it should be accepted; for that is freely chosen and not forced, being the action of a pious mind in the category of almsgiving and doing good, and in exchange for God's recompense is to**

atone for his sins, and moreover that we might speak the truth, is brought as an offering to God and John our venerable patron, the Forerunner and Baptizer of God. For a renunciation and an entrance offering are one thing and a gift another, whether an act of almsgiving or an offering; for the former has within it the repayment of expectation and, like some necessity that has to be bought, is paid in advance for some agreements and exchanges perhaps stated, but the other is offered freely with heavenly hopes and recompenses.

Therefore the person who offers it must not suppose that he has any preference over the rest of the brothers because of this, but should be treated in the same way as every one and according to the rule of the monastery then in force. If someone who has made an offering is ever tempted by demons—there are many such examples of fickleness!—and tries to leave the monastery and would like to take his offering away with him, that should not be given him, whatever it happens to be. For what has once been consecrated to God must not be taken away, and he who takes it away is sacrilegious and everyone knows the sort of punishment that committing sacrilege brings, even if we do not say it.

Since we have mentioned parting and leaving caused by the devil, come now, let us say a few words to you, my beloved, about it, not words that come from our weak understanding, but those which our wise and great teacher spoke, Basil the revealer of heaven, in his own words as follows.⁷⁴

53 [B]. Concerning the fact that no one should depart from the monastery because of a chance difficulty.

Furthermore, it is necessary to be clearly convinced of this also, that the person who has once entered into a bond and relationship of a spiritual brotherhood could not cut himself free and separate himself from those with whom he was united. For in many instances if a person entered into an association in the material world, he would not be able to withdraw from it in contravention of the agreements, or if he did so, he would be liable to stated penalties. For the person who has entered into an agreement of spiritual companionship with those who have an eternal and unbreakable relationship, it would be much more impossible to separate and cut himself off from those with whom he was united, or if he did so, he would be subjected to the most serious divine penalties. For if a woman forming an association with a man and having a physical relationship with him is caught plotting against him, she is condemned to death, he who was united in a spiritual association (before the Spirit himself as witness and mediator) is much more liable in the case of separation.

As the limbs of the body which have been united together by a bond of nature could not be broken off from the body, and if they were broken, that broken piece would become dead, so also one practicing the religious life, being bound to a brotherhood by a bond stronger than that of nature and being held fast by a union of the spirit, would not have the power to cut himself free from those to whom he was united, or if he did so, he would be dead in his soul and would be deprived of the providence of the Spirit, as one who violated his agreement with him.

But if someone says that some of the brothers are worthless, since they render goodness ineffectual by negligence and disregard propriety and neglect the proper ascetic discipline,

and for this reason it is fitting to separate oneself from such people, that reason for separation that he has thought [p. 66] up is not sufficient. For neither did Peter or Andrew or John break away from the rest of the band of the apostles because of the wickedness of Judas, nor did any other of the apostles make that a pretext for defection, nor was anyone hindered by [Judas'] wickedness in obeying Christ, but obeying the instructions of the Lord, they were zealous in their devotion and virtue, being in no way converted to [Judas'] wickedness. So he who says 'because of worthless people I am compelled to separate myself from the spiritual community' has not found a reasonable excuse for his own fickleness, but is himself rocky ground unable to nourish the word of truth through a very fickle mind, and, because of a small attack by some temptation or a loss of control over passions, he does not abide in a life of moderation, and the newly sprung-up shoot of instruction is immediately withered by the heat of his passions (cf. Matt. 13:5).

The pretexts he has mentioned are not sufficient as a defense at the judgment seat of Christ, since he [only] thinks in terms of his own satisfaction and is easily put off. For nothing is easier than to deceive oneself, since each judge favors himself, judging what is pleasant to be beneficial. So then such a person should be condemned by the judgment of the truth as being the cause of more people falling into sin, that is by his wicked example constantly provoking them to imitate him with equally outrageous actions. Being an heir to woe, "it would be better for him to have a great millstone fastened around his neck and be drowned in the depth of the sea" (Matt. 18:6). For if a soul becomes accustomed to defection, it becomes filled with a great lack of self-control, covetousness and gluttony, falsehood and all wickedness, and finally it brings itself to the abyss of wickedness being [p. 67] experienced in the worst evils.

So then, he who is the leader of such [temptations] should consider the destruction of how many souls he is responsible for, since he is not even able to render adequate accounts for his own soul (cf. Matt. 18:7). For why does such a person not rather imitate the great Peter and become an example for the rest of a secure faith and persistence in goodness, so that as the light of his achievements shines out, those who live in the darkness of wickedness may be guided to the higher life? Then Noah, the righteous man, did not say to God, 'I must leave the world since they are all wicked,' but persevered, struggling more nobly, and maintained an undisturbed devotion amid the depths of wickedness, and by endurance and patience amid the waves of impiety and lawlessness preserved an incorruptible virtue and was in no way caught by evils and plots, but amid people who murdered strangers and among much insolence and licentiousness, in accordance with the law of nature that was current, he hath kept his holiness unstained himself and instructed the rest of them by his actions, as was possible, rather than his words by demonstrating goodness.

But you put forward as an excuse your brothers' neglect of duty, whether real or invented by you, intending departure and devising the rejection of the Spirit and you make the slander of your brothers a veil for your own wickedness and reluctance to labor for virtue. So such a person should be brought to his senses by examples and be content with spiritual concord which he attached to himself in the first swaddling clothes of his heavenly conception. For if it were to happen that one of the fingers on your hand should suffer something

painful now, the other one will not be anxious to be cut off, but it will at first beware of the pain from the cut, and then persevere firmly so as to offer to the body the use of the one which is at risk and that the hand should not be totally deprived of its natural branch and robbed of its own natural adornment.

So then, apply the example to the one practicing the religious life and observe how much disorder and pollution a separation causes to sensitive souls and how it proves the man himself to be a lifeless corpse. That the superior would not choose to lead his disciple into wickedness, with the result that the wicked conduct of his teacher is a reason for the disciple to depart and leave, to see if this is so, let us consider what a father and what a trainer [does]. Each of them prays and is zealous, the one for his boy and the other for his disciple. For it is natural for fathers to pray that their sons should become better people and very intelligent, very modest and well behaved, so that the boys may gain a good reputation and their fathers more honor, as their boys' good deeds reflect in them. Trainers are also keen that those who train under them should become very strong and skillful, so that with strength and experience [p. 68] they might compete expertly and be proved illustrious victors over their opponents, and their lawful competing might bring clear glory to their superiors.

It is natural for everyone who has chosen to teach to wish that his pupils reach the most accurate understanding of his teachings. So then since the nature of affairs has this basic principle, how would he who trains in holiness not pray that the one being trained by him might be shown to be most free of malice and prudent in terms of spiritual wisdom, although clearly knowing that, if his pupil is like that, then he will be honored among men and will receive glorious crowns from Christ, who made his servants, or rather his brothers, since he chose even this [relationship with us] (cf. Luke 8:21), worthy of fellowship with him through his care?

Consider another thing: if the pupil becomes bad because of his conduct, [the teacher] is disconsolately ashamed in the world and at the time of judgment and in the assembly and gathering of all peoples in the heavens. Not only is he ashamed, but he will be punished also. So how will it happen that the superior does not wish his own disciple to become well-behaved and gentle? In other ways also the wickedness of the pupil is unprofitable for the teacher. For since they each choose to live with each other, whatever wickedness the disciple takes part in he will give some of the fruits of this to his teacher first, as poisonous snakes which inject their poison first into those who annoy them, so that from every consideration it is clear to the trainer—both from the nature of things and from what is profitable—that he will pray and in every way take pains that the one who has been trained under him should be gentle and well-behaved. For if a trainer were a man of evil and wickedness, he would take pains to lead by every means those who are training with him to this end; but if a trainer is a man of virtue and righteousness, he would not choose, I think, that the goal for his disciple should turn out to be opposite to his own zealous efforts.

So then every pretext which the man has who wishes to cut himself off from a spiritual community is unreasonable, as has been said, and his reason for this decision has been revealed as his lack of control over his passions and his unsound and unstable judgment. For did he not hear from the prophet, "Blessed are they that keep justice" (Ps. 105 [106]:3), not

they who are destroying it? These are the ones who are likened to fools [in the Gospel], who place the foundation of their spiritual dwelling on the sand of their mental instability, when a few showers of temptations and a short torrent of evil will undermine its basis breaking it up and scattering it (cf. Matt. 7:26–27).

Tell me, my brother, where is there no affliction? Where is there no toil? Do people in [p. 69] the world not toil? Do sailors who sail across the open sea not suffer shipwreck? Do soldiers not run risks in wars? How are we discouraged as if we are the only ones suffering affliction? People in the world toil in worldly matters, and again spiritual people are afflicted in spiritual actions; but “the grief of the world causes death,” (II Cor. 7:10) whereas grief concerning God causes repentance leading to everlasting life. So let us not be discouraged if we are afflicted. Our affliction will be turned into joy. Did you endure so many things and are now discouraged? Recollect that you renounced the world and your own wishes and [yet] you do not suffer words [of advice]. So are we slaves to our own bellies and our own wishes, and for this reason do you wish to depart from the monastery? Is this praiseworthy in us? Surely the enemy has not taken away the argument for humility of mind, and because of this he is rousing up the passions again strongly?

Do not be angry with me as I speak to you the words of truth; for I speak these things because I suffer for you. Where does the reason come from? In every case it is through food or through drink or through not suffering words [of advice]. You forfeited so much and you thought it dirt that you might gain Christ, and do you go on to sink your mind in your old passions again? Do you not hear what the apostle says, “Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, ‘For thy sake we are being killed all day long; we are regarded as sheep to be slaughtered.’ No, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him who called us. For I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor anything else in all creation will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus Our Lord” (Rom. 8:35–39).

So then, my brother, consider the meaning of what has been said. For if we do not love self-control and we do not endure affliction and we do not cut out our own will, it is not possible for us to say with boldness, “Lo, we have left everything and followed you” (Matt. 19:27). Recollect what sort of person you were, when you arrived at the door of the monastery, fervent in the Spirit and in the fear of the Lord. But perhaps you wish to say, “These men destroyed my way of thinking.” Do you wish me to show to you that this reason arises from laziness? Lot was living among the people of Sodom and was not destroyed along with them, and Gehazi ministered to the prophet Elisha and he sinned. Similarly Samuel lodged with Eli and was reared with his children, and they fell into sin, but he was saved because he loved the Lord in truth.⁷⁵ Judas Iscariot followed the Lord with the disciples and yet he betrayed his Master and the “Lord of Glory” (I Cor. 2:8) into the hands of lawless men. Therefore let us not yield to the purpose of the enemy [p. 70] who is really putting forward specious excuses for the destruction of our souls. For we have models drawn from divine scripture for each of us to apply to ourselves whether we are living with righteous people or sinners. So then, if we live with righteous people, we will live in a righteous and holy way, but if with sinners, we will live so as not to imitate their deeds, but so that they may be drawn by us to the way of salvation, with grace as our fellow-worker. But if you wish to say, “I am weak and

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negligent,” let us listen to the divine scriptures and imitate the way of life of the divine fathers, so that our souls may be cured and we may not just feel compunction as we hear and a short time later act in a worse way. For the one who receives the word like that, will never bear fruit; for they have no root in themselves (cf. Matt. 13:21). “Every tree that does not bear good fruit is cut down and thrown into the fire” (Matt. 3:10).

As we are weak, let us listen to men who fear the Lord, who guide the soul to health, and let us not be like those who only wish to hear what matches their own wishes, so that we may not be miserable adhering to the argument of perversity. If you see a younger person trying to climb by his own wishes to heaven, detain him, for it is not to his benefit. This is true also with regard to a man who is old in years but juvenile in mind. For he says in Proverbs, “The ways of fools are right in their own eyes, but a wise man harkens to counsels” (Prov. 12:15). Let us listen also to the one who says, “You that are younger, be subject to the elders. Clothe yourselves, all of you, in humility, being subject to one another, for God opposes the proud, but gives grace to the humble” (I Pet. 5:5). For there are some who think that they are wise and do not think it right to be subject to those who are really wise and have a knowledge of God, whom the apostle calls empty talkers and deceivers saying, “there are subordinate men, empty talkers and deceivers” (Tit. 1:10).

Reason often suggests something secretly to a man, saying, “You are too young, you repent in your old age.” If he reaches old age, again it offers to him arguments, “Now that you are old, you need comfort.” As a result it is necessary, my beloved, to serve the Lord each day “with fear and trembling” (I Cor. 2:3). For who would tell us that we will grow old and that we will discover the correct way of thinking, if thereafter we neglect our own salvation? Let us listen to the Lord as he says, “Watch and pray, that you may not enter into temptation, for you know neither the day nor the hour” (Matt. 26:41; 25:13). We reckon the easy yoke of the Lord is heavy because of our laziness.

How many people in the world, my brother, do you think are deprived and have pledged their own children as securities? The [p. 71] children of other powerful people have fallen into captivity and have been sold into slavery and serve low-class people in a foreign land. Others are cast out as naked beggars in the squares and alleys of the city, afflicted by both the cold and the heat, and is it not a great thing for us that we have this shelter, which the Lord has bestowed on us, and freedom from anxiety about worldly matters? Let us remember these things and not reject the grace of God and his benefits, because he thought us worthy of his easy yoke (cf. Matt. 11:30).

But we also sought and he did not give to us; and who knows that this was not for our benefit? Let us say that. Is anyone of us not aware that he disobeyed the Lord himself and saw that the Lord was long-suffering? We will leave to the Lord the matter of the superiors. For we shall all stand at the judgment seat of Christ; for God does not pay deference to any man (cf. Luke 20:21). So get up and gird yourself, and do not cave in to arguments. Listen to the one who says, “Do not be overcome by evil but overcome evil with good” (Rom. 12:21). Woe to the sinner, my beloved ones. The “Lord of Glory” (I Cor. 2:8) endured so much for us, what can we offer to him in return for the sufferings which he endured for us?

Therefore let us fall down before him with the whole of our hearts, begging for patience from his loving-kindness, [for] “through many tribulations we must enter the kingdom” (Acts 14:22) of heaven. For the Savior said to his disciples, “You will be sorrowful but your sorrow will turn into

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joy. When a woman is in travail she has sorrow, because her hour has come; but when she is delivered of the child, she no longer remembers that hour, for joy that a child is born into the world. So you have affliction now, but I will see you again and your hearts will rejoice, and no one will take your joy from you” (John 16:20–22).

Therefore, my brothers, let us be patient, “bearing one another’s burdens” (Eph. 6:2). For what soldier seeing his comrade seized by the enemy does not struggle and fight against the enemy to rescue his comrade from the hands of those who have taken him prisoner? Whenever he is not able to rescue him, then he weeps and beats himself remembering his comrade. Are we not under a much greater obligation to lay down our lives for each other, since Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ said, “Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends?” (John 15:13)

My brothers, did you not promise to please Christ? If you do not bear the temptations and afflictions which are brought upon you by your enemies, and do not accept the admonitions and training from your superior or endure nobly, your promise has been proven false, as the apostle says, “If you are left without discipline, you are illegitimate children [p. 72] and not sons” (Heb. 12:8). Were you rebuked, were you reproached? Rejoice that you were rebuked, but also correct your error. Were you rebuked unjustly? Your reward is greater. For the apostles also when they were proclaiming salvation to the world city by city, when they were beaten as criminals they did not get angry, they did not become annoyed, but they rejoiced because they were thought worthy to suffer dishonor for the name of Christ. So you also rejoice, because you were thought worthy to suffer dishonor for the name of Christ.

But perhaps one of the more careless will say to me, “I am grieved because this has happened to me after so many labors.” Does this grieve you, O servant of the Lord? Then examine yourself to see whether you really conquered your passions after so many years, and whether you rejoiced when dishonor came upon you and whether you were not proud when glory came to you. “For if any one thinks he is something, when he is nothing, he deceives himself” (Gal. 6:3). For the test of the helmsman comes at the time of the storm. For the man who boasts and says, “I have lived the monastic life for so many years” and does not show his profession in operation or reveal the characteristics of the devout life as a result of his way of life, that man is carrying about the tools but has not yet learned the skill to use them.

Have you grown old in the [monastic] habit? Since you are experienced in the aforementioned life, be a model for the young and inexperienced. But if you are a neophyte, be subject to your elders. For the soldiers of the earthly emperor are subject to their superiors and leaders; ought you not be subject much more, not only because of envy but also for conscience’s sake? For if they who serve in a physical army show the utmost eagerness to serve their superiors, how is it that we, who rejected life itself, continue to be subject to these passions and to repudiate the discipline in Christ, and demand the glory and praise of perfect anchorites, but run away from the labors from which honors come? Why do we allow all this tranquility and struggle to be destroyed in one hour? For if we kill ourselves, who is going to pity us? Is this our praise? This is our test, so that when a small affliction comes, are we to be compelled nearly to renounce the habit itself and disown the angelic life and through our laziness arm the enemy against us?

Do not, my brothers, do not offer your backs to the enemy, but resist and wage the war and he

will flee from you. For I reckon that the one who undertook your leadership does not rejoice at your disgrace, since he is going to render account to the Lord on your behalf. So come to yourselves, beloved ones, and “return to your rest” (Ps. 114 [116]:7). Put on the breastplate of faith and the helmet of salvation, and take up the sword of the Holy [p. 73] Spirit, which is the word of God (cf. Eph. 6:14–17).

Be a model of gentleness to your brothers who are of the same spirit. Your senior brothers will admire your endurance. Let the Holy Spirit which dwells within you rejoice at your bravery. But if you do not put up with a small temptation, how will you endure a great one? If you do not defeat a child, how will you overthrow a grown man? If you do not endure a word, how are you to bear a blow? If you do not bear a slap in the face, how will you endure the cross of Christ? If you do not endure the cross of Christ, how will you become joint heirs of heavenly glory with those who say, “All this has come upon us, though we have not forgotten thee, or been false to the covenant” (Ps. 43 [44]:17), and again, “For thy sake we are being killed all day long; we are regarded as sheep to be slaughtered” (Rom. 8:36). If you did not strive with these people nor share in their labor, how will you enjoy the everlasting life with them? Run, my brothers, run [the race]. Hurry, that you may be crowned by Christ Our God and live forever and ever with him in the kingdom of heaven. So much concerning those who try to leave the monastery and the brotherhood and put forward vain and false excuses.

54. Concerning the fact that a distribution must take place at the gate, and that strangers and sick people must be visited.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [38], ed. lines 1164–84]: **You must observe closely what we will say since it will bestow on you much benefit and salvation. What is this? It is the distribution at the gate and the comforting and visiting of strangers and the sick** in which we recommend therefore that you **comfort stranger brothers and provide whatever care you can to those among them that are sick and confined to bed.** As you know that I do this, so you do it also. **Clothe and give footwear to those who are naked and unshod using your old tunics and footwear, distributed not by you yourselves—for we do not permit that—but by the superior.** I say that you should **feed the hungry and refresh them, as we said, with bread and wine and some legumes, those that are excess to your needs.** For then you will have a much greater reward whenever you do this from your lack, **for what a person can do is dear to God,** and you should **bury those who die.** But you should not **bury them simply nor in any haphazard fashion but first the burial chants are to be sung by you and they should receive the other care, to put it simply, to show our stranger brothers complete joyfulness so that we may receive from God joyful and abundant mercy on their behalf.** [p. 74]

55. Concerning the fact that women must not visit the monastery unless they are people well known for their way of life and virtue.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [38], ed. lines 1184–91]: **For we do not wish anyone to return from our gate empty-handed, except a woman. For they should not receive a share, not that we hate our fellow human beings, certainly not, but we fear harm from that quarter, in case if a habit was generally accepted they would visit the gate more frequently and would be found to be**

the cause of evil rather than good to those ministering. If however there is a general distribution, as at the feast of the Beheading of our patron, the venerable Forerunner, and at different commemorations of the dead, giving also to women should not be prevented. For this occurs rarely and does not cause any harm.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [39]]: **We wished and desired the monastery not to be entered and to be completely impassable to women, but the nobility of many and the fact that it was not possible to send them away easily prevented us giving this order. Therefore, as many as are well known for their way of life and virtue, their nobility and eminence, may come in but very rarely and carefully and, if possible, unexpectedly, so that in that way we may be able to preserve our respect for them and maintain freedom from harm for ourselves.**

[= (22) *Evergetis* [41], ed. lines 1248–50]: **Seeing that I have already spoken a few things before about our sick brothers assigning all their care to the discretion of the superior, I must discuss them at greater length.**

56. Concerning the comfort of sick brothers.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [41], ed. lines 1250–69]: **Therefore we order that a cell be set aside for the sick as an infirmary, and four beds for their rest and comfort, and one brother to minister to them in every way.** There should also be a large stove on which their food should be cooked, hot drinks prepared and everything else required for their comfort. **Their care should not be carried out in a perfunctory manner but as well as possible with regard to food and drink and other necessities.** For I know from the benefits conferred on me by God that he will never overlook the request of his servants who beseech him night and day, but he will hear and send a doctor who will bring them relief. The Holy God provides them with healing and a remedy through the intercessions of our lord and patron, John the venerable Forerunner and Baptist, and through the mediation of our benefactor, St. Symeon the Wonderworker.

The superior **should call at the infirmary neither rarely nor as an extra, but should visit the brothers, if he is able, almost every hour and in a wholehearted manner, and bring the things that each one needs. But our sick brothers emboldened by this should not cast off self-restraint by seeking for extra things and things which perhaps they have never even heard of much less seen [p. 75] and eaten, but they should restrain and control themselves, being satisfied only with those things which the circumstance of the season and the resources of the monastery provide for them. For if we command that they be cared for because of the [divine] commandment, yet we do not allow them to give themselves airs but live in a more restrained manner, and as monks ought, so that they may receive from God the reward of their endurance, which the deprivation of their desires and the unpleasantness of their sickness is going to secure for them.**

Therefore when I have mentioned one thing I will cease my discourse. What is this thing? It is something which is greater than all evils and their chief, and one which causes great harm to our souls, or to put it more strongly, also to our bodies, and throws the whole brotherhood into confusion both as regards our wonderful way of life and the tranquility of our souls dwelling on this mountain.

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57. Concerning the fact that they should have no female animals at all.

We give this instruction from the Lord God, that you should never possess female animals inside or outside the monastery, neither oxen, nor sheep, nor anything else of that kind. For [this] has been forbidden to all those who conduct their lives in God's way and renounce the affairs of [this] life. Moreover you should only have male animals for the grinding of your bread, and very few of these, and two male oxen, that is one yoke, and no more, to work for you. For since I have had experience of the harm and damage, both spiritual and physical, that come from them, I am arranging for you to escape from their error and deceit, so that you may not be grieved as I was, and incur great damage and no benefit because of them. But if you disobey me, then you will remember and against your will you will call me blessed whenever you do not reap any benefit from them, but rather physical and spiritual damage, disturbances and confusion.

For I trust in God and in our founder, John the venerable Forerunner and baptizer of God, that if you adhere to poverty and monastic destitution and dwelling on this holy mountain and serve God properly according to his commands and as I have ordered you, you will never grieve for any of your necessities, but you will enjoy from the merciful God whatever you need for the maintenance of your miserable bodies richly and to a greater degree than all those who possess vain and wealthy possessions, as my Savior himself says through the holy gospel, "Therefore do not be anxious saying, 'What shall we eat?' or 'What shall we drink' or 'What shall we wear?'" For the [p. 76] gentiles seek all these things, and your heavenly father knows that you need them all. But seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things will be yours as well. Therefore do not be anxious about tomorrow, for tomorrow will be anxious for itself" (Matt. 6:31-34).

These things are true and happen, my beloved brothers, to those who trust wholeheartedly and are not lacking in faith, who offer their souls and bodies to God who formed them and seek him night and day, as I the sinner have realized from actions themselves and have been convinced by the countless benefits that come to me every day from God. For have confidence in me as someone deranged and yet telling the truth, that often when I, the [most] unworthy one in heaven and earth, was wandering on this mountain and beseeching the mercy of the Lord to find some small drop of salvation and pardon for my many and innumerable sins which I committed in both ignorance and full knowledge, great consolation, or rather, if I must speak more truly, divine illumination and fearful miracles were granted to my weakness by John, my Lord and the venerable Forerunner and wonderful Baptizer of Christ our God.

Therefore, I exhort and beg you not to reside in vain on this mountain, because this mountain is very beneficial for those who wish to be saved. For if someone calls this mountain Horeb (Ex. 3:1-4:18) and Mount Carmel (3 Kings 18:19-39) or Mount Sinai (Ex. 19:3-20:26), mountain of miracles, or Tabor, the mountain on which Christ my God revealed to his holy disciples and apostles the surpassing splendor of his divinity (Matt. 17:1-9), he will not fall short of what is proper. If you reside on this holy and wonderful mountain and lay to heart what has been said, you will bear fruit thirty-fold and sixty-fold and a hundred-fold (Matt. 13:8), being far away from the crafty serpent, fornication and the other foul passions, which it is disgraceful [for me] to mention in detail and for you to hear.

Through the Lord do not grow weary in carrying out, each Saturday or at the time of leavening [the dough for the bread], the holy command of our divine father the miracle-worker which

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was handed on to you concerning the *trisagion* of the grain and leaven, when the priest must say in the granary, “Lord Jesus Christ, our God, who blessed the five loaves and fed the five thousand (Matt. 14:19–21), bless this corn and increase it in this thy holy monastery and for thy whole world, because all our hope is in thee and we entreat thee hoping for our daily bread from thee. Do not overlook us sinners. For thou hast said, ‘Whatever you [p. 77] ask in my name, you will receive’ (John 14:14; 16:24). Thy word is ‘Be fruitful and multiply’ (Gen. 1:28). Therefore having confidence in the mercy of thy compassion we entreat thee, do not abandon us, but look from thy holy dwelling, from the glorious throne of thy kingdom and give to us sinners and thy servants our daily bread, by the intercessions of our all-pure Lady, the Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, and of the holy and glorious prophet, [St. John] the Forerunner and Baptist, and of our holy father, Symeon the miracle-worker, and of all thy saints, because thou art the one who blesseth and halloweth everything, and we offer up glory to thee, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.”

58. Concerning whether boys are to be accepted into the monastery or not.

Since it is necessary to make a regulation for you about whether boys or beardless youths are to be accepted into this monastery or not, I considered it important to commend to you on this subject all the things I have received from experience itself and from our luminaries, the holy fathers. So then it is my wish and is in accordance with the instructions of the saints that beardless youths should not be accepted, so that you may be free and untroubled by the harm that comes upon you from them.

But if the superior is obliged from time to time either for service or for the comfort of the old to accept some such person, when perhaps the brothers are hard pressed and do not have people to minister to them, I give you the instruction that these should reside on the estate of the monastery, which is called St. Peter and surnamed Chalkeion, but called locally Panteichion, and minister to the brothers until they grow a beard, and then they should be accepted into the monastery along with the fathers.⁷⁶ For otherwise it is not a good thing that such persons should spend their time with the old men inside the monastery, but it is very harmful in many ways.

If there are some who disagree and say that such persons do not cause harm especially in the mountains, they talk foolishly. For whatever [reason] they put forward is invalid and feeble. If they wish to say something to them for their help and study and instruction when the spiritual war caused by those persons begins and for support and protection of those who are obliged to live with such persons, come now, let us set out something for them.⁷⁷

Those who say that they associate with women and children [p. 78] and are not harmed in their souls by this pleasure but are greatly strengthened and face with resistance the temptations of fornication and the titillations of the flesh are entirely possessed by the deceit of demons.

For the stratagems and devices of the devil are many, as the blessed apostle Paul says (cf. Eph. 6:11), and one of two explanations apply. Either such people are foolish and inexperienced in the evil and devious nature of our unseen enemies, or in reality they are fond of pleasure and are subject to their passions, and with an appearance of reverence and chastity they satisfy their vanity and desire for popularity, while they secretly engage in much evil

and lawless pleasure, and will be counted with fornicators and adulterers and sodomites and will be punished with them on the day of judgment, even if, as they say, they carry out nothing shameful that causes harm to their bodies. For if he who has looked on a woman to desire her has committed adultery already with her in his heart (cf. Matt. 5:28), it is much more the case with the one who associates with younger males, whether he is an old man or a younger man in the prime of life and at the height of his powers and seething with fleshly passion.

For we have known some who were really faithful men and powerful warriors in spiritual action, poor and strong and vigorous, knowing how to wrestle and box with demons that opposed them, keeping vigils and fasting and drinking [only] water and being satisfied with only a mat to sleep on, having many accomplishments and praying constantly, and because they were tempted regarding their own mothers and sisters and brothers and their own young sons, they were compelled by the pleasure loving spirits of impurity to carry out the madness of their evil desire and after this they confessed these actions openly with tears, striking themselves and shouting, “We have sinned, we have transgressed, we were possessed by demons.” For the desire of the flesh is truly a mighty and lawless demon and pleasure is bitter and destructive.

We have known and seen monks because of this renounce the holy habit and wreck themselves in countless disgraceful actions. History also has handed down monks of Mesopotamia suffering this and Cilicians and monks from Asia and Pontos and Egypt and Thessalians and Greeks and Arabians and Persians and so forth. But be aware of the cleverness, but more so of the wickedness of the demon of fornication. For it goes away for a time and deadens the body so that it is not tested by fire, and it stops [p. 79] the stirrings of passion and makes the one who is being deceived to think that he has reached the heights of tranquility and that he was thought worthy of the rank of the apostles and that he will be taken up to the heavens in the future like Elijah in a fiery chariot (4 Kings 2:11–12).

They also make him instruct many people and boast and speak proudly and reproach those who lapse into pleasures, and condemn those who commit fornication, and be arrogant and boast of the great deeds of his religious devotion, and scorn his brothers as soft and feeble with no act of spiritual excellence. But after all that, when some time has gone by, suddenly the demon of fornication attacks the brother who has gone astray, even if he has kept himself chaste, and alters his mind inclining it to disgraceful pleasure, compelling his lower nature to boil as if for an abominable action that brings harm to his soul, and slackens the cords of his purpose and inflames his limbs with the impure fire of passion and destroys all the strength of the man and turns his whole disposition towards what is blameworthy and worse, and shows that the man who previously seemed to be righteous and holy and a follower of the life of devotion is like a pig rolling in mud and clearly is worse than the people who openly and publicly commit fornication in the market place.

Then he realizes from where and to where he has fallen, and so he says, “‘I am come into the depths of the sea and the storm’ of my passion ‘has overwhelmed me’ (Ps. 68 [69]:2–3); ‘my wounds grow foul and fester because of my foolishness’ (Ps. 37 [38]:5). Now I truly know that I am not perfect or intelligent nor am I experienced in the tricks of the devil and

demons, but foolish and senseless and simple-minded.” Therefore he cries out, “‘Oh God, thou knowest my foolishness; my transgressions are not hidden from thee’ (Ps. 68 [69]:5). For what was considered my righteousness has in my folly been counted as the rag of a menstrous woman” (cf. Is. 64:6).

I say these things not as one who is righteous or virtuous but as a sinner who has been instructed by the holy fathers, men of great experience able to resist the devices of the enemy. Since the devil knows that the monk embraces piety and purity of life above everything and wishes to live always in purity and the fear of God, for this reason Satan, opposing and resisting this inclination of the monk, troubles and confuses and defiles him in wicked desires and in unhealthy and strange pleasures— not only when the faces of people are seen [p. 80] in the flesh but also when they are not seen—by an invisible disturbance in the soul and by the action of the bodily emotions, tempting and afflicting and defiling the person who is striving with filthy dreams at night and during the day in his thought and through the temptations of the flesh and the mad desire for wickedness.

Sometimes the demon of blasphemy also runs to join the fray alongside the demon of impurity, so that it throws the one practicing the religious life into a state of hopelessness and despair. Therefore we should be on our guard against the devices and stratagems of the crafty and cunning demon. Let us instruct ourselves that whenever we meet a handsome face, whether they are our brothers or members of our own family, not to look clearly at the handsome face, but to speak looking down at the ground and in that way answer those who speak with us. For the eye of a man is like a shameless dog running in a frenzy over the faces of those it sees, and always the demons use this weapon against us as they also use the hand. For in the beginning Eve first saw the beauty of the tree, then in her desire grasped in her hand and ate of the forbidden fruit, and after that she was stripped of innocence and righteousness and was cast down to death and destruction.

So that you may appreciate and understand what is being said more precisely, take heed of what will now be said. For a number of years ago a certain eunuch named Eutropios, a secretary of Jouliane of Plakis,⁷⁸ the wife of Areobindos the general,⁷⁹ renounced the world and became a monk, and taking the second tower which was built by Elias the archbishop of Jerusalem,⁸⁰ he lived in it and gathered together a community of eunuch monks not far from Jericho. So then this Eutropios after many years made confession with repentance and in affliction said, “A certain man of Jericho, noble and wealthy, became my friend and brought offerings to my monastery and often ate with me. When a son was born he begged me,” he said, “to act as his sponsor at holy baptism; and this I did. So the man always brought the child to me, and I used to receive the infant happily with joy and a pure heart in the sincerity of my soul, and I kissed it and embraced it as a child given to me by God through the holy baptism in the Holy Spirit. But when the child had grown and was about ten years old, my thoughts changed for the worse and my state of mind changed to evil. I suffered distress and was driven to a loathsome [p. 81] desire and the ferocity of the wicked desire and pleasure in my heart was burning me up.”

It is not an amazing thing that a eunuch should feel desire. For Scripture says, “It is the lust of a eunuch to deflower a virgin” (Sir. 20:4). For not only does a eunuch feel desire, but

he can also sleep with a woman and have intercourse and produce an emission, except however the eunuch produces weak seed and cannot beget children. Do not be shocked as you hear about the eunuch. For Satan often encourages a woman to desire a woman, and for that reason reverent mothers superior of communities instruct the nuns under them not to gaze at each other's faces simply and naturally, lest through the act of seeing they should slip into passion and harm, but to lower their eyes and look at the ground and in that way speak virgin to virgin.

"So then," said Eutropios, "I, having changed in appearance and becoming completely obsessed with my filthy passion, wished to have intercourse with the child and be united with him to my personal disgrace. But I beseeched God to hinder me and I said, 'Lord My God, send instead fire from above and burn me up and do not allow me to carry out this foul deed.' God granted that I should come to my senses a little and raise myself from the mud and darkness of my irrational desire. I said to the father of the child, 'Take him and go away to your house and do not bring him to my monastery anymore.'

So from that moment I never saw the boy. But when the enemy realized that, he attacked me more vigorously and more intensely and more bitterly and impressed on my mind the form of the boy and stuck his likeness and appearance and image on my heart. Under the constraint I did not have the power to tear myself away and cut myself off from the utterly foul and serpent-like passion, but even while I was praying and singing and keeping vigil and reading I had the wicked one who binds hand and foot working inside me, the demon of disgraceful desire plundering me and torturing me with passion and subduing me utterly.

I fasted, I was austere with my wretched body. I wept, I groaned, I gnashed my teeth as I howled, I struck my head with my fists. I beat my feet with a rod in anger and the evil did not go away, but the part of my body was even more inflamed and rose up and let fall drops of filth so that my thighs were [p. 82] defiled with impure moisture.

Therefore, after a long time had passed like this, when I was in despair and thought I no longer found mercy, against expectation the God of all stooped to have mercy on me. He looked with favor on the humility of my soul and removed from me that dark cloud, and released me from the pernicious temptation. Gaining refreshment in that way, I thanked and [still] thank and until my death will thank Christ our God."

Therefore let what happened to Eutropios the eunuch, the priest and superior, be instruction for those who say, "We sleep with women and live with children and are not harmed."

With women and children! What am I saying? Sometimes we are tempted with regard to irrational animals themselves, and this we know from many who have made confession to us and from the story which will now be told.

Once the priest of [the monastery] of Kellia⁸¹ traveled from the mountain of Nitria riding on a female donkey and sent it back again with his own disciple, and along the way the devil tempted him with regard to the female donkey and seven times tempted him to sin with it. The brother in his struggle prayed and was uplifted and by doing so he gave back the donkey and returned to his father with a disturbed face. But the old man had second sight and saw seven crowns on his head. The brother prostrated himself to the old man saying, "Pray for me because I have fallen into immorality," and he reported to him how the devil

tempted him with regard to the female donkey on the road. The old man said to him, “Have courage, my child, because I saw seven crowns on your head when you came. For you were not defeated in so far as you did not accomplish the sin but rather were victorious. For the struggle is great whenever a man has a good opportunity and [yet] practices self-restraint, and this action carries a great reward, as in the case of the great champion, Joseph of blessed memory.”⁸²

Therefore hearing all these things, my fathers and brothers, let us pay close attention to how we walk our road following God and how we live with our younger brothers, lest we find ourselves instead in the harbor of the devil, a prey and delight to our enemies, the demons I mean, who never cease tempting us. “We know that our old self was crucified with him, so that the sinful body might be destroyed, and we might no longer be enslaved to sin. For he who has died is freed from sin. But if we have died with Christ, we believe that we shall also live [p. 83] with him. For we know that Christ being raised from the dead will never die again. Death no longer has dominion over him. The death he died he died to sin, once for all, but the life he lives he lives to God. So you also must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus Our Lord. Let not sin therefore reign in our mortal bodies, to make us obey their passions. Do not yield your members to sin as instruments of wickedness, but yield yourselves to God as men who have been brought from death to life, and your members to God as instruments of righteousness. For sin will have no dominion over you” (Rom. 6:6–14).

“Do you not know that if you yield yourselves to anyone as obedient slaves, you are the slaves of the one whom you obey, either of sin, which leads to death, or of obedience, which leads to righteousness?” (Rom. 6:16) “For just as you once yielded your members” as slaves “to impurity, so now yield your members” as slaves “to righteousness for sanctification” (Rom. 6:19). The end of sin is death, but the free gift of God is eternal life (cf. Rom. 6:21–22). “For God has not called us for uncleanness, but in holiness” (I Thess. 4:7–8). So then the one who rejects does not reject man but God, who gave his Holy Spirit to us. So then these are our wishes and are acceptable to John the venerable Forerunner and Baptist and to God, and they are greatly beneficial for your help.

59. Summary in abridged form of everything that has been said above.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [42], ed. lines 1272–91]: **In the future it will be your concern to maintain them unbroken and unchanged always. By this I mean:**

1. **To carry out completely in all the services the canonical procedure handed on to you.**
2. **To preserve the fasts that have been handed on to you, as we have received them from the holy fathers and as they are set out here, with much eagerness and a fervent heart, and**
3. **To preserve loyalty and honor which is due your superiors.**
4. **To love one another, to be keen each of you to surpass each other in humility, to labor with one another in everything as the limbs of one body and “to complete what is lacking” (Col. 1:24) in one another.**

5. **Not to stir up quarrels nor form improper friendships nor cause schisms and breakaway services.**

6. **To refrain from claiming the seat of honor and worldly preferments, from feasting and sitting together and meetings and conversations, but to look to one thing only, that is to live and conduct yourselves virtuously and breathe in nothing else, if possible, than the word of salvation and everything that is for the edification and benefit of your soul.** [p. 84]

7. **Furthermore, to banish from you the source of all evils, I mean the love of money, and the filching of the monastery's possessions or in any other way at all to set aside and store up anything whatsoever which the superior has not approved nor the rule given you has allowed, not only that but as a result of carelessness or some other act of disregard to allow something belonging to the monastery to disappear. For that is the same as the former case, even if it seems to be somewhat different, and brings the same liability in the presence of God.**

8. **Similarly you must root out familiarity as much as possible and, that I may be brief, banish everything that does not lead to salvation.** If you are wronged by someone, never go to court but flee from this as one flees from a snake, observing in this matter the command of Our Lord which says, "If anyone strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also; and if anyone would sue you and take your coat, let him have your cloak as well; and if anyone forces you to go one mile, go with him two miles" (Matt. 5:39–41). Again he says, "Love your enemies, bless those who curse you, treat well those who hate you and pray for those who abuse and persecute you, so that you may be sons of our Father who is in heaven" (Matt. 5:44–45). But in humility approach the one who is doing wrong and beseech him saying what is proper, and if he ceases from his wrongdoing, thanks is due to God; but if not, refer this matter to God and he will do what is beneficial to you and "He will not let you be tempted beyond your strength" (I Cor. 10:13).

But observe this also, [namely] not to possess female animals either inside or outside the monastery, but maintain a life of poverty and quiet and in that action strive to toil in a pursuit in which you enjoy tranquility not disturbances and distractions.

You should be eager to serve everyone as far as you are able and provide your own food from the work of your hands, and do not refuse to minister to each other both in the cooking of your food and in the refectory in imitation of Christ.

As each of you has the strength and upbringing and way of life and education and as you choose in your heart, carry out what is beneficial to your souls. Do not grow weary. Let the weak [among you] serve on fast days, and the strong ones on the remainder. For God loves a cheerful and eager servant, (cf. II Cor. 9:7) but he turns away from the servant who is lazy and slothful and does not serve with wholehearted eagerness, and in his work is not pleasing either to God or men.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [42], ed. lines 1292–1305]: **So, my children and brothers, let us in no way prefer the things that harm, and pass by those that bring salvation; for nothing of what has been handed on to you is impossible or hard [p. 85] to accomplish. But if one of these [instructions] were to be thought of as such, yet let us strive, let us persevere, let us endure, let us bear it nobly, let us force ourselves a little. For we did not abandon the world for**

indulgence and luxury, but for exertion and to strive as much as we could to gain the good things that were promised.

Therefore let us force ourselves, let us force ourselves, as has been said, “for the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence, and men of violence take it by force” (Matt. 11:12). No one has ever gained a triumph by being careless, no one has triumphed over his enemy by sleeping and dreaming. Crowns and triumphs belong to those who run well, strive, toil, persevere in the labors of battles. “Through many tribulations,” the Lord says. “you must enter the kingdom” of heaven (Acts 14:23). “If anyone of you teaches otherwise and does not agree with these sound words of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the teaching which accords with godliness,” according to the apostle he is to be called antichrist by you. For such a man “is puffed up with conceit, he knows nothing; he has a morbid craving for controversy and for disputes about words, which produce envy, dissension, slander, base suspicions, and wrangling among men who are depraved in mind and bereft of the truth, imagining that godliness is a means of gain. There is great gain in godliness with contentment. For we brought nothing into the world, and it is certain that we cannot take anything out of the world. But if we have food and clothing, with these we shall be content. But those who desire to be rich fall into temptation, into a snare, into many senseless and hurtful desires that plunge men into ruin and destruction. For the love of money is the root of all evils. It is through this craving that many have wandered away from the faith” and their profession “and pierced their hearts with many pangs. But as for you,” my brothers, “shun all this; aim at righteousness, godliness, faith, love, steadfastness, gentleness. Fight the good fight of faith; take hold of the eternal life to which you were called when you made the good confession in the presence of many witnesses” (I Tim. 6:7–12).

For “I know” this, that after my departure from the body, “fierce wolves will come in among you, not sparing the flock; and from among your own selves will arise some speaking perverse things, to draw away” the weaker ones among you “after them. Therefore be alert, remembering that I did not cease night or day to admonish every one” of you “with tears. And now I commend you,” my brothers, “to God and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up and to give you inheritance among all those who are sanctified. [p. 86] I coveted no one’s silver or gold or apparel” (Acts 20:29–34). The Lord God is my witness, nor [did I covet] this or that, as you yourselves know. But instead of all the corruptible and earthly things, I preferred what was heavenly, and I chose to have you as my consolation and crown and boast, knowing clearly that through your holy prayers I will find a small relief and pardon for my many and innumerable sins on the fearful day of judgment.

For this reason I endured all affliction and confinement living on this mountain, and “I have shown you all that by so toiling you must help the weak and remember the words of the Lord, which he said, ‘It is more blessed to give than to receive’” (Acts 20:35). Behold, “in the presence of God who gives life to all things, and of Christ Jesus who in his testimony before Pontius Pilate made the good confession, I charge you to keep the commandments” and the traditions set out here and handed on to you “unstained and free from reproach until the appearing of your Lord Jesus Christ; and this will be made manifest at the proper time by the blessed and only sovereign, the King of Kings, the Lord of Lords, who alone has immortality and dwells in unapproachable light” (I Tim. 6:13–16).

[= (22) *Evergetis* [42], ed. lines 1305–11]: Yes, **I beseech you all to “lead a life worthy of your calling” (Eph. 4:1), “present your bodies holy to the Lord” (cf. Rom. 12:1), “love one another” (John 15:12), “run well the race that is set before you” (cf. Heb. 12:1). Whatsoever is good, whatsoever is beloved of God, consider these things (cf. Phil. 4:8). Do not fail to do the things “you have heard and learned” (Phil. 4:9). My brothers, “the appointed time has grown very short” (I Cor. 7:29). Remember your souls and our insignificance, do not forget us in your prayers.**

[= (22) *Evergetis* [43]]: **I instruct you to read the present *typikon* at the beginning of each month during your mealtimes, until it is finished, to remind you of your instructions and for the benefit of your souls. For in that way you will be convinced about your own salvation, if you have kept well what you received from our fathers and are paying back to me in the Lord my wages for rearing you with this spiritual upbringing and instruction.**

“The God of peace who called us to his eternal life and glory” (Heb. 13:20–21) through his great and unspeakable goodness confirm and strengthen you in his holy will through his only-begotten Son Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ and the All-Holy Life-giving Spirit, to whom belong all glory, honor, worship, and majesty now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.

+ Since among all those who joined in working and toiling in our monastery the most illustrious benefactor lord Thomas Eugeniotes established and completed a great deal in it, both in the building of the church and in all kinds of other matters in our monastery and still even now does not cease working and ministering each day as one of the monks in the monastery, and seeing that he was counted as the spiritual child of our glorious father and founder, it is reasonable that this man’s name has been inscribed on the present *typikon* of the monastery, so that he may be numbered with the others who have been inscribed here and those set out on the holy diptychs of the monastery, and may be remembered with God’s help for as long as this monastery of ours is preserved.+

+ Makaria + Nicholas and Anna
[may also be remembered]

Notes on the Translation

1. Theodore (†844) and Theophanes (†845) Graptos; see Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1838), pp. 104–6, and Theodore’s *Vita* in *PG* 116, cols. 653–84.
2. Simonides, *Fr.* 5 [4]:5.
3. Cf. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 4.2, *PG* 31, col. 1349B.
4. Cf. Pseudo-Nilos, *De octo vitiosis cogitationibus*, *PG* 79, col. 1456D.
5. Pseudo-Nilos, *De octo vitiosis cogitationibus*, *PG* 79, col. 1457B.
6. Pseudo-Athanasios, *Epist. ad Castorem II*, *PG* 28, cols. 900C, 900D–901A.
7. There are two Chapters Eight due to a mistake in numeration; they are distinguished here as [A] and [B].
8. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 12, *PG* 31, col. 1376AB.
9. Unidentified quotation.
10. Pseudo-Athanasios, *Syntagma doctrinae ad monachos*, *PG* 28, col. 840A.
11. *C. Nicaen. I*, c. 20 (R&P 2.162–63).

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12. *C. Trull.* (692), c. 90.
13. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 26 ([LR 26]), PG 31, col. 985CD.
14. John Klimakos, *Scala paradisi* 4, PG 88, cols. 681B, 705C.
15. *Canones Apostolorum* 69 (R&P 2.88).
16. Fast of the Holy Apostles: from Monday after the feast of All Saints (Sunday after Pentecost) through the vigil of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 28.
17. Palladios, *Historia Lausiaca*, PG 34, col. 1148B.
18. *C. Gangra*, c. 12 (R&P 3.115).
19. Epiphanius, *Adversus haereses* 3.22, PG 42, col. 828A.
20. Pseudo-Athanasios, *Syntagma doctrinae ad monachos*, PG 28, col. 837C.
21. P. van den Ven, *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon le jeune*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1962), p. 26, lines 102–3.
22. (11) *Ath. Rule* [22], [24].
23. John Chrysostom, *De Lazaro concio* I, PG 48, cols. 966–67.
24. John Chrysostom, *De incomprehensibili dei natura* II, PG 48, col. 718.
25. In [17] above; cf. liturgical calendar in [19] below.
26. Peter of Alexandria, *Epistula canonica* 15 (R&P 4.43).
27. See (20) *Black Mountain* [55] with notes 66 and 68.
28. Cf. *Can. Apost.* 69 (R&P 2.88), which prescribes fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays.
29. Van den Ven, *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon*, vol. 1, p. 148, lines 1–24.
30. Unidentified quotation.
31. Feast of the Birth of the Mother of God, September 8.
32. Feast of the Exaltation, September 14.
33. Feast of the Apostle Matthew, November 16.
34. Feast of the Entry into the Temple (Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple), November 21.
35. Feast of the Apostle Andrew, November 30.
36. Feast of the Conception of St. Anne, December 9.
37. Feast of St. Ignatios, December 20.
38. Feasts of the Epiphany, January 6; of the Commemoration of St. John the Baptist, January 7; of the Presentation of the Lord, February 2; of St. Symeon, February 3; of the Discovery of the Head of St. John the Baptist, February 24; of the Forty Martyrs, March 9; of the Annunciation, March 25; of St. George, April 23; of St. Mark, April 25; of St. James, April 30; of St. John the Theologian, May 8; of St. Symeon the Wonderworker, May 24; of Sts. Bartholomew and Barnabas, June 11; of the Birth of St. John the Forerunner, June 24; of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 29; of the Twelve Apostles, June 30; of Sts. Kosmas and Damian, July 1; of the [venerable] Robe of the Mother of God, July 2; of St. Gabriel, July 13; of the prophet Elijah, July 20; of St. Panteleemon, July 27.
39. Feast of the Transfiguration, August 6.
40. Feast of the Dormition, August 15.
41. Feast of the Beheading of St. John the Forerunner, August 29.
42. Possibly a later interpolation, for it contradicts the preceding arguments advanced previously in favor of fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year; for the “fast of Artzibourios,” see the discussion in (20) *Black Mountain* [55] with note.
43. Nikephoros I, patriarch of Constantinople, *Kanon* 79, ed. J. B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1858; repr. Graz, 1963), p. 398.
44. Theophilus of Alexandria, *Prosphonesis*, c. 1 (R&P 4.342).
45. Cassian, *Apophthegmata patrum*, *Apophth.* 4, PG 65, col. 245C.
46. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 6, PG 31, cols. 1360D–65A.
47. Saturday of the first week in Lent.
48. *C. Laod.*, c. 50 (R&P 3.217); see the citation of the same rule in (20) *Black Mountain* [63].
49. Feast of the Discovery of the Head of St. John the Forerunner, February 24; feast of the Forty Martyrs, March 9.

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50. Feast of the Annunciation, March 25.
51. Cf. (20) *Black Mountain* [64].
52. *C. Trull.* (692), c. 89 (R&P 2.512–13).
53. Unidentified quotation.
54. Dionysios of Alexandria, *Epistula ad Basileidem* (R&P 4.3–4).
55. *Constitutiones Apostolorum* 5.13, 15, 18–20, ed. F. X. Funk, *Didascalica et Constitutiones Apostolorum* (Paderborn, 1905), pp. 269–71, 281–83, 289–301.
56. Actually, the feast of Pentecost (fifty days after Easter) occurs on the seventh Sunday after Easter Sunday.
57. Cf. Exod. 34:28 and III Kings 19:8.
58. Fast of the Holy Nativity, from November 15 until Christmas.
59. The feast of the Dormition, August 15.
60. *Tomus unionis* of the Council of Constantinople (920) = Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 669, ed. L. G. Westerink, *Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople: Miscellaneous Writings* (Washington, D.C., 1981), p. 66, lines 114–16.
61. Actually Euthymios of Peribleptos, *Oratio seu invectivus contra Armenios* 1, *PG* 132, col. 1200; for the attribution, see Beck, *KTL*, pp. 533, 598, with V. Grumel, “Les invectives contre les Arméniens du ‘Catholicos Isaac,’” *REB* 14 (1956), 174–94.
62. Menas (536–52) and Eutychios (552–65; 577–582), patriarchs of Constantinople.
63. Nicholas III Grammatikos (1084–1111), patriarch of Constantinople.
64. In [33] above.
65. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 28, *PG* 31, col. 1417C.
66. The founder of the monastery and primary author of the *typikon*, now deceased; cf. [59] below.
67. Probably John’s successor.
68. Relationship to the Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–81) uncertain; see Alexander Kazhdan, “Botaneiates,” *ODB*, pp. 314–15; his son?
69. Older brother of Alexios I Komnenos, for whom see B. Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l’Alexiade* (Louvain, 1980), pp. 124–30, and K. Varzos, *He Genealogia ton Komnenon*, vol. 1 (Thessaloniki, 1984), pp. 67–79. He is commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
70. Daughter of Isaac Komnenos the *sebastokrator* and niece of Alexios I Komnenos.
71. Probably his monastic name; not otherwise known.
72. Maria of Alania, Georgian princess and wife of Michael VII Doukas (1071–78) and Nikephoros III. Her cousin Irene was the spouse of Isaac Komnenos the *sebastokrator* and the mother of six children, including the Eudokia Komnene mentioned in this chapter (cf. Skoulatos, *Personnages*, p. 125).
73. There are two Chapters Fifty-Three due to another mistake in numeration; they are distinguished here as [A] and [B].
74. A long quotation from Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 21, *PG* 31, cols. 1393–1401 initiates the next chapter; borrowed sections are in bold type.
75. On Lot, see Gen. 19:1–24; Gehazi, IV Kings 5:25–27; Samuel, I Kings 1–3.
76. Cf. the boys’ school in (23) *Pakourianos* [31].
77. According to this document’s editor (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes*, p. 77), this remarkable quotation is from the *Epistole* of Paul Helladikos, superior of the Elusa monastery in Idumaea, ed. V. Lundström, *Anecdota byzantina e codicibus Upsaliensibus cum aliis collatis* (Uppsala, 1902), pp. 15–23, which dates to the first quarter of the sixth century. Its extraordinary content was noted by J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosios I to the Death of Justinian*, vol. 2 (London, 1923), p. 412, n. 5, who describes it as “one of the most unsavoury documents of Christian monasticism.” See also Beck, *KTL*, p. 406, and C. Galatariotou, “*Eros* and *Thanatos*: A Byzantine Hermit’s Conception of Sexuality,” *B&MGS* 13 (1989), pp. 116–17.
78. Anicia Juliana, for whom see Walter Kaegi, “Anicia Juliana,” *ODB*, pp. 99–100.

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79. Flavius Dagalaiphus Areobindus, who married Anicia Juliana in 478/79; see Timothy Gregory, "Areobindus," *ODB*, p. 162.
80. Elias I, patriarch of Jerusalem (494–516), for whom see Aristeides Papadakis, "Elias I," *ODB*, pp. 685–86.
81. The largest Early Christian monastic settlement in Egypt near the Western edge of the Nile Delta, built from the sixth to the eighth century; see Peter Grossmann, "Kellia," *ODB*, pp. 1119–20. The source of this chapter on bestiality has not been identified.
82. The reference is probably to the early ascetic, Joseph, who boasted of having fought successfully against passions. See his *apophthegma* 10 in *Apophthegmata patrum*, PG 65, col. 232B.

Document Notes

- [1] Introductory discourse; meditation on death. See other such meditations in (5) *Euthymios* [3]; (6) *Rila* [2]; (7) *Latros* Introduction; (10) *Eleousa* [1]; (24) *Christodoulos* [B1]; (25) *Fragala* [A6], [B6]; (41) *Docheiariou* [1]; (45) *Neophytos* [2]; (48) *Prodromos* [1]; (49) *Geromeri* [2] ff.; (50) *Gerasimos* [1]; and (51) *Koutloumoussi* [A1], [C1]. The author makes some use of the text of (22) *Evergetis* [3] towards the end of this chapter to describe his contributions to the foundation.
- [2] Early history of the foundation. The various accounts here are purely legendary; cf. the small amount of factual material in [33] and [50] below.
- [3] Miraculous icon of the St. John the Forerunner. For references to icons and their uses elsewhere in our documents, see (9) *Galesios* [138]; (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 5], [INV 18]; (22) *Evergetis* [29]; (23) *Pakourianos* [12], [33B]; (24) *Christodoulos* [B10]; (28) *Pantokrator* [2], [7], [25], [29], [34], [35]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [7], [12], [35], [65], [89], [90]; (31) *Areia* [T10]; (34) *Machairas* [92], [150]; (38) *Kellibara I* [13]; (39) *Lips* [7], [25], [37]; (45) *Neophytos* [24]; (46) *Akropolites* [5]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [74], [137], [140], [142], [143], [156]; (61) *Eleousa Inv.* [2]. (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 5] mentions a bronze icon of St. John the Forerunner.
- [4] Beginning of the spiritual instruction. The author's partiality to military analogies may provide a hint as to his background.
- [5] Discussion of fasting. Provides a philosophical justification of the author's approach to fasting, which rejects extreme asceticism yet is somewhat stricter than the rest of the documents in the Evergetian tradition; cf. the general discussion in (20) *Black Mountain*, with whose author our author here is often in agreement on particular issues.
- [6] How to repel *akedia*. See also (27) *Kecharitomene* [26] and the general discussion in Gustave Bardy, "Akedia," *DS*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1937), cols. 166–69.
- [7] Ten steps to perfection of the spirit. See also [8B] below.
- [8A] Concerning humility. See also the Evergetian formulations in [36] below.
- [8B] Another ladder of spiritual ascent. Makes some use of (22) *Evergetis* [3] towards the end; this part of the Evergetian text shared later with (32) *Mamas* [47], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46], and (34) *Machairas* [30].
- [9] Office of the first hour. Drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [4]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [32], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13], (32) *Mamas* [47], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46], and (34) *Machairas* [31], [32], [33], [34].
- [10] Exemptions from genuflections during Christmas and Pentecost; offices of the third, sixth and ninth hours. Makes some minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [4] at the beginning and the end; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [33], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13], (34) *Machairas*.
- [11] Guidelines for the reception of communion. Drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [5]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [33], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [14], (32) *Mamas* [32], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [32], and (34) *Machairas* [36], [37], [38], [39].
- [12] Prescriptions for the ninth hour, vespers, compline, the night office, and the midnight office. Like [13] below, drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [6]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [35], [36],

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- [37], [38]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15]; (32) *Mamas* [47]; and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]. (34) *Machairas* [42], [43], [44], [45], [46] provides a different treatment. The first gloss explains the association of the recitation of “God the Lord” with non-fast and the “Alleluia” with fast days.
- [13] Office of matins. Like [12] above, drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [6]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [39], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15], (32) *Mamas* [47], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46], and (34) *Machairas* [48]. The transition at the end is drawn from (22) *Evergetis* [7], whose text continues into [14] below.
- [14] Daily confession. Like [15] below, drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [7]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [16], [17]; (32) *Mamas* [30], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [30], and (34) *Machairas* [51], [52].
- [15] First and great confession at tonsure. Like [14] above, drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [7]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [18] and (34) *Machairas* [53].
- [16] Authorities for the Lenten fast and Wednesday and Friday fast days. Makes minor use of (22) *Evergetis* [8] at the beginning to refer to the liturgical *typikon* for the regulation of fasts; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [19].
- [17] Feast days for which fasts may be broken. See the similar provision in (20) *Black Mountain* [48].
- [18] Diet when other feasts and fast days coincide. See the similar provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [49], [50].
- [19] General rules for fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays; liturgical calendar. See the similar provision in (20) *Black Mountain* [38] and the liturgical calendar in [89]. For the consumption of cheese and eggs before Meatfare Week and during Cheesefare Week to spite the Artzibourians, see (20) *Black Mountain* [55], [90]; (32) *Mamas* [19]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19]; (34) *Machairas* [78]; and (36) *Blemmydes* [11].
- [20] Importance of both the office and diet. Like [21], [22], [23], [24], and [26] below, makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [9]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [20], (32) *Mamas* [17], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], (34) *Machairas* [61], and (58) *Menoikeon* [8].
- [21] Refectory procedures. Like [20] above and [22], [23], [24], [26] below, makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [9]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [40], [41]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [21]; (32) *Mamas* [17]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], and (34) *Machairas* [62], [63].
- [22] No arguments over seating precedence; no sharing of food. Like [20], [21] above and [23], [24], [26] below, makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [9]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [42], [43]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [22], [23]; (32) *Mamas* [36], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [35], and (34) *Machairas* [64].
- [23] No secret eating. Like [20], [21], [22] above and [24], [26] below, makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [9]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [23], (27) *Kecharitomene* [49], (32) *Mamas* [20], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [20]. As in the model *typikon*, the injunction against secret eating is repeated, found here in [41] below. The author’s concluding comment in this chapter is continued as a chapter-length discussion in [24] below.
- [24] Almsgiving not a substitute for a life of poverty; regulations for the evening meal. The discussion of the latter, like [20], [21], [22], [23] above and [26] below, makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [9]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [24] and (34) *Machairas* [66].
- [25] Regulations for relations with people outside the monastery. See also [39] below. Possibly influenced by Studite legislation on the subject; see (3) *Theodore Studites* [8], [10], [15], [17].
- [26] Role of the disciplinarian in the refectory. Like [20], [21], [22], [23], and [24] above, makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [9]; text shared also with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [24].
- [27] Diet for the first week in Lent. Like [28], [29], and [30] below, makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [10]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [25], (32) *Mamas* [18], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], and (34) *Machairas* [67].
- [28] Lenten diet. Like [27] above and [29], [30] below, makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [10]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [47]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [25], [26], [27], [28]; (32) *Mamas* [18]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18]; and (34) *Machairas* [67], [68], [69], [70], [71], [72], [73]. The author adds exten-

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sive canonical citations relevant to the subject.

- [29] Fast of the Holy Apostles. Like [27], [28] above and [30] below, makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [10]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [48], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [28], (32) *Mamas* [18], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], and (34) *Machairas* [76].
- [30] Fast of the Holy Nativity. Like [27], [28], and [29] above, makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [10]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [48], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [28], (32) *Mamas* [18], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], and (34) *Machairas* [76].
- [31] Fast of the Dormition of the Mother of God. Not an Evergetian fast, but see (20) *Black Mountain* [87], [88], cf. (60) *Charsianeites* [C17], where this fast is defended with reference to the same authorities.
- [32] Feast of the Forerunner. Utilizes the text of (22) *Evergetis* [11] originally intended to regulate the feast of the Dormition; text shared also with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [29].
- [33] Independent and self-governing status. Makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [12], the classic reform movement formulation; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [1], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [31], (32) *Mamas* [4], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [4], and (34) *Machairas* [21]. The author adds a historical note and a requirement that the superior seek the *sphragis* by the patriarch—repeated in [35] below.
- [34] The superior the most important official. Like [35] below, draws on (22) *Evergetis* [34].
- [35] Necessary personal qualifications; promotion of the steward; steward's tenure of office; retention of a bad superior; honors for a deposed superior; patriarchal *sphragis*; exclusive confession to the superior. An awkward chapter, the result of close textual dependency on the idiosyncratic provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14], and [15]. Some text also shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [13]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [41]; (32) *Mamas* [2]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [2]; and (34) *Machairas* [89], [90], [141], whose authors (wisely) bind themselves less closely to the original Evergetian provisions. The interpolation of the requirement of obtaining patriarchal blessing, a repetition of an earlier provision in [33] above, is particularly awkward in the context of the Evergetian quotation here, but significant as an indication of a changed relationship between the founders and the patriarchate under Nicholas III Grammatikos.
- [36] Expulsion of non-confessants; necessity of obedience to the superior; monks' mutual affection for one another; exhortation to the superior; expression of hostility to privilege. Another multi-purpose chapter, utilizing key portions of (22) *Evergetis* [15], [16], and [17]; parts of the text also shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [42], [43], [44]; (32) *Mamas* [42], [45]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [41], [44]; (34) *Machairas* [54], [142], [143], [144], [148]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [18], [19].
- [37] Superior not accountable to the monks; not to do favors for friends and relatives. Drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [18]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], (32) *Mamas* [44], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [43], and (34) *Machairas* [145], [146].
- [38] Inalienability of sacred objects; exception for fiscal emergencies. Drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [19]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [10] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [45]; cf. (32) *Mamas* [37], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [37], and (34) *Machairas* [94].
- [39] No idle talking. See also [25] above. Like [40] below, drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [21]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [47], (32) *Mamas* [35], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [34], (34) *Machairas* [113], and (58) *Menoikeion* [17].
- [40] No verbal sparring. Like [39] above, drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [21]; text shared also with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [47].
- [41] No secret eating or private possessions. Drawn verbatim from the classic reform formulation of (22) *Evergetis* [22]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [41]; some textual sharing also with (32) *Mamas* [35], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [34], and (34) *Machairas* [87] for the ban on personal possessions.
- [42] Number of monks. Like [46] and [52], this chapter utilizes its Evergetian counterpart, here (22) *Evergetis* [23], but reaches a conclusion opposite to that of the model (at least in our present edition of that text); text also shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [48].
- [43] Servants not permitted; assignment of monks to cells. Makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [24], but increases the number of monks in each cell from two to three; text shared with (32) *Mamas* [35], (33)

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- Heliou Bomon* [33], and (34) *Machairas* [87] for the ban on servants, and with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [51] for the cell assignments.
- [44] Cells to be unlocked; communal wardrobe. The former is an original provision; the latter is drawn verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [25]; text on the wardrobe shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [52] and (34) *Machairas* [102], [103].
- [45] Equality of food, drink and clothing; exception for the sick; superior's monthly inspection of the cells. Drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [29] and [30]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [53]; text on equality only shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [56], (32) *Mamas* [34], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33], and (34) *Machairas* [106], [107].
- [46] Ban on bathing, except for the sick. Like [42] above and [52] below, utilizes its Evergetian counterpart, here (22) *Evergetis* [28], but reaches a conclusion opposite to the reading of at least our present edition of that text. See also different, more lenient treatments of this issue in (27) *Kecharitomene* [58], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [97], (32) *Mamas* [28], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28], and (58) *Menoikeion* [15].
- [47] Installation ceremony for officials; duties of the three treasurers. Drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [29] and [30]; text shared for the installation ceremony with (27) *Kecharitomene* [18], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [35], (32) *Mamas* [6], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [6], and (34) *Machairas* [92]; only (29) *Kosmosoteira* [36] shares the three treasurers with *Phoberos* and *Evergetis*.
- [48] Duties of the disciplinary official and refectorian; tenure of office for officials; exhortation of officials. Drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [31], [32], and [33]; text shared for all these subjects only with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [37], [38], [39]; for the refectorian also with (27) *Kecharitomene* [25]; for tenure of office also with (34) *Machairas* [92]; the officials' exhortation is found also in (27) *Kecharitomene* [25], (32) *Mamas* [23], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [23], and (58) *Menoikeion* [10].
- [49] Qualifications of property administrators. Drawn almost verbatim, with the interpolation of an ironic historical note, from (22) *Evergetis* [34]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [40] and (34) *Machairas* [109].
- [50] Commemorations of the founder, benefactors, and departed monks. Utilizes (22) *Evergetis* [34] and [35] partially and [36] extensively, with substantial interpolations after the author's death particular to *Phoberos*; text for the benefactors' and monks' commemorations shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [70]; (32) *Mamas* [39], [40]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [39]; and (34) *Machairas* [156], [157].
- [51] Length of the novitiate. Like [53A] below, drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [37]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55], (32) *Mamas* [22], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22], and (34) *Machairas* [55], [56].
- [52] No admission of monks tonsured in other monasteries. Like [42] and [46] above, utilizes its Evergetian counterpart, here (22) *Evergetis* [37], but reaches a conclusion opposite to the reading of at least our present edition of that text. (31) *Areia* [T10] and (34) *Machairas* [148] exclude these monks from election to the superiorship, as does, apparently, (28) *Pantokrator* [24], but none of these documents bans them entirely.
- [53A] No mandatory entrance gifts; voluntary gifts cannot be reclaimed. Like [51] above, drawn almost verbatim from (22) *Evergetis* [37]; the text of this classic Evergetian formulation is shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [7] (in part); (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55]; (32) *Mamas* [5], [22]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5], [22]; and (34) *Machairas* [57], [58], [59].
- [53B] Exhortation not to abandon the monastery. This is the longest quotation in our documents from the *Basilian Ascetic Treatises*.
- [54] Charitable distributions; hospitality to visitors and care of the sick; burial of the dead. Like [55] below, draws on (22) *Evergetis* [38]; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [64]. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [6], (32) *Mamas* [13], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [13], and (34) *Machairas* [118] have different provisions.
- [55] Entry to most women prohibited. Like [54] above, draws on (22) *Evergetis* [38] and also [39], and (for a transition to [42]) [41]; text shared with (29) *Kosmosoteira* [56] (part only) and (34) *Machairas* [118], [119]. (27) *Kecharitomene* [17], (28) *Pantokrator* [18], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [84], (32) *Mamas*

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- [27], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [27], and (34) *Machairas* [115] also have their own provisions for the exclusion of the opposite sex.
- [56] Care of sick monks. Continues the quotation begun in [55] above of (22) *Evergetis* [41], which is utilized here almost verbatim, but with an interpolation and a transition to [57] below; text shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [57], (32) *Mamas* [34], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33], and (34) *Machairas* [108]. (28) *Pantokrator* [10] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [61] have their own provisions.
- [57] Ban on female animals; blessing of the grain. The ban is not present in (22) *Evergetis* or other Evergetian documents, but see similar provisions in the earlier Studite and Athonite traditions: (3) *Theodore Studites* [5], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31]; cf. (12) *Tzimiskes* [22], [23], and (15) *Constantine IX* [3], [4].
- [58] No boys or beardless youths as monks. A similar ban is found in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [49] but not elsewhere in the Evergetian documents; cf. earlier bans in (3) *Theodore Studites* [18], (12) *Tzimiskes* [16], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34], (15) *Constantine IX* [1], cf. [5], and (23) *Pakourianos* [17].
- [59] Final instructions; reading of the *typikon*; scriptural blessing. Makes extensive use of (22) *Evergetis* [42] for the instructions and [43] for the reading and blessing. Text of the final instructions shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [78]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [57]; (32) *Mamas* [46]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45]; (34) *Machairas* [163], [166], [167], [168]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [20]. Text for the reading of the *typikon* shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [65], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [59], and (34) *Machairas* [168]; cf. (32) *Mamas* [16] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [16] with their own provisions. Text of the scriptural blessing shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [78], (32) *Mamas* [46], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45], and (34) *Machairas* [167].

31. *Areia*: *Memorandum* and *Typikon* of Leo, Bishop of Nauplia, for the Monastery of the Mother of God in *Areia*

Date: Memorandum: October 1143; *Typikon*: ca. 1149¹ *Translator*: Alice-Mary Talbot

Edition employed: G. A. Choras, *He "hagia mone" Areias* (Athens, 1975), pp. 239–52.

Manuscript: Codex graecus bibliothecae Taurinensis 326 (16th c.)

Other translations: Modern Greek (*Memorandum* only), by S. Papadopoulos, *Epistemonika Analekta* (Athens, 1967), pp. 220–30.

Institutional History

A. Foundation of the Monastery

The author of this document, Leo the bishop of Argos and Nauplia, was a member of the noble family of the Antzades.² He originally intended to found a convent at *Areia*, just a few miles inland to the east from his see at Nauplia in the Argolid. He drew up an official memorandum granting the convent an independent constitution and sufficient properties to support thirty-six nuns.³ Later, fearing that the nuns might fall prey to pirates in a location so close to the coast, he relocated them to another site at Bouze, presumably further inland.⁴ Leo then resolved to install a community of the same number of monks in the former convent. He drew up another memorandum, preserved as part of the present document [M], dated to October 1143. Later, he also composed a brief *Typikon* [T], which forms the second part of our document as translated below. These texts affirm that the monastery, like the convent, was to be an independent institution in which the rights of Leo's episcopal successors and their agents were to be severely limited.⁵ A donor inscription on a marble plaque which survives in the facade of the monastery church records the completion of Leo's construction of this building in April 1149.⁶ The *Typikon*, which is different in some particulars of regulation from the *Memorandum* and hence was likely to have been issued a little later than the latter document, may have been composed about the time of the erection of the church. Leo himself makes a brief appearance in an external source as a participant in the synod at Constantinople in 1157 that condemned the heresy of Soterichos Panteugenos.⁷

B. Subsequent History

Areia was just one of four ecclesiastical sites in this region of Greece marked by surviving churches from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.⁸ The monastery, along with neighboring Nauplia, became part of the Latin Duchy of Athens in 1212.⁹ Frankish rule of the Argolid lasted until 1388, when the area came under Venetian administration for the first time. The monastery continued to be populated by Greek monks, but in the fifteenth century, Bartholomew, the Latin bishop of Argos and Nauplia, made an attempt to appoint *Areia*'s superior. The Venetian doge Francesco Foscari (1423–57) resisted this initiative and upheld the monastery's independence in 1437.¹⁰

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After a brief restoration of Byzantine power, the Ottoman Turks conquered the area in 1458.¹¹ The monks thought it prudent to find an influential protector, and accordingly arranged for their monastery to become a dependency of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem in 1679.¹² This relationship continued down to the abandonment of the monastery in the early eighteenth century. The Venetians returned to the Argolid in 1686 and controlled it for a generation down to 1715.¹³ Not long after the Ottomans returned, the monastery was finally abandoned, according to a report of Chrysanthos, patriarch of Jerusalem (1707–31).¹⁴ Ottoman rule lasted in this part of Greece down to 1822. The monastery was claimed by the new Greek government, but sold to Emmanuel Xenos, a private individual, in 1826.¹⁵ It then became part of a private estate owned by a noble family of Nauplia until 1868 or 1875, when monastic life was finally restored on the site.¹⁶ *Areia* currently functions as a convent, certainly an ironic outcome in view of the circumstances of its foundation in the twelfth century.

Analysis

Despite its relative brevity, this document is of considerable interest for what it reveals about the concerns of an episcopal patron organizing a foundation in his private capacity. It is made up of two parts, the author's *Memorandum* [M] and his *Typikon* [T], which, judging from the considerable overlap¹⁷ between them in the topics covered and a few inconsistencies,¹⁸ must have been composed separately. Similar memoranda issued by members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy are attested as free-standing documents for such purposes as transferring ownership of a religious foundation (for which see (27) *Kecharitomene* [70]) or, as here, proclaiming its independence (see (30) *Phoberos* [33]).

A. *Model Typikon*

The author instructs [M8] his monks that they are to use the *typikon* of lord Meletios “in all matters” with regard to their liturgical services and dietary regime. The latter was the ascetic Meletios the Younger (†1105), of whom hagiographic lives by Nicholas of Methone and Theodore Prodromos survive.¹⁹ Meletios' *typikon*, which does not survive, was probably structurally like (4) *Stoudios* or (13) *Ath. Typikon*, that is to say, a document closer to a liturgical than a founder's *typikon* like (22) *Evergetis*. Indeed, if we are not to interpret Leo's instruction in the *typikon* that liturgical services should be conducted [T1] according to the Studite *synaxarion* as a contradiction of [M8], the implication is that Meletios' lost *typikon*, like (13) *Ath. Typikon*, was itself based on a Studite model. In that event, Leo's own materials would have served as a supplement on administrative matters unique to his own foundation.

To be sure, certain Studite institutions and customs, most notably involuntary confinement [T9], re-emerge in this document after a long absence. Nevertheless, topical treatments and approaches to issues that are usually attributable to Evergetian influence are even more noticeable, particularly in the *Typikon*.²⁰ Since the author does not incontrovertibly reveal his dependence on (22) *Evergetis* by using literal transcriptions as the author of (30) *Phoberos* did, we must leave open the possibility that he was drawing upon an earlier or parallel reform tradition with which the Evergetian *typikon* shared much of its content. Yet (28) *Pantokrator*, a contemporary document, is an example of a Evergetian-influenced *typikon* which nevertheless refrains from copying its model verbatim (probably out of a desire for stylistic brevity), and this document may be another.

B. Lives of the Monks

1. Number of Monks

The founder provides [M4] that there were to be no less than thirty-six monks at the foundation, making it somewhat larger than (27) *Kecharitomene* [5] but smaller than (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3]. Compared to other, non-imperial foundations, however, Leo's monastery was large for its time, being three times the size of the monastery described in (30) *Phoberos* [47] and easily exceeding the twenty monks provided for in (32) *Mamas* [5] and in (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5]. Moreover, the founder's resources at this location were also being used [M1], cf. [M4] to support thirty-six nuns in a separate facility.

2. Liturgical Duties

Observing [T1] the Studite *synaxarion*, possibly as mediated [M8] by the lost *typikon* of Meletios the Younger, the monks were to conduct both common and private liturgical services.

3. Sacramental Life

A discussion of confession promised in the title to [T1] is not actually supplied in the chapter. In [T2], the superior is designated, as in (22) *Evergetis* [15], to be the monks' sole confessor. The divine liturgy was to be celebrated [T2] on Saturdays, Sundays and feast days, but not daily as in (22) *Evergetis* [5]. The superior would make [T2] the determination for his monks of how frequently they should receive communion (so also (22) *Evergetis* [5], which is possibly being summarized here).

4. Cenobitic Lifestyle

For our author, communal performance of the doxology [T1] and common meals in the refectory [T3], [M8] constituted the essence of the cenobitic life. Although he refers [T3], [T5] his monks to the Studite *typikon* (i.e., (4) *Stoudios* or some contemporary version thereof) for the determination of quantities of food (moderated by the superior's discretion), the regulations he offers [T3] for the refectory and other aspects of the common life echo (22) *Evergetis* [9], [22]: no quarreling over seating, absences from meals should be noted, no eating in the cells (except for the sick), and no private possessions. There is a brief allusion [T3] to manual labor. His ban [T9] on monks visiting one another in their cells also has an Evergetian counterpart in (22) *Evergetis* [21].

The author claims to be following the *typikon* of Meletios the Younger in providing [M8] that his monks should all share the same food and drink in the refectory, though this was also an important precept of (22) *Evergetis* [26]. The omission of clothing from this regulation for equality may be significant. As in (22) *Evergetis* [25], there is a provision [T4] for communal purchase and storage of clothes.

5. Monastic Discipline

Although the disciplining of refractory monks had been part of the Studite tradition in the ninth century (see (4) *Studios* [25]) which had then been passed down to Mount Athos in the tenth century (see (11) *Ath. Rule* [19]), it does not seem to have been a part of the monastic reform program in the eleventh century. Here our author revives [T9] it, perhaps through the medium of Meletios the Younger's *typikon*, and provides that after a second or third warning, a troublemaking or disobedient monk was to be locked up in a cell, then expelled if incorrigible. The propensity to

punish does have a more recent parallel, however, in (10) *Eleousa* [12], [16], another monastery founded by a bishop, which alludes to physical punishment and permits expulsion.

6. Bathing

The author allowed [T3] his monks to bathe weekly, except during Lent. This is much more frequently than other founders were disposed to permit, e.g., (22) *Evergetis* [28], which allows baths three times a year, or even the contemporary (28) *Pantokrator* [15] which permits it twice a month.

C. Constitutional Matters

1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

The author was extraordinarily concerned to establish the independent status of his foundation, perhaps because, he being a prelate, there was a fair chance that it would be mistaken or misrepresented as an episcopal (i.e., diocesan) monastery after his death. As noted above, Leo had earlier issued [M1] a memorandum declaring the perpetual freedom of the convent originally planned for this site from all ecclesiastical and civil authority. Subsequently, he issued [M11] the present *Memorandum* granting independence and inalienability to the monastery as well, specifically exempting it from the imposition of a protector or a *charistikarios*. The monks were to enjoy [M12] freedom from episcopal interference as well. Later, in the *typikon* he makes [T12] a formal reiteration of the foundation's independence that follows the formula, with the customary curse of the 318 Nicene fathers, found also in (22) *Evergetis* [12].

2. Leadership

As in other independent foundations, the superior perforce was the effective leader of the monastery. The first superior may have been an appointee of the founder; after his death the latter instructs [T10] that the monks are to choose the most worthy monk ([M7] cites "age and virtue" as qualifications) among themselves who is "agreeable and acceptable to all or at least the majority." A monk tonsured elsewhere (a *xenokourites*) was ineligible [T10] for election, lest he exploit his election to take possession of the monastery. The prescribed installation ceremony [M7], cf. [T10] was designed to make clear that the superior's authority to rule came from the founder himself, symbolized by the former's reception of the *typikon* and pastoral staff. The ecclesiarch was responsible for enthroning the new superior; the author boldly asserts "such an installation requires no other confirmation" (e.g., that of the local bishop).

The superior was to appoint [T7] the monastery's treasurer, ecclesiarch and cellarer "with the approval and confirmation of the other monks." Elsewhere our author states [M9] that the superior was also to appoint the steward. The author also exhorts [M6] the superior to "be like a protector" (an *ephoros*) towards the nuns of the convent at Bouze, visiting the superior for consultations once or twice a year.

3. Consultative Government

As noted above, the community at large played at least some role in the selection of not only the superior but also the monastery's other officials. In [T10], the monks' obligation to show obedience to the superior is rationalized on the basis that he should be doing "nothing without their approval and knowledge" anyway. The author further obliges him to govern with the "knowledge,

advice and consent” of the leading monks (presumably including the officials cited above), which parallels the requirement of (22) *Evergetis* [14]. The more nearly contemporary (29) *Kosmosoteira* [41] also assigns important responsibilities to these monks. The requirement for consultative government here is justified by a curious extension of the reform critique of idiorhythmic monasticism to condemn also arbitrary, autocratic rule.

4. Patronal Privileges

The author claims [T12] only the privilege of commemorative services for himself on the anniversary of his death and on the next day for members of his immediate family. Monks from neighboring monasteries in Nauplia were to be invited to participate in the founder’s commemoration.

D. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

The author obliges [M9] the superior to cooperate with the steward, ecclesiarch and treasurer in administering the finances of the foundation: “we forbid the superior to do anything without these three, or for them to do anything without the superior.” In (28) *Pantokrator* [64], Emperor John II Komnenos also requires the superior to consult with his financial officials before making important decisions. Deposits and withdrawals into the monastery’s treasury were to take place in the presence of the superior and the other monks. The precautions taken reflect the heightened concerns for fiscal probity characteristic of the second generation of the reform movement and are comparable to what appears in (23) *Pakourianos* [26] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [25]; cf. the less specific provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [20].

The foundation was evidently supported [M10] largely by revenues derived from certain monasteries that the author had subordinated perpetually to his foundation under ecclesiastical *epidosis*.

Like (22) *Evergetis* [34], the author provides [T8] that the superior should choose an elderly monk to administer the foundation’s landed properties; the authors of some other twelfth-century *typika* preferred to use laymen as property managers.²¹ A brief inventory (*brevion*) of movable property is included [T11] within the document. The superior was also to [M6] supervise the steward of the founder’s convent, provided that the superior and the nuns were agreeable, and assure that they received all the produce of their endowed properties.

2. Acceptability of Entrance Gifts and Other Benefactions

In a provision that is unique in this collection of monastic foundation documents, our author states [M10] his determination to refuse any gifts of landed property that were not immune from taxation, professedly to keep the monks from being harassed by tax collectors. The author applies [T6] the same principle of selectivity to the entrance donations of postulants in a chapter that otherwise recalls the language of the comparable regulation in (22) *Evergetis* [37].

E. External Relations

1. Denial of Episcopal Rights over the Foundation

Probably to prevent his monastery from being confused with a diocesan foundation, the author

adopts an uncompromising stance towards any claims of ownership his episcopal successors might subsequently assert. In his discussion of the foundation's independence, he limits [M11] future bishops to commemoration (*anaphora*) in the liturgy and investigation of spiritual faults, which is in accord (unacknowledged) with the legislation of Alexios Komnenos on comparable patriarchal rights issued in 1096.²² The author explicitly denies [M15] his successors any rights to participate in the election of the foundation's superior or to install him in office, to convey the monastery to someone else as a grant (i.e., in *charistike*), or to send outside monks as imposed guests (*katapemptoi*) to it. Not content with these denials, the author also bans [M15] representatives of future bishops from the premises of his foundation (cf. [18] *Nea Gephyra* [2]) unless perchance they wished to come to the monastery to worship. Leo of Nauplia's late eleventh century counterpart, Manuel of Stroumitza was similarly skeptical of the good will of his episcopal successors, though in (10) *Eleousa* [16] he was willing to allow them the right of blessing the superior which our author here denies to his successors.

2. Other Threats to Institutional Autonomy

Curiously, Leo seems to have worried little about potential threats to his foundation from private individuals, who had posed the greatest concern to the early reformers in the late eleventh century. This despite the fact that Leo himself came from a clerical-monastic family (cf. [T12]: his father, one brother and uncle were monks, his mother a nun, and another brother was a bishop) of the type known in this era for a proclivity to privatize ecclesiastical property.²³

Notes on the Introduction

1. The *Typikon*, unlike the *Memorandum*, is undated, but probably postdates the latter by a little and may well have been composed around the time of the dedicatory inscription of the monastery church, which is dated to April 1149.
2. Choras, *Hagia Mone*, p. 312.
3. (31) *Areia* [M1], [M4], [M5].
4. (31) *Areia* [M4].
5. (31) *Areia* [M11], [M15], [T12].
6. Published in Choras, *Hagia Mone*, p. 51, and in Struck, "Vier Kirchen," p. 229.
7. Choras, *Hagia Mone*, pp. 57–60; see also the note in Codex Parisinus, supplément grec 1090, with Choras' discussion, pp. 60–61.
8. The others are at Argos, Chonika, and Merbaka; see Mary Lee Coulson, "Re: Protomaiolica in 12th Century Corinth," *BSC* 18 (1992), 75; Megaw, "Chronology"; Savvas, "Quatre églises"; and Struck, "Vier Kirchen."
9. Timothy Gregory, "Argolid," *ODB*, pp. 164–65, and "Nauplia," *ODB*, p. 1443.
10. For the first period of Venetian rule, see Choras, *Hagia Mone*, pp. 103–10, cf. 312–13.
11. Following Gregory, "Argolid," p. 164; cf. Choras, *Hagia Mone*, p. 111, who dates the Ottoman conquest to 1540.
12. For the relationship with the Holy Sepulcher, see Choras, *Hagia Mone*, pp. 114–23, cf. 313–14.
13. For the second period of Venetian rule, see Choras, *Hagia Mone*, pp. 125–36, cf. 314.
14. For the this era of Ottoman rule, see Choras, *Hagia Mone*, pp. 137–44, cf. 313–15.
15. For the fate of the monastery after the recovery of Greek independence, see Choras, *Hagia Mone*, pp. 145–94, cf. 315–18.
16. For the monastery's revival, see Choras, *Hagia Mone*, pp. 195–214, cf. 318–19.

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17. Overlap between the two parts of the document: [M7] and [T10]; [M8] and [T1], [T3]; [M9] and [T7]; [M10] and [T6]; [M11] and [T12].
18. Cf. [M7] with [T10] and [M8] with [T1].
19. Halkin, *BHG* 1247, 1248; cf. Beck, *KTL*, pp. 625, 629; for this individual, see Alexander Kazhdan, "Meletios the Younger," *ODB*, pp. 1333–34, and Ch. Papadopoulos, "Ho Hosios Meletios ho Neos (1035–1105)," *Theologia* 13 (1935), 97–125.
20. Chapters with close Evergetian parallels: [M8], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [26]; [T1], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4]; [T2], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [5], [7]; [T3], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9], [22]; [T4], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [25]; [T9], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [21]; [T10], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14], [17]; [T12], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [12].
21. (27) *Kecharitomene* [31]; (28) *Pantokrator* [19].
22. Alexios Komnenos, *De jure patriarchae circa monasteria* (*JGR* 3.408).
23. Cf. Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 1000, ed. Th. Uspensky, "Mneniya i postanovleniya konstantinopolskikh pomestnikh soborov XI i XII vv. o razdache tserkovnikh imuschestv (Charistikarii)," *IRAİK* 5 (1900), 1–48, at 15–29; see also the author's condemnation [T10] of the monks of his own diocese of Nauplia as "passionately devoted to their relatives."

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Translation

Memorandum [M]

Memorandum of the humble Leo, the lowly bishop of Argos and Nauplia, for the new convent constructed by him at Areia in the name of the exceedingly holy Mother of God.

[M1] My humble self first built a monastery in the name of our exceedingly pure Lady, the Mother of God, at Areia, and he ordained that thirty-six women, who choose to submit to the yoke of Christ our God, should lead the solitary life therein. In addition to the repose of their habitation, he also prescribed for them the necessities of life, so that they would continually have the wherewithal to obtain them, lest through the lack of these things, on account of pressing physical needs, they follow the monastic path in a feeble manner. By means of a memorandum to them he ordained that this monastery was to be free of all ecclesiastical and civil authority in perpetuity.

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[M2] What happened subsequently? Not long afterwards, just as gardeners and farmers use their special skills, first to place a plant cutting in the ground and tend it for a while, and then to dig it up and transplant it elsewhere, so that thereby the plant may be more firmly rooted and grow better and bear earlier, I did something similar with regard to this monastery. Even though in the end the affair [p. 240] turned out contrary to the original purpose of myself, the founder, still the final result resembles the above-mentioned procedure of gardeners.

[M3] For throughout the year our coastal waters have been swarming with pirates, who plunder everything with total license, and commit any outrage they wish against anyone who falls into their hands. Thus a not ignoble fear has disturbed me, lest this convent, which is vulnerable to attack by the pirates because of its proximity to the sea, be destroyed by them, and lest, in addition to the loss of monastic property, the nuns be the victims of rape, which is a special delight for men who once and for all have cast aside their fear of God and embraced the life of a pirate.

[M4] Therefore, lest something of this sort occur, with the cooperation of Satan, who hates the good, and lest this zealous undertaking, which seemed pious to me, have contrary results, I stripped for a second endeavor and constructed another monastery from the very foundations. It is located further from the sea, at a place called Bouze,¹ and is also established in the name of our exceedingly pure Lady, the Mother of God. I built therein cells for the repose of the nuns and other necessities for this convent, and also donated to the convent [enough property] to provide for the total physical needs of the nuns in perpetuity. I assured that it remain forever completely free and independent of any authority by means of a memorandum drafted by myself, the humble founder. Here I collected and assembled the nuns, and appointed their superior. As for their previous convent, after transforming it into a male monastery, I assembled sufficient monks, and installed them there. I wish their number to be thirty-six in perpetuity, or more, but never fewer, and I appointed a superior for them with an [episcopal] *sphragis*.

[M5] Therefore for the above reasons the nuns were transferred from their original convent to another, which I have just constructed from the foundations, and I changed the former nunnery into a male monastery. So that God may be glorified in both places, and the souls of men and women may be saved in like manner, by means of the present *Memorandum* I ordain that all the property dedicated by me to the former nunnery at Areia (which was [p. 241] subsequently transformed into a male monastery, for the above-mentioned reasons) belong irrevocably and without diminution and in perpetuity to the present nunnery at Bouze. [I also ordain] that no change or alteration whatsoever be made with regard to any of the contents of the memorandum issued by me for the convent,² so that the nuns will seem to be back again at the nunnery of Areia, even though they are actually residing and pursuing the ascetic life in the nunnery of Bouze.

[M6] We also permit the superior of the male monastery to be free to supervise the steward of the nunnery, if the superior and the other nuns are willing. I want him to be like an *ephoros*³ and to exert himself on behalf of the nuns, when he is summoned by them in cases of difficulty. I ordain that he should go to the convent once or twice a year to pay his respects and to speak publicly with

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the superior and other nuns. But he should not go frequently, on the pretext of business, lest they become a scandal to the lay people. It is my wish that he should exert absolutely every effort for the prosperity of the convent, and with honesty so as not to touch even a *modios* of grain or a measure of wine or an animal that belongs to the convent. For I condemn to perpetual anathema any superior who would wish to do this.

[M7] These are the rules and instructions for the nunnery, but the rules for the male monastery should originate from the top. It is my command that the superior of this monastery should be one who on account of age and virtue is respected by this community and is approved by all the monks, so that he may be a model of every virtue for the others, not adorning himself with the rank of superior, but rather adorning the rank through the propriety of his behavior. His installation should proceed as follows: the episcopal staff of your servant, the humble founder of the monastery, should be placed at the doors of the holy sanctuary, and the superior-designate should first kneel down in this place and then be entrusted with the staff by the priest with the appropriate prayer and blessing. Then he should hear “worthy” repeated three times by the monks, and the priest should make an *ektenes*, and after the commemoration of the name of myself, the founder, the priest should also mention his name, and thus he will obtain the future leadership [of the monastery].

[M8] I command [the monks] to follow unerringly in all matters the *typikon* of the monastery of lord Meletios, with regard both to [p. 242] ecclesiastical services and their meals in the refectory, eating the same food, partaking of the same drink, and not introducing any different foods at the refectory table, unless perhaps someone should require a special diet on account of illness. For if a monk should happen to fall ill, and be afflicted with bodily weakness, and perhaps not be strong enough to walk to the refectory, in that case the superior should offer him every attention, and visit the cell of the ailing monk, and order prepared for him such food as is conducive to good health.

[M9] Furthermore I command that one of the monks be appointed and established as steward by the superior, and another as ecclesiarch to be in charge of the books and documents of the monastery and the other sacred objects. In addition there should be a treasurer and a treasury in the monastery, and every deposit and withdrawal of any sort should occur in full sight of the superior and the other monks, and the treasury should also be sealed by the superior. In short, we forbid the superior to do anything without these three [officials], or for them to do anything without the superior.

[M10] If a piece of immovable property should be offered and presented to the monastery by a pious soul, it should be accepted if it is free of any fiscal obligation; but if it is liable to taxation, then it should be refused. For I want to cast far away from the monks every such distraction once and for all . . . let them worship the Lord, and not get themselves involved in fiscal services so as to be disturbed by tax collectors, but they should be satisfied with the aforementioned monasteries⁴ given to them in perpetuity as *epidosis*.

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[M11] These are my instructions, and by means of the present *Memorandum* I grant independence and inalienability to the monastery, and ordain that it never come under the control of an *ephoros* or *charistikarios* or anyone else. Nor should anyone, in the guise perhaps of administration of the monastery's affairs, or aid and assistance, lay hands on anything in the monastery and thus ravage and despoil it. I do not even permit the most holy bishops who succeed me to interfere with the monastery or monastic affairs or have any authority over it, but I withdraw it completely from their control, reserving for them only the commemoration of their name in the divine liturgies and the investigation of spiritual [p. 243] faults.

[M12] Therefore no primate or legal representative or archimandrite or steward or anyone else appointed by the bishops for these services⁵ will ever have permission to enter within the monastery, but will be driven from the very forecourts, unless they come for the sake of a prayer. If any of these officials should dare anything of this sort, and should act contrary to my orders, he will be subject to the indissoluble censure of the lifegiving Trinity, which I, its unworthy worshiper, will impose. Therefore, in the Holy Spirit, let us commend to our brethren in the Lord and successor bishops to accept this arrangement of mine, and not contrive any innovations which might harm or corrupt this monastery in any way; but rather for all eternity they should pass their lives and be guided according to my will, and the monks in this autonomous and independent monastery should lead an ascetic life free from outside interference.

[M13] For I know well and am convinced that, if we have such concern for their training in virtue and there is no obstacle to pleasing God, as long as they are not negligent in their pursuit of the good on account of their own vanity, but gaze intensely and totally towards the ascetic ideal, they will appear as a blessed "generation of the upright" (Ps. 111 [112]:2), in the words of Solomon; and they will have plentiful abundance of gifts from heaven, and "their garner will be full, bursting with all manner of store" (Ps. 143 [144]:13), in the words of the psalmist, and "their streets will be streaming with butter, and the mountains with milk" (Job 29:6). For if they should light the gleaming lamps of the soul through pure health, and with the vigilant eyes of the soul should be well prepared to meet Christ the immaculate Bridegroom, they would obtain most abundantly the Lord's generous bestowal of earthly blessings, like a pledge and guarantee for their immediate and glorious arrival within the spiritual bridal chamber, "seeking the kingdom" (Matt. 6:33) of heaven, and acquiring everything else in addition.

[M14] But may it come to pass, O Christ the King, that this holy and spiritual husbandry of mine, with thee as cultivator and guardian of the immortal plants, may bring forth fruit at thirty-fold, at sixty-fold, and finally one hundred-fold (cf. Matt. 13:8), and therefrom [p. 244] may a spiritual ear of corn be produced that is beautiful and ripe, and worthy of the heavenly storerooms. For I made it full clear that it should be well guarded by the all-holy Virgin who gave birth to thee in an ineffable manner. Thus I have appointed her as guide and protector of this newly assembled flock, and I decided to have this holy sheepfold [i.e., the monastery] distinguished with her name, so that, as a dedication to thy Mother, it might receive thine aid more abundantly, and be preserved in a holy condition in perpetuity.

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[M15] Therefore again I beg my successors as most holy bishops, my brethren and fellow ministers, to be satisfied with their commemoration alone, and not to acquire any other privileges at the aforementioned monastery, whether that of installation, or election of the superior, or conveying this monastery to other people as a grant, or sending and assigning a monk, whether he be a relative of theirs or a stranger, to have any authority in the monastery except for that of commemoration, as has already been stated. Therefore I adjure them, in the most awesome name of the Holy Trinity, never to consider the [fiscal] abuse or destruction or enslavement of the aforementioned monastery. For I ordain once and for all that it is to be free of any episcopal and official authority.

Thereto this [*Memorandum*] of mine has been confirmed with my signature and secured with a lead seal, depicting the exceedingly holy Mother of God on one side, and St. Theodore on the other. It was entrusted to the monks for safekeeping in October of the seventh indiction, in the year 6652 [= 1143 A.D.].

Typikon [T]

Typikon of the holy monastery composed by the founder of the same monastery.

Typikon of the humble Leo, lowly bishop of Argos and Nauplia, for the new monastery built by him at Areia in the name of the exceedingly holy Mother of God.

We thank thee, Christ the King, eternal and beyond all ages, cause and perfecter of every action and thought, because thou hast deemed thy humble [p. 245] and weak servant worthy to establish a holy monastery to the glory of thy most honored and magnificent name, as a dwelling place for the grace of our Lady, the Mother of God, who gave birth to thee in a manner beyond our powers of understanding and speech, as a training facility for ascetic men who worship thee, servants of thy Mother, lovers of virtue who are concerned for their own salvation. This is the desire of thine undefiled Mother, and the consequence of thy true power. For where and how and whence would we be able to carry out and accomplish this pious deed, if thy most powerful hand did not assist us? For without it the builder cannot build, nor can the guardian guard.

[T] 1. Concerning holy confession and the office in the cells

I ordain that on each occasion every doxology be celebrated zealously and without any omissions, and with the fitting attention and sobriety in accordance with the Studite *synaxarion*⁶ of the ecclesiastical office. It should be celebrated communally by all the brethren, since their life is communal. The other [office] should take place daily in their private cells, as each one [wishes] and is able, except for Saturdays and Sundays and the feast days of our Lord and the Virgin. For on these days alone they are to have a respite from their ascetic labors. I ordain, however, that a vigil should begin each Sunday evening, and on important feast days and all the feast days of the all-pure Mother of God.

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[T] 2. Concerning the divine liturgy and illumination, and the lighting of lamps in the divine sanctuary, and concerning the feast days

The divine and bloodless⁷ sacrifice should be celebrated each week, without fail on Saturday and Sunday, and there should also be a liturgy on any other day which happens to be a feast day of Our Lord or the Virgin or one of the more important saints; otherwise [the liturgy should be celebrated] once during these five days. [The monks] should exert care in each celebration of the eucharist; for in this [ceremony] the awesome mystery of our salvation is celebrated, and they should be purified in every way, and indeed of wicked thoughts (and by wicked thoughts I mean those tainted with any sort of passion). Those [monks] who are permitted by their confessor should [p. 246] take communion reverently and in awe of the divine sacraments, and they should remain until the completion [of the ceremony]. For no one is permitted to take communion of his own accord without the permission of the monk who is concerned for his soul, that is, the superior. For I want the monks to reveal their thoughts to him alone. Those who are going to take communion should sing the obligatory office at communion, in accordance with the rule. The so-called collation⁸ should take place at each eucharist, in accordance with the wishes of the superior, and the illumination should be more lavish.

[T] 3. Concerning the meals in the refectory and the number of monks

After the conclusion of the divine eucharist, or, if it is not celebrated, after the office of the customary hours, the monks should assemble in the narthex of the church. The semantron should be struck [as a signal] for mealtime. Then the monks should walk to the refectory singing aloud the customary psalm,⁹ with the superior leading the way, and following behind him the others who are going to eat at the first sitting. When they have thus entered and concluded the psalm, the superior should bless their food, and they should sit down in an orderly fashion, young and old mixed together, so that every idle word and any inappropriate behavior or bearing or gesture may be restrained. Each monk should yield his seat to another, or sit where bidden by the superior who is seated at the head of table. For no one who has taken the vows of monastic life should argue over precedence, or quarrel in a worldly fashion; and anyone who, without good cause, is absent from the communal entrance procession [into the refectory] . . . when the leftovers have been handed in . . . and the usual thanksgiving has been said, all the monks should rise together, singing the prescribed office. After grace is said by the superior as is customary, each monk should go to his own cell, and then engage in handiwork.

No monk is to have permission to eat by himself in his own cell, unless he is confined to bed by illness, or this is permitted by the superior as a dispensation. Nor is he to have any private possession in his cell. As for the quantity of food, you should follow the rule of the Studite *typikon* concerning meals in the refectory,¹⁰ as well as the discretion of the superior. You should follow the same procedure at suppertime. I, your unworthy founder, ordain that you eat three dishes daily on non-fast days and days for eating dry foods, but on feast days and memorial services you should eat up to five [dishes]. You should bathe on Saturday, except during Lent. For then all the monks, including the superior, should bathe on the Saturday of St. Lazarus,¹¹ and eat fish, and in the same way they should eat fish on the holy feast day of the Annunciation¹² in honor of the undefiled Mother of God. [p. 247]

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[T] 4. Concerning the clothes of the monks

In accordance with the financial resources of the monastery haircloth tunics should be purchased and placed in the storeroom, for the monks to take when they need them, and furthermore the old tunics should be mended and used again. The same procedure should be followed with the cloaks and vests and footwear, in short all their garments, that whenever a monk needs something new, he should take the old garment to the storeroom, with the knowledge of the superior, and receive a new one in exchange. Let need be the measure for all the garments, thereby fulfilling the words of the Apostolic saying. "And distribution was made to each, as any had need" (Acts 4:35).

[T] 5. Concerning the Lenten fast

The *typikon* of Stoudios sets forth rules for the fast of Great Lent, as well as that of St. Philip,¹³ and its provisions should be followed on those days; but during the fast before the feast day of the Holy Apostles, let the monks eat twice a day if they wish, since the days are long at that time of year. For this fast differs from the non-fast days only in reciting the psalms at the third and sixth hours and then eating, and in abstaining from cheese and eggs.

[T] 6. Concerning the so-called "entrance gift"

I forbid the so-called "entrance gift," if it is of immovable property which is liable to taxation. But if someone offers to the Mother of God property not thus encumbered, it may be accepted as a dedication and gift and propitiation of sins. For I prefer the obedience of the new monk to any other entrance gift, especially if it is accompanied by some other effects which profit the ministries of the monastery.

[T] 7. Concerning the appointment of officials

There should also be [three] officials appointed by the superior with the approval and confirmation of the other monks, the treasurer, ecclesiarch and cellarer. They should be pious and energetic monks, who have led a blameless life and are irreproachable in every respect. At the appropriate times the officials should be admonished by the superior, both publicly and in private, to be careful and have fear of God, and to serve earnestly and with all love and honesty, since they have our immaculate Lady the Mother of God as their supervisor, and receive from her a reward for their accomplishments, but criticism for any improprieties. They also have an obligation to attend the [p. 248] services of prayer, when they can, and of their own accord to be concerned with psalmody, and not use their official duties as an excuse to be lazy and neglect the more important part.

[T] 8. Concerning the management of immovable properties

Since [the monastery] has acquired immovable properties, the superior must look after them, and make responsible for them an elderly and revered monk, who has led a blameless life, so that as a result of his proper management [the monks] may obtain therefrom the necessary foodstuffs from time to time.

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[T] 9. Concerning trouble-makers

If certain of the more negligent monks should stir up any kind of trouble, through the instigation of the devil, and if they should continue to argue and quarrel, even after a second and third admonition (cf. Tim. 3:10), and should disturb the peaceful monastic life, they should first of all be shut up in a cell for the sake of quiet and humility. If they should mend their ways, this is an accomplishment of the superior and the other monks; if they do not, they should be expelled as incorrigible, lest they infect the healthy monks with their corruption and cause even greater scandals. The same punishment is to be imposed on any monk who frequently disobeys the superior, and is shameless and incorrigible. I also forbid the monks to visit each other's cells without good reason, since this is a cause of idle chatter and suspicion, and those who cannot refrain from these superfluous conversations and idle talk should be subject to punishment.

[T] 10. Concerning the election of the superior.

After the death of the superior you should choose the most worthy monk, one who is best suited to rule a spiritual flock, a man who is agreeable and acceptable to all the monks, or at least the majority. [I do not want] any monk from another monastery, a so-called foreign tonsure to come to the holy monastery and take possession of it through some circumstance and dispensation. For I do not want him to be promoted to the position of superior, or to celebrate the liturgy in the church of our altogether glorious Mother of God, nor do I want a monk¹⁴ or "foreign tonsure"¹⁵ who comes from Nauplia to be promoted to the position of superior, since they are passionately devoted to their relatives, and live indeed "according to the flesh" (Rom. 8:5).

Then he should be led to the altogether glorious icon of our undefiled Lady, the Mother of God, to receive this *typikon* and the pastoral staff which [p. 249] are placed at that time in front of the icon. After the *trisagion* and supplicatory doxology, and after [the superior] has received these [objects] in the aforesaid manner, he should be enthroned by the ecclesiarch, and be embraced by the preeminent monks, and assume his duties of leadership from that time on. This is the procedure for the election of the superior, and it should continue this way in the future, since such an installation requires no other confirmation.

Therefore when the superior has been elected and installed in his position of authority, the monks should offer him in the future every honor, every service, every obedience, being guided and led by his gesture almost, and eagerly carrying out his orders without any opposition, since the superior ought to do nothing without their approval and knowledge, but with the knowledge and advice and consent of the preeminent monks. For the idiorhythmic and uncounseled life is perilous. For in the words of Proverbs, "Do everything with counsel" (Prov. 31:4), for to have authority over and lord it over affairs is alien to the monastic way of life, since it is tyrannical and compulsory. Therefore I ordain, as has been said, that the superior should use the preeminent monks as advisors. Their advice should not only be about what must be done, but also about costs and expenses. For the superior should always be mindful of the apostle who said, "All things are lawful for me, but not all things are helpful" (I Cor. 6:12). Therefore trying to avoid blame on all sides, I order that the officials be in charge of everything, collecting and disbursing and being accountable to the superior for the management of objects entrusted to them.

As for you, O superior (for my words are addressed to you), you need to love and cherish all

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the monks in your charge, and deem each one worthy of the appropriate care, spiritual and physical alike, as the opportunity provides, like a doting father always caring for your own children, and being “all things to all men, that you may save all” (I Cor. 9:22), in the words of the great apostle. For thus the bond of love will be unbreakable, and the law of obedience will be maintained and fulfilled among them.

[T] 11. Concerning the sacred vessels

A silver chalice with paten and two matching spoons, all together weighing 4 *litrai*, 3 ounces. A little silver cross. Other bronze chalices with paten, two pairs. Two silken cloths with letters. [p. 250]

[T] 12. That the monastery should remain independent, and concerning the commemorations to be held from time to time

Since with the aid of God I have ordained and disposed of the regulations and rules of the other chapters, I should now discuss briefly the independence of the monastery. For it is my will and desire that this aforementioned monastery remain independent until the end of the world, and free and unenslaved by emperors and patriarchs and monasteries and metropolitans and archbishops and bishops, by archimandrites and superiors, in short, by all men. For my memoranda provide sufficient guidance for the monastery, with the assistance of this commandment which, as worthless founder, I enjoin and ordain. Anyone whosoever who attempts in any way to rearrange these [regulations] and introduce a partial or complete change in them, I subject to the most abominable curses, and sentence to anathema, and pray that every “divine misfortune”¹⁶ and “wrath and indignation and distress” may befall this person, “a mission executed by evil angels” (Ps. 77 [78]:49), in the words of the great David.

Lord Jesus Christ, kind ruler, who puts in order large flocks and small, and magnifies them through thy grace, if anyone at all should attempt to oppose in any way my regulations and instructions, or to make subject to another this monastery which has been stipulated to be free and independent and completely autonomous, or to bring it under his own authority, or in any way or for any reason alter or impair its independence, whether it be an emperor or empress, whether patriarch or archbishop, or bishop, or metropolitan, or archimandrite, or superior of a monastery or any other ecclesiastic or civil official, or any man who is incited by the devil, whoever he may be, he will not only be considered liable for thy undefiled body, and honorable and life-giving blood, and will be alienated from thy portion, but will also inherit the curse of the three hundred and eighteen holy and divinely inspired fathers, and will cast his lot with the traitor [Judas], and will be associated and numbered with those who “cried out, ‘Away with him, away with him, crucify him!’” (John 19:15). I make the same curses against any monk of our monastery who attempts anything of this sort, whether he be the superior or another.

A commemoration should be held for my worthless self annually on the anniversary of my death, and on the next day for my blessed parents, [p. 251] the monk Nikodemos and nun Catherine, and for my brothers and sisters in the flesh, the monk Peter, and Helen, and the bishop John, and for my uncles who raised me, lord Constantine Antzas and the monk lord Iakobos, and together with them the deceased superiors, to the extent of the financial resources of the monastery. On the

following day should be commemorated all the monks who have passed away, and all the monks in Nauplia should be invited to my commemoration.

[T] 13. Epilogue and exhortation and valedictory prayer

It is time now, my dearest and most ardently desired children, for me to make my final exhortation to you, my beloved and reverend monks, and to deliver my parting words. I will utter these words with tears and fervent exhortation. Therefore bend toward me the ears of understanding, and devote every attention to my words, and let each of you carry them forever in the storeroom of his soul, after inscribing them indelibly “on the tablets of the heart” (II Cor. 3:3). Strive above all to preserve this *typon* unaltered in all respects, take heed for the salvation of your souls, take care with regard to the church services and the office in your cells, “obey your leaders and submit to them” (Heb. 13:17), in accordance with the exhortation of the great Paul, be at peace with one another, maintain with all men love and “the holiness, without which no one will see the Lord” (Heb. 12:14), be humble, yield the chief offices to each other, be of one mind concerning the offices of the monastery, and be unified with regard to its prosperity and benefit, and to mention the most important point last, fear lest you not fear God; for in the words of Proverbs, “The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom” (Prov. 1:7). Again I will make the final point last, fear to fear anything before God. For as the Scripture say, “Hear the end of the matter. The whole sum. Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man” (Eccl. 12:13). For it is truly fearful, brethren, “it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God” (Heb. 10:31), and fearful is “the face of the Lord against evil-doers” (Ps. 33 [34]:16), and it makes wickedness to disappear with total destruction.

I should have liked to say even more to you, but you have the books of the holy fathers which resound in your ears and explain everything [p. 252] in detail on each occasion. However, O Lady and Mistress of all, O servant and Mother of Christ the King, our true God, O bridge which crosses over to the blessed and passionless life, and ladder which rises up to heaven, O God-containing sanctuary, in whom Christ dwelt and on account of his compassion wrought the great mystery of our salvation, destroying the barrier of enmity, and uniting earthly to heavenly objects, O place of propitiation for the whole world to God! To thee this monastery is devoted and dedicated, and it is honored and glorified by thy magnificent name. Accept our many and long toils and labors which we lay down as a foundation for its prosperity, and may thou reward thy unworthy servants with a dwelling place in the monasteries of heaven, preserving this modest flock against harm. May the divine grace of thy visitation assist the incumbent shepherd with his flock, and may it raise an abundant and plentiful flock and make it fat and worthy of Christ the Chief Shepherd. May both shepherds and flock appear together before him, pure and radiant and not unworthy of the heavenly sheepfold.

Children, remember my love for you and my paternal attitude, and pray for your wretched servant, so that I may receive the portion of those who are saved, having found some confidence and moderate grace, through the intercession of the Mother of God and as a result of your¹⁷ labors and holy prayers, before the awesome tribunal of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and power together with the Father and Holy Spirit, for generations to come, Amen.

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[Later addition]

Since the monastery also has fishing boats, it is my wish that each Sunday, when a vigil is performed, the monks eat five or six dishes of fish, or as much as they wish, and also when your worthless servant is commemorated, and the others, and on the feast day of [St. John] the Forerunner, the Holy Apostles, the holy prophets Daniel, Elijah and Elisha, St. Andrew, St. John the Theologian, [St. John] Chrysostom, St. Basil, St. . . .¹⁸

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of our translator, Alice-Mary Talbot [AMT], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. For this locality and the possible identity of the convent with the monastery of Merbaka, see Choras, *Hagia Mone*, p. 55, n. 4.
2. See [M1], [M4] above.
3. protector, guardian.
4. The referent is probably lost in the lacuna in this chapter.
5. Read *diakonias*. [AMT]
6. Some contemporary variant of (4) *Stoudios*.
7. Read *anaimaktos*. [AMT]
8. Read *diaklysmos*. [AMT]
9. Ps. 144 [145], as in (27) *Kecharitomene* [40] and (28) *Pantokrator* [9].
10. (4) *Stoudios* [29].
11. Saturday before Palm Sunday.
12. Feast of the Annunciation, March 25.
13. Fast of St. Philip, from November 15 until Christmas, as regulated in (4) *Stoudios* [29].
14. Read *apobion*. [AMT]
15. *xenokouriten*. [AMT]
16. Euripides, *Orestes* 2.
17. Read *hymeteron*. [AMT]
18. Feast of St. John the Forerunner, June 24; feast of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, June 29; feast of the prophet Daniel, December 17; feast of the prophet Elijah, July 20; feast of the prophet Elisha, June 14; feast of St. Andrew, November 30; feast of St. John the Theologian, May 8; feast of St. John Chrysostom, November 13; feast of St. Basil, January 1.

Document Notes

1. *Memorandum* [M]

- [M1] Prior foundation of a convent on the site. The author employed a memorandum like the present document to establish the convent's independence; cf. parallel provisions in [M11], [M15] below. This document is mentioned again in [M4] and [M5] below.
- [M2], [M3] Nuns moved for fear of pirates. For the unsettled conditions in the Aegean in the Komnenian era, see also (24) *Christodoulos* Institutional History, C-D.
- [M4] Relocation of convent to Bouze; establishment of a male monastery on the previous site at Areia. Note that the author provides the episcopal blessing (*sphragis*) to the superior that he denies as a right to his successors in [M15] below.
- [M5] The convent to retain its consecrated properties at Areia. The author has not issued a new memorandum for the convent at Bouze; the earlier one, for which see [M1], [M4] above, will remain valid.

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- [M6] Relationship of the superior to the nunnery. See also (40) *Anargyroi* [7] and discussion of the canonical authorities on double monasteries in (54) *Neilos Damilas* [8]. Typically, though not always, a man was chosen to administer the properties of a convent; see (27) *Kecharitomene* [15], (39) *Lips* [25]; cf. (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [54], where, as here at Bouze, there was a female steward.
- [M7] Qualifications of the superior; installation ceremony. See more detailed provisions in [T10] below; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13] and related documents.
- [M8] Recommendation of the *typikon* of Meletios for liturgy and diet; equality in food and drink, except for the sick. See also [T1] and [T3] below. For dietary equality, see (10) *Eleousa* [4], [11]; (22) *Evergetis* [26] and related documents; and (23) *Pakourianos* [4].
- [M9] Appointment of the steward, ecclesiarch, and treasurer. See also [T7] below; these three officials evidently fulfill the governing role of the “preminent” monks in other institutions, for which see (10) *Eleousa* [16] and (22) *Evergetis* [14] and related documents; cf. (23) *Pakourianos* [5], [19] and (24) *Christodoulos* [A20].
- [M10] Only tax-free gifts of immovable property acceptable. See also [T6] below, which places the same restriction on voluntary entrance gifts. (24) *Christodoulos* [A9], [A10] documents another founder’s efforts to secure an endowment of entirely tax-free properties.
- [M11] Independence of the monastery; no protectors (*ephoroi*) or *charistikarioi*; freedom from episcopal control. See also [T12] below for institutional independence, and [M15] for the limitation of episcopal rights.
- [M12] Episcopal representatives barred from premises. This is, of course, a provision of dubious legality, but see the similarly emphatic declaration in (18) *Nea Gephyra* [2].
- [M14] Appointment of the Mother of God as protector. For other appeals to heavenly protection, see (19) *Attaleiates* [7], [15]; (28) *Pantokrator* [71]; and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [119].
- [M15] Limitation of privileges of the bishops. See [M11] above and the similar discussion by the author of (10) *Eleousa* [16], another bishop, who permitted the episcopal blessing (*sphragis*) forbidden here.

2. *Typikon* [T]

- [T1] Studite *synaxarion* to regulate the office; daily private office in the cells. See also [M8] above. For other recommendations of the Studite liturgical *typikon*, see (20) *Black Mountain* [23], (26) *Luke of Messina* [10], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [8], [46]. Note that this apparently contradicts [M8] above, which recommends the *typikon* of Meletios, unless the latter itself was a Studite *typikon*. For the private celebration of the office, see (22) *Evergetis* [4] and related documents.
- [T2] Celebration of the liturgy; frequency of communion; exclusive confession to the superior. See analogous provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [5], [7], cf. [15], and related documents.
- [T3] Refectory procedures; no arguments over seating precedence; no secret eating; no private possessions; Studite *typikon* to regulate diet; weekly bathing. See also [M8] above. This chapter shows the influence of (22) *Evergetis* [9], cf. [22] and related documents as well as (4) *Stoudios* [28]. For the regulation of bathing, see (22) *Evergetis* [28]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [58]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [97], [113]; (32) *Mamas* [28]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [15]. This is by far the most generous provision; (30) *Phoberos* [46] prohibits bathing entirely except for the sick.
- [T4] Communal wardrobe. See similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [25] and related documents, (10) *Eleousa* [5], (27) *Kecharitomene* [52], and (28) *Pantokrator* [22].
- [T5] Diet for fasts to be governed by the Studite *typikon*. See (4) *Stoudios* [29], [30], [31]; cf. parallel provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [10] and related documents.
- [T6] Taxable entrance donations forbidden. See also [M10] above, putting the same restriction on donations of property; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37] and related documents.
- [T7] Appointment of the treasurer, ecclesiarch, and cellarer. See [M9] above; cf. the somewhat different composition of the three treasurers in (22) *Evergetis* [30], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [36], and (30) *Phoberos* [47].

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- [T8] Qualifications of the property administrator. See the similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [34] and related documents. Officials of this sort are also discussed in (9) *Galesios* [221], [244] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [31].
- [T9] Disciplinary procedures. For the monastic prison, see earlier provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [25] and (11) *Ath. Rule* [19]; for a similar rule against visiting in cells, see (22) *Evergetis* [21] and related documents.
- [T10] Election and installation of the superior; governance in consultation with the preeminent monks; exhortation to the superior. See [M7] above; this chapter shows the strong imprint of (22) *Evergetis* [13], [17], cf. related documents.
- [T11] Inventory of sacred vessels. See the more substantial inventories of movable property in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 6], [INV 8], [INV 11], and (23) *Pakourianos* [33B].
- [T12] Independence of the monastery; commemorations for the founder's family and departed superiors and monks. See [M11] above, and similar provisions for independence in (22) *Evergetis* [12] and related documents, and (28) *Pantokrator* [69].
- [T13] Final exhortation. Cf. analogous chapters in (22) *Evergetis* [42] and related documents.
- [Later addition] Consumption of fish on feast days. For evidence of fishing by monks to supplement their diet in other documents, see (29) *Kosmosoteira* [66], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19], and (43) *Kasoulon* [25].

32. *Mamas*: *Typikon* of Athanasios Philanthropenos for the Monastery of St. Mamas in Constantinople

Date: November 1158

Translator: Anastasius Bandy

Edition employed: S. Eustratiades, “*Typikon tes en Konstantinoupolei mones tou hagiou megalomartyros Mamantos*,” *Hellenika* 1 (1928), 256–314, with text at 256–311. See also corrections by V. Laurent, “*Remarques critiques sur le texte du typikon du monastère de Saint-Mamas*,” *EO* 30 (1931), 233–42, and by A. Sigalas, *EEBS* 7 (1930), 399–405.

Manuscripts: Parisinus, supplément grec 92 (late 12th–13th c.); supplemented by Codex 85, nunc 79, Theological School, Halki, now in the Patriarchal Library, Istanbul (1761).¹

Other translations: None

Institutional History

A. Prior History of the Foundation

The early history of the foundation is dependent on unreliable sources and therefore remains highly conjectural. The church of St. Mamas, which was located in southwestern Constantinople near the Xylokerkos (modern Belgrad-Kapou) Gate, may have been founded by Pharasmanes, the chamberlain (*epi tou koitonos*) of Justinian (527–565), then perhaps restored a generation later by Gordia, sister of Maurice (582–602), who may have been responsible also for adding the monastery.² Maurice, his wife Constantina, and their children were buried there.³

Mamas had likely become an imperial monastery by the early ninth century, when it served as a place of confinement in 809 for Theodore the Studite, his uncle Plato, and his brother Joseph at the orders of Nikephoros I (802–811).⁴ Its status is confirmed by an order of Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944) in 922 to move the tombs of Maurice and his family to that emperor’s own monastery of Myrelaion.⁵

Perhaps *Mamas* had become a patriarchal responsibility by the time Patriarch Nicholas II Chrysoberges (979–991) appointed Symeon the Theologian as its superior, either in 980 or 984.⁶ This monk, the greatest mystic of the middle Byzantine period, had begun his career, circa 977, at the *Stoudios* monastery, from which, however, he was soon expelled. He then joined the *Mamas* monastery, then under the direction of a certain Antony, where he lived for several years before his designation as the foundation’s leader. The monastery was in a state of decay. Neighbors had been using part of the site as a cemetery. Symeon removed the obstructions, restored the facilities, and replaced the furnishings in the monastery’s church. Symeon served as superior for more than two decades, down to his resignation under pressure from the patriarchal chancellor Stephen of Nikomedeia in 1005, having survived a revolt by some thirty of his monks a few years before with the support of Patriarch Sisinnios II (996–998).

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Symeon's designated successor was the eunuch monk Arsenios. Symeon himself died at the monastery of St. Marina at Chrysopolis in the capital city's Asiatic suburbs in 1022. His remains were not returned to *Mamas* for burial until 1053. After Symeon's death, the monastery came under the control of various *charistikarioi*, very soon thereafter if our foundation is identical to the monastery dedicated to St. Mamas that is mentioned in the *Peira* of Eustathios Rhomaios (†1034) as the subject of a *charistike*.⁷

*B. Revival under George the Cappadocian and His Brother Theocharistos*⁸

According to our *typikon*, the depredations of the *charistikarioi* brought the foundation to near total ruin. George the Cappadocian, steward of the imperial treasury under Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80), became interested in the foundation early in that emperor's reign, perhaps because the dedicatee St. Mamas was a popular martyr of the third century from George's ancestral homeland. The monastic buildings had collapsed, there were only two non-resident monks, and the church stood roofless. Since the monastery was at that time under patriarchal jurisdiction, George sought and obtained its concession to himself (and his legal heir) as *charistikarios* from Kosmas II Attikos (1146–47) in a patriarchal memorandum. First, he had to persuade squatters to abandon the property, then he began work on the restoration. Later, fearing that subsequent *charistikarioi* might lack his own personal piety, George obtained a grant of institutional independence for *Mamas* from a later patriarch, Nicholas IV Muzalon (1147–51), evidently to take effect upon the expiration of the *charistike*.

More substantial renovations and repairs followed. The patron recruited our author Athanasios Philanthropenos, then steward of the imperial monastery of Christ *Philanthropos* founded at the beginning of the twelfth century by Emperor Alexios I Komnenos and his wife Irene to serve as the superior of the rebuilt monastery. At the end of his life, George himself became a monk at the monastery under the name Gregory. The work was not yet complete at his death.

George had named his brother Theocharistos as his successor. The new patron then built the monastery's refectory and bath. For his part, the superior Athanasios obtained a patriarchal concession⁹ that made the foundation's formerly contingent independence effective immediately. The protector Theocharistos was still alive in November 1158 to sign the foundation's *typikon*, along with Athanasios and all of the monks of the community.

Some five years later, the First *Semeioma* was drawn up to establish a record of the historical circumstances leading to the re-establishment of the monastery and to authenticate the *typikon*. The *nomophylax* Theodore Pantechnes granted a judicial confirmation of this document on January 5, 1164, by which time the patron Theocharistos was already dead. His successor was likely Nikephoros the *mystikos*, author of (33) *Heliou Bomon*.¹⁰

Finally, Athanasios took the precaution in 1171 of depositing the original *typikon*, the inventory, and the various privileges of the foundation in the monastery of Christ *Philanthropos* for safekeeping. The Second *Semeioma* of March 15, 1171, was drawn up to provide a record of the deposition.

C. Subsequent History of the Foundation

Emperor Isaac II Angelos (1185–95) restored the monastery, at which time an especially appropri-

ate relic, the head of St. Mamas, was brought from Cappadocia to Constantinople for deposit at the foundation.¹¹ The monastery and its relics are mentioned by the Russian traveler Antony of Novgorod on his visit to Constantinople shortly before 1204.¹² After the Latin conquest of Constantinople, the monastery lost its prized relic of St. Mamas, which was taken away to the cathedral of Langres in France in 1209, but evidently Greek monks were still resident in 1236–40, when the monastery was visited by Dominican monks in an effort to compel the priest Luke to assent to Latin liturgical usages.¹³

The foundation reappears in the historical record in the fourteenth century. In 1350 or 1351, John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–54) contemplated retiring from the throne to *Mamas*.¹⁴ Shortly thereafter, Patriarch Kallistos I (1350–53, 1355–63) actually did seek refuge at *Mamas* for several years when he was compelled to abandon the patriarchal palace after refusing to recognize the elevation of John VI's son Matthew Kantakouzenos (1353–57) to the co-emperorship in 1353.¹⁵ The last record of the monastery's existence is in 1399, when Patriarch Matthew (1397–1410) judged a case before his synod in which *Mamas* was represented by its *ktetor* or "owner" Nicholas Sophianos.¹⁶ It is not known, therefore, whether the foundation survived till the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, and no remains of the foundation have been identified in modern Istanbul.

Analysis

This remarkable *typikon* assimilates nearly a century of the Evergetian reform tradition and sums up the work of three generations of monastic reformers. Although it is undeniably a member of the Evergetian family of monastic *typika*, the frankly more aristocratic biases of its author, a former steward of the imperial monastery of *Philanthropos* in Constantinople, are evident in its willing acceptance of the protectorate (*ephoreia*) and its many relaxations of monastic discipline. The stern Evergetian vision of cenobiticism was clearly becoming an ever more distant memory in calmer and more stable times, though the *typikon* of the author's contemporary Isaac Komnenos, (29) *Kosmosoteira*, shows that it was still possible to found a monastery based on more pristine (if also increasingly archaic) Evergetian principles.

Annexed to the *typikon* are several documents: 1) a judicial confirmation dated January 1164, which serves to introduce 2) the First *Semeioma*, dated to January 5, 1164; 3) an "Addition," dated April 1171, introduces 4) the Second *Semeioma*. The First *Semeioma* serves as a history of the foundation and as an authentication of the *typikon*. The Second *Semeioma* makes an arrangement for the preservation of the *typikon* and other essential documents in the sacristy of the *Philanthropos* monastery.

A. Sources for the Typikon

1. Relationship to (22) *Evergetis*

At several places in the *typikon* the author mentions the use of the *synaxarion* of the *Evergetis* monastery by his monks for the regulation of ecclesiastical services.¹⁷ By this he means the liturgical *typikon* of that foundation. Unlike Isaac Komnenos in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [8], however, the author of this document does not acknowledge the indebtedness of the actual wording of his *typikon* to (22) *Evergetis*, the founder's *typikon* of the great reform monastery. This may be be-

cause he evidently employed at least one other post-Evergetian text even if he did also have direct access to (22) *Evergetis*. By way of contrast, as recently as 1152 Isaac Komnenos appears to have been able to excerpt directly from a copy of (22) *Evergetis* even if his version of that text was somewhat different from the text that has come down to us today.

2. Analytic Chapter Groups¹⁸

Subjected to a careful analysis, the chapters of (32) *Mamas* can be divided into four groups. Group A is made up of sixteen chapters of what appears to be entirely new material.¹⁹ There are some parallel treatments for the topics covered in these chapters in (22) *Evergetis* and (27) *Kecharitomene*, but there is no textual sharing between these two earlier documents and (32) *Mamas*. Group B is made up of twenty chapters for which (32) *Mamas* has textual links with both (22) *Evergetis* and (27) *Kecharitomene*.²⁰ Group C includes the four chapters that (32) *Mamas* shares only with (22) *Evergetis*.²¹ Finally, Group D includes eight chapters from a post-Evergetian source that (32) *Mamas* shares only with (27) *Kecharitomene*.²²

Group B, the Maman chapters linked with both (22) *Evergetis* and (27) *Kecharitomene*, is amenable to additional division into three subgroups. In Subgroup B.1 are thirteen Maman chapters that utilize a source clearly closer to (22) *Evergetis* than (27) *Kecharitomene* though there is in every case a parallel treatment in the latter document as well.²³ On the other hand, in Subgroup B.2 there are five Maman chapters that utilize (27) *Kecharitomene* or some source like it, while there are parallel treatments in (22) *Evergetis*.²⁴ Finally, in Subgroup B.3. there are two chapters in which (32) *Mamas* appears to be drawing simultaneously on the textual traditions of (22) *Evergetis* and (27) *Kecharitomene*.²⁵

3. Interpretation of the Analytic Chapter Groups

The simplest way to interpret the evidence of this source analysis is to suppose that our author had before him the texts as we have them of (27) *Kecharitomene* and (22) *Evergetis*. The former he would have used as a model for the eight chapters in Group D and the five in Subgroup B.2, while the latter he would have employed to write the four chapters in Group C and the thirteen chapters in Subgroup B.1; then both documents for the two chapters in Subgroup B.3.

However, because of the large number of chapters (28) linked in some way to (27) *Kecharitomene* (those in Groups B and D) as opposed to those few (4) (in Group C) that can be traced only to (22) *Evergetis*, it seems rather unlikely that the author of (32) *Mamas* actually had the Evergetian *typikon* in front of him as John, the author of (30) *Phoberos* and Isaac Komnenos, the author of (29) *Kosmosoteira*, surely did. On the other hand, the existence of the chapters in Group C are a convincing indication that (27) *Kecharitomene* could not have been the author's only model whether he in fact drew directly upon it or not.

The close, trusting relationship between *Mamas* and the imperial monastery of *Philanthropos* (for which see below, D.7) suggests another possibility, namely that the *typikon* of that monastery, rather than that of its companion foundation, *Kecharitomene*, was the actual model for (32) *Mamas*. As a monastery co-founded by Empress Irene Doukaina Komnena along with the convent of *Kecharitomene*, it is possible that its now lost *typikon* would have been similar but not identical to (27) *Kecharitomene*. It would also have been an easier matter for our author to adopt the *typikon* of a monastery for his purposes than that of a convent. The fact that our author was himself the

steward in *Philanthropos* before being recruited by Mamas' patron George the Cappadocian to serve as superior of the latter institution also supports the thesis that, as a self-admitted procrastinator (see the Prologue), he simply turned to an existing *typikon* he knew intimately well when he finally got around to composing one for Mamas.

If this thesis is accepted, the four Evergetian chapters in *Mamas'* Group C can be explained as importations from (22) *Evergetis* into the lost *typikon* of *Philanthropos* that for various reasons were not appropriate borrowings for (27) *Kecharitomene*.²⁶ The use of *Philanthropos* as a model rather than (27) *Kecharitomene* would also help explain the composite character of the twenty Maman chapters in Group B, with some chapters (Subgroup B.1) closer to (22) *Evergetis* than others (Subgroup B.2).

The radical discrepancies in the numeration and order of comparable chapters in (32) *Mamas* and (27) *Kecharitomene* make it unlikely that our author simply transcribed the *Philanthropos typikon* for his new monastery unless *Philanthropos* itself was very considerably different in these aspects from (27) *Kecharitomene*.

B. Utility for the History of the Reform Movement

Just as (27) *Kecharitomene* provides us with a convenient update on the course of the Byzantine monastic reform movement, specifically for the forty years or so between the early reform era circa 1070 and the second decade of the twelfth century when that *typikon* was composed, so also does (32) *Mamas*, serving the same purpose for the next forty years or so until its composition in 1158. As a matter of fact, the text of (32) *Mamas* contains embedded within itself several layers of monastic institutions and practices that stretch over three generations of the monastic reform movement.

The most purely Evergetian materials, dating back to the last quarter of the eleventh century or earlier, are to be found in the four chapters of Group C. These were revived by our author or his source after they had failed to find favor with the author of (27) *Kecharitomene*. Next are the thirteen primarily Evergetian-based chapters in Subgroup B.1, which include a good deal of the more egalitarian ideology in the model *typikon* that was acceptable to the authors of both (27) *Kecharitomene* and (32) *Mamas*. The content of these chapters may be as old as that of those in Group C but it had remained in continuous favor.

The five chapters in Subgroup B.2 form the first layer in (32) *Mamas* from the creative work of the second generation of the reform movement. They have deep Evergetian institutional and ideological roots, but were heavily reworked at the time of (27) *Kecharitomene's* composition. Included are procedures for the election of the superior [1], the regulation of entrance gifts [5], the investiture of officials [6], a ban on secret eating [20], and instructions for commemoration of deceased monks [39]. They show the work of the second generation of reformers as they sought to remedy deficiencies in (22) *Evergetis* and to elaborate on matters that were by then of greater concern.

The two chapters in Subgroup B.3, the declaration of the independence of the monastery [4] in a more developed form than in (22) *Evergetis* [12] and a revision of the Evergetian dietary provisions for non-fast days [17], are composites of materials shared with both (22) *Evergetis* and (27) *Kecharitomene*. Although dating in their original Evergetian form to some time in the late

eleventh century, these two chapters had been reformulated by the time (27) *Kecharitomene* was composed in the second decade of the twelfth century or perhaps a little later.

The eight non-Evergetian chapters in Group D are the last and most original part of the contributions of the second generation. They include a careful formulation of the rights and responsibilities of the protector [3], a distinctly non-Evergetian institution, a series of descriptions of the duties of other monastic officials [8] through [12], a militant defense of the cenobitic life [25], and a ban on kelliotic monks and imposed guests (*katapemptoi*) [26]. This group of chapters, textually independent of (22) *Evergetis*, must have been composed well after the triumph of the reform movement had been assured. We see through them the concerns of the second generation as its members turned their attention to such matters as curbing financial irregularities from within the monastery and attempting to reformulate the protectorate as a benign and useful institution.

The last layer of (32) *Mamas* is made up of the chapters in Group A, our author's apparently original contributions, to which must be added also all the many changes he introduced in the chapters of the other groups. Most of these chapters are more "original" textually than conceptually, however. His freshly written provisions for the reading of the *typikon* [16], the admonition to show respect to the superior [24], the ban on access for women [27], the obligation to make confession to the superior [29], and the prescriptions for the canonical hours [31] all have parallel treatments in (22) *Evergetis* even though there is no textual dependency. But even in these chapters the author introduces some substantive changes (see the detailed topical discussions below) that reflect the concerns of his, the third generation of monastic reformers.

C. Lives of the Monks

1. Number of Monks

The *typikon* sets [5] the number of monks at twenty, with the possibility of a later increase made possible by better financial management or additional donations from benefactors, provided sufficient cells were available to house the new monks. Such an increase in fact seems to have happened, judging from the list of twenty-eight monks' names (plus the author and the monastery's protector) at the end of the document, yet as was the case for the monastery for which (30) *Phoberos* was written, the size of the foundation remained considerably smaller than it had been before the *charistike*.

2. Liturgical Duties

Two to three priests and two deacons were to be assigned [5] to the church to attend to services performed there. Almost as an afterthought towards the end of the document, the author provides [47] a summary of the required liturgical services that has been written up from (22) *Evergetis* [3], [4], [6]. The service of the third and sixth hours had been discussed [31] earlier in the *typikon*. As in the contemporary (29) *Kosmosoteira* [80], only illness could excuse [21] a monk from participation in the services of the canonical hours or vigils; the author promises a diet of dry food and water as a punishment for repeat offenders.

This somewhat casual treatment of liturgical duties, combined with an incidental observation [18] that "those who chant are very few" (perhaps the ecclesiarch along with the four priests and the deacon who have signed the *typikon*), might be taken to indicate that at this foundation (unlike

(28) *Pantokrator* [32] or (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3]) the performance of the canonical hours was not the most important of the responsibilities of its monks.

3. Manual Labor

The description [47] of the canonical hours amends its source (22) *Evergetis* [4] by indicating that some monks will go “to their tasks” after the performance of the service of the first hour. We know from descriptions of their duties that the monastery had [11] a cellarer, an assistant, and a cook in the kitchen; there was also [12] a gatekeeper. The monks’ signatures at the end of the document include those of two vine-dressers, a groom, a baker, and a gardener as well as the above-mentioned gatekeeper. The author also repeats [23] the exhortation found in (22) *Evergetis* [33] that was intended to reassure those engaged in responsibilities outside the church of the value of their work. He specifically provides [19] that vine-dressers, gardeners and others working outside the monastery should take meals along with the other monks in order that “the name ‘brotherhood’ may not be just a name.”

4. Length of the Novitiate

In a regulation based on (22) *Evergetis* [37], the author provides [22] for a novitiate of two years, except for “distinguished people” and those already well known to the monks, who were to receive tonsure after six months. The distinction was known even to reform monasteries, with (22) *Evergetis* [37] providing tonsure for the privileged “within the customary period of time,” and (27) *Kecharitomene* [30] “when the superior judges it beneficial.” The author here has considerably lengthened the novitiate for ordinary postulants that (22) *Evergetis* [37] and the contemporary (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55] had set at only six months. Applicants who had been tonsured at other monasteries were also eligible [22] for admission.

5. Sacramental Life

The author’s prescriptions [32] for the holy liturgy and the reception of communion follow his model (22) *Evergetis* [5], with some small changes. The liturgy was to be celebrated at least four times a week and on feasts of the Lord, i.e., less frequently than the daily liturgies at *Evergetis* but more frequently than the twice-weekly liturgies prescribed in (31) *Areia* [T2]. As in (22) *Evergetis*, the superior was to regulate the monks’ frequency of reception of communion, but the guidelines offered both for monks “free from passions” and others are considerably more strict than in that earlier *typikon*.

The author incorporates [30] the exhortation to confession found in (22) *Evergetis* [7], but devises his own regulation [29] providing for confession to the superior “even if he happens to be unordained” because of a special permission the latter has to hear confessions that has been obtained from the patriarch. He breaks [29] with Evergetian precedent in permitting a monk who did not want to have his superior as his confessor to be assigned an alternative confessor by the superior.

6. Cenobitic Lifestyle

In a chapter shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], the author proclaims [25] that the cenobitic order should be permanent and unalterable. Later on in the *typikon* in a chapter of his own composition, he asserts [41] that the essential purpose of drawing up a *typikon* in the first place was to assure the

continuance of cenobiticism. For specific details of the cenobitic regime, he defers in part to basic principles set forth in (22) *Evergetis* [9], [26], including equality [34] in food and drink (but not clothing) for all, and a ban [36] on arguments over precedence at table. For other Evergetian regulations like the ban on secret eating and the provision for the superior to visit cells to confiscate unauthorized possessions, he prefers to use language shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [22], [27]. He also adopts [46] the Evergetian overview²⁷ of how harmonious relations among the monks should be preserved in a cenobitic institution. He adds [35] his own regulation against idle talking during manual labor or while traveling outside the monastery.

In some important particulars, however, the author dilutes the stern Evergetian version of cenobitic life. His regulation on refectory seating significantly changes [36] the overall effect of the Evergetian passage on which it is modeled by providing instructions for seating by order of precedence and by deleting the earlier *typikon*'s harsh characterization of monks who questioned the superior's arrangements. In the matter of the monks' clothing the author also makes a significant innovation. He decides [28] to abandon the communal provision of clothing and substitute for it the payment of a twice-yearly cash allowance. He evidently thought [28] it would be necessary to provide a cash allowance to the monks to buy soap and pay the fee to use a bathhouse outside the monastery.

7. Servants Not Permitted

The author is an exception from the trend seen in other twelfth-century monasteries to provide a few servants to tend to the needs of a larger number of monks or nuns.²⁸ Instead, in [34] he follows (22) *Evergetis* [24]'s ban on personal servants, to which he adds also domestic workers. He prefers that the monks should help one another, the younger the older, the stronger the weaker, the novice the experienced monk, etc., at the superior's discretion. This suggests a pattern of cohabitation as found in the Evergetian *typikon* (as well as in the contemporary (29) *Kosmosoteira* [51]) though the author does not specifically endorse it.

8. Diet

The author draws [17] upon a source in the post-Evergetian tradition for his account of refectory procedures and diet on ordinary days. This includes a second sitting at the noon meal for servers, as in (27) *Kecharitomene* [45]. He allows the steward or the ecclesiarch to stand in for the superior to relieve him of the duty of presiding over meals personally. While keeping to the received tradition, the author also feels compelled "for the sake of the canons" to supply additional guidance for special situations, such as when a feast of the Lord should happen to occur on a fast day.

As usual, changes in the traditional monastic diet were evolutionary. The author gives [18] the superior discretionary authority to make changes in the dietary prescriptions during the fast of the Holy Apostles. He himself provides for a substitution of wine for water during the first week of the Lenten fast "since those who chant the office are very few and the office is long." The need to refute certain heresies (the so-called Artzibourians and others) also led to an insistence [19] on dietary practices opposed to those of the sectaries.

9. Bathing

As noted, the founder originally expected [28] that his monks would need to use a bath outside the monastery. This they were to be allowed to do on a monthly basis, that is, at the same frequency as

provided for in the contemporary (29) *Kosmosoteira* [97] though not as often as in (28) *Pantokrator* [15]. Later, as noted in the First *Semeioma*, the founder's brother Theocharistos was able to build a bath for the monks' use at the foundation.

10. Care of Sick and Elderly Monks

The superior was to designate [33] someone to take care of the monastery's elderly monks, both men of learning and the illiterate. They would be released from work but continue to receive the same food and drink as young and healthy monks.

Unlike many other foundations that were equipping themselves to care for sick monks on their own premises,²⁹ the author of this *typikon* prefers to rely [34] on the medical services available from one or the other of two hospices (*xenones*) in the neighborhood of his monastery. As also in (22) *Evergetis* [41], sick monks were to receive [34], at the superior's discretion, extra food and drink and other necessities. Food was to be brought to these monks if they were admitted to one of the hospices.

11. Burial

The author provides [39] that monks were to be buried on the right side of the church. His prescriptions for their funerals and memorial services are shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [70], in that *kollyba* would be prepared and distributed in honor of the deceased at the third, ninth and fortieth-day memorial services (cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [71] and (28) *Pantokrator* [8]), and likewise *stauria* on the traditional annual days for remembering the dead, the Saturdays of Meatfare, Cheesefare and Pentecost. Departed superiors were to be the beneficiaries of especially generous memorial services.

D. Constitutional Matters

1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

The author asserts [4] the independence of his foundation based on the authority of a patriarchal memorandum (*hypomnema*) and an imperial chrysobull. He adopts mostly post-Evergetian language shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [1] to reject the possibility that the foundation should come under the *charistike*, *epidosis*, *ephoreia*, or any of the other traditional vehicles for exploiting monastic property. According to the First *Semeioma*, the "new builder" George the Cappadocian obtained the memorandum recognizing the monastery's independence from Patriarch Nicholas IV Muzalon (1147–51); the confirming chrysobull was granted by Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80). According to the *typikon's* prologue, the monastery's independence did not take effect immediately with the issuance of these documents. This independence was to be postponed until George's death, at which time our author Athanasios was able to complete the process of conversion of this former patriarchal monastery into an independent foundation.

2. Responsibilities of the Protector

This monastery, like the imperial foundations (27) *Kecharitomene* [3] and (28) *Pantokrator* [70], had had a protectorate established [3] over it. The incumbent, Theocharistos, was the brother of George the Cappadocian who had entrusted him with the protectorate (see First *Semeioma*). Theocharistos may also have been the second person designated in his brother's grant when, according to the *typikon's* Prologue, an unnamed patriarch (identified in the First *Semeioma* as Kosmas

II Attikos [1146–47]) awarded George the then ruined monastery under the *charistike*. Theocharistos, like his brother before him, was to patronize the foundation, defend its interests, and prevent violations of the *typikon* (cf. also [38]). He also had the exceptional right to add or delete anything he wished in the document since, as the author declares [15] later, “to the latter alone we have given license to do whatever at all he wishes that contributes to the benefit and support of the monastery.”

Theocharistos was to be succeeded [3] in office by whoever happened to be serving as the imperial *mystikos* at the time of his death. In a formulaic post-Evergetian regulation shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [3], the *typikon* specifically forbids [3] future protectors from exercising authority, changing the *typikon* (so also [15]), removing the superior, enrolling or expelling monks, holding the superior or the steward fiscally accountable, demanding financial information, or appropriating any of the foundation’s possessions. These are the very things that the monastic reformers condemned the former *charistikarioi*—who ruined this and many other foundations—for doing.

This approach to scaling back a protector’s powers in the second generation amounts to a gradual phasing out of arbitrary patronal authority. It recalls provisions in other documents, e.g., (10) *Eleousa* [16] and (19) *Attaleiates* [26], [33], under which only the first successor of the founder was allowed to exercise certain extraordinary rights.

3. The Election of the Superior

The author’s provisions [1] for the election of the superior draw heavily on a post-Evergetian source shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], but produce an independent and not completely consistent result. His precise intentions as to how the election was to take place under various contingencies and what roles the various actors, particularly the protector, were to play in it, are not clear. The difficulty seems to have arisen out of the author’s desire to preserve as much of the precise wording of his model as possible while proposing a very different set of roles and procedures. In disagreement with his model, he wanted the superior alone to be responsible for nominating three candidates for the succession before his own death. However, he also clearly disliked leaving such an important matter as the determination of a new superior to a selection by chance from among the three names (as in his model). Therefore, he rules that the selection by lots will not have to take place if the entire community of monks can agree on one of the names proposed by the late superior, or, should he have died suddenly without making nominations, they are able to make their own unanimous choice. The protector was to intervene, if necessary, with “the prompting and consent of the monks,” to select an outsider (i.e., a *xenokourites*) as the new superior. Monks from other monasteries were also eligible for consideration under other circumstances.

Later, the author returns [45] to the subject and, quoting directly or indirectly from (22) *Evergetis* [14] this time on avoiding strife in elections, adds that the choices should be made “with the counsel and judgment of the protector.”

4. Role of the Superior

In the *typikon*’s Prologue, the author describes the original division of responsibility between himself as superior and the patron George the Cappadocian: “To himself he assigned the subsidizing but to me the management.” This presumably remained the ideal model for relations between future superiors and the monastery’s protectors.

In an apparently original chapter, the author obliges [24] the monks to conform themselves to the will of the superior: “[They] must do nothing at all without the knowledge and consent of the superior but in all things follow his orders.” His consent was required even for the performance of duties, and the monks were not to pass him (or each other) without bowing as a sign of respect. Therefore the author happily imports [44] into his own *typikon* the provision of (22) *Evergetis* [18] exempting the superior from any accountability to his monks.

For balance, however, he also includes [42] the formulaic Evergetian exhortation to the superior to show paternal affection to his monks (reinforced by his own [48]) and also [44] the injunction that the superior should not exploit his position to do favors for his friends and relatives (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [17], [18]). He thought it necessary to make [43] a special appeal to a future superior who, as he himself did, might have transferred to *Mamas* from another monastery (i.e., a *xenokourites*): he should bring only one disciple with him and not discriminate against *Mamas*’ own monks.

For his procedure governing the removal of an unworthy superior the author relies [2] on the treatment of this issue in (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14]. He adds a role for the protector, who is to be consulted by the monks before they attempt the removal of the unfit superior. Like the author of the Evergetian *typikon*, our author was willing to allow the deposed superior to stay in the monastery, but he was to be allowed to leave too, “especially if he happens to be from those who come from outside” (i.e., a *xenokourites*).

5. Other Officials of the Monastery

This *typikon* shares with (27) *Kecharitomene*³⁰ a number of detailed descriptions of the officers of the monastery and their responsibilities that are derived from an unidentified post-Evergetian source. The officials so described are: [8] the ecclesiarch (along with his assistant); [9] the sacristan and archivist; [10] the treasurer; [11] the cellarer (and his assistant); and [12] the gatekeeper. There is also a chapter [7] on the installation of the steward but no description of duties. The superior had the right to appoint all of these officials. For good measure, however, the author also adds [14] a provision, analogous to that in (22) *Evergetis* [39], permitting the superior to appoint other officials as well “if the monastery should expand and there is a pressing need.”

6. Patronal Privileges

In accordance with an accepted patronal privilege, the founder George the Cappadocian was admitted into the monastery before his death under the monastic name of Gregory.³¹ According to the author’s account in the *typikon*’s Prologue, George had asked him to compose the *typikon*, but the author demurred at that time because, he says “I revered him.” Only after George’s death did the author accept this important delegation of a patronal prerogative. The late founder George the Cappadocian was to receive [40] both daily memorial services and a perpetual lamp burning at his grave, and also an annual commemorative service marked by a feast for the monks. In the due course of time, the founder’s brother Theocharistos and his wife Zoe Dalassena would be the recipients of commemorations also, to be carried out in accordance with the instructions they were expected to provide.

Future protectors were to serve [3] without pay, receiving only the benefit of commemoration three times daily, posthumous commemoration, and the privilege of being buried in the monastery without making a donation.

7. Reading of the *Typikon* and Security of Documents

In a chapter apparently of his own composition, the author provides [16] for the reading of the *typikon* at mealtimes every three months (i.e., four times a year) and on the commemorations of George the Cappadocian, Theocharistos, and himself “so that by the continuous reading of it the things that have been prescribed may be more permanent and indelible.” The author adds that the provisions of the *typikon* should not be considered as his own ordinances but rather as divine laws “that are inviolable and unchangeable.” A judicial confirmation attached at the end of the *typikon* and dated to 1164 confirms it as valid and durable for all time.

The author, who himself had once been a steward, certainly shared the concern of his predecessors, the authors of (19) *Attaleiates* [40] and (23) *Pakourianos* [33], for the physical security of the *typikon* and the monastery’s other important documents. Three identical sets of the *typikon* and the inventory (now lost) were prepared. The originals were placed in the imperial monastery of *Philanthropos* for safekeeping. The Second *Semeioma* records the transmission of the box containing these two documents, the originals of the imperial chrysobull and of the patriarchal documents granting the monastery’s independence, and the first *Semeioma* to the sacristan of *Philanthropos*. None of them could be borrowed without first securing the permission from both the *Mamas* monastery and the foundation’s protector. Even a representative of the *Mamas* monastery could not borrow one of them without surrendering the monastery’s transmissory deed to its properties to *Philanthropos* as a security deposit.

E. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

The author in effect returns [48] to the old Studite principle (cf. (3) *Theodore Studites* [22]) of separating the superior from direct involvement in the financial administration of the monastery, “for this is unworthy of a director of monks and a spiritual leader of souls.” He is to assure, however, that “all income and disbursement and payment be made openly and with the consent of the community and through the hands of others in accordance with his own instruction.”

For the balance of his treatment of financial administration, the author relies on earlier sources. The prescriptions for the investiture of the steward [7] and other officials [6] derive ultimately from Evergetian models.³² The descriptions of the duties of the ecclesiarch [8], the sacristan [9] and the treasurer [10], however, are all from a post-Evergetian source shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [20], [19], [24].

The key official among these was the sacristan [9] who also served as archivist. The description of his duties is taken almost entirely from the characteristically post-Evergetian model with its elaborate security precautions, use of written inventories (*praktika*), and reminders to borrowers of documents. The author adds a provision for a cabinet (*harmarion*) intended for the protection of documents which was opened by two keys kept by the sacristan and the superior.

The ecclesiarch [8] likewise received an inventory from the sacristan listing the movable property in his charge. As in the post-Evergetian model, he was to be assisted by an assistant ecclesiarch. The author adds that this individual will be responsible for maintaining the monastery’s cash box.

The treasurer [10] was in this monastery evidently to be this same assistant ecclesiarch. In the description of his duties the author adopts the stringent post-Evergetian security provisions (use of receipts, ledger book, witnesses, etc.) found in (27) *Kecharitomene* [24] but his language is different.

It is curious, especially considering the author's own background, that his *typikon* lacks a discussion of the duties of the steward, the monastery's chief financial officer. The thorough treatment in (27) *Kecharitomene* [14] then was either missing from the source he was relying upon, or was overlooked for some reason.

2. Inalienability of Property

Theft of movable property was a greater concern to the author than the alienation of landed property. Perhaps this is an indication of greater confidence that any new government confiscations of landed property were unlikely and that the founders' own administrative precautions had reduced the threat of misconduct by the monastery's officials. In an apparently new chapter the author asserts [37], cf. [5] the inalienability of the sacred vessels and other consecrated objects listed in the inventory. These included not only recent donations, mostly by George the Cappadocian (see Prologue), but also some older possessions that somehow managed to survive the *charistike*. The author menaces magnates, government officials as well as the monastery's protector, superior and monks with the charge of sacrilege and the threat of eternal punishment should any of them disregard his prohibition. As an aside, he notes that the prohibition also applied to the monastery's immovable (i.e., landed) property. Unlike (27) *Kecharitomene* [10] and even (22) *Evergetis* [19], there is no provision for emergency alienation of movable property.

3. Entrance Gifts Not Mandatory

The author adopts [22] the Evergetian provision that entrance gifts are not to be required of postulants, but that free-will gifts are acceptable. He draws here on the text of (22) *Evergetis* [37], the *locus classicus*. Elsewhere, adopting language shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [7], the author makes [5] the usual declaration that monks cannot reclaim these voluntary donations if they later choose to leave the monastery.

4. Other Sources of Income

Overall, the author maintains a hopeful attitude towards the future growth and prosperity of this foundation. He looks forward [5] to an increase in the monastery's revenues through additional donations of landed property or even through better fiscal management of its existing properties. He also expects [37] supplements and further dedications to the monastery's stock of movable property. The author alludes to the performance of commemorative services [40] and the right of burial [27] in the monastery, presumably in return for outside benefactions, but does not provide details.

F. Overall Philosophy

Like other twelfth-century founders and authors whose aristocratic backgrounds shaped their patronal attitudes, our author exhibits a profound ambivalence over the ideological legacy of *Evergetis*. As noted above, he amends [36] the latter's prescriptions on seating arrangements in

the refectory, basically to assure the superior that he can honor members of the clergy as well as those monks “advanced in years” or “preeminent in the world.” On the other hand, his warning against strife and partiality in the election of the superior reproduces [45] the language and argument of (22) *Evergetis* [17] urging that the monks not uncritically prefer the nobly born or those who have donated considerable property to the monastery. As we have seen, in another passage adopted from (22) *Evergetis* [18], he warns [44] the superior not to spend the monastery’s wealth to do favors for his family and friends. Also, despite the fact that the monastery was to be in principle “absolutely inaccessible to women” except for funerals and commemorations, the author, like (22) *Evergetis* [39], is happy to make [27] rare exceptions for those “famed for virtue, nobility and prominence.”

Perhaps the fairest comparison is to his contemporary, Isaac Komnenos, the author of (29) *Kosmosoteira*. Our author’s ban [26], cf. [27] on kelliotic monks and imposed guests, which he shares with (27) *Kecharitomene* [53], certainly contrasts with the latter’s willingness in (29) *Kosmosoteira* to bend [55], [86] his own rules in exchange for large donations and to require [107] the monastery to maintain several of his favorites.

G. External Relations

1. Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

Since his foundation had once been a patriarchal monastery (see First *Semeioma*) and owed its independent status to a recent patriarchal memorandum issued by Nicholas IV Muzalon, our author was necessarily obliged more than many of his counterparts to respect patriarchal rights. Therefore, he instructs [1] that the monks must take a newly chosen superior to the patriarch in order to receive “the *sphragis* and benediction of the office of superior.” The author also had to be careful to get [29] explicit permission from the patriarch for the superior to hear the monks’ confessions should the monastery’s leader chance to be unordained.

2. Institutional Philanthropy

This was a relatively weak component of the foundation’s program. There were no philanthropic institutions associated with the monastery; indeed the monastery itself was dependent upon neighboring facilities for bathing [28] and medical services [34]. There were charitable contributions [13], cf. [39] at the gate to poor monks and laymen at the gate, including leftover cooked food. The author declares [13] “It is our preference that not even any beggar turn away from the gate with empty hands.” Suppliant monks, however, were to be fed more amply than ordinary beggars.

H. Composition of the Typikon

Athanasios Philanthropenos composed one of the best-edited of the Byzantine monastic *typika*. Despite the fact that he was drawing on what by his day was a diverse, complex tradition of Evergetian reform institutions and customs, our author produced an exceptionally well ordered document that leaves few clues to its composition. For the first twelve chapters of his *typikon*, Athanasios drew upon an Evergetian reform *typikon*, probably that of the *Philanthropos* monastery, as argued above (in A.3). Though Athanasios appears to have made some extensive changes

to the chapters in this first section, at least insofar as we are able to judge from the lack of identifiable borrowings from extant documents, aside from the Prologue, he did not introduce any completely new (Group A) chapters of his own until [13]. Thereafter, new chapters alternate with those that contain identifiable borrowings down to the end of the document.

Athanasios' sequence of chapters in no way observes those of (22) *Evergetis*, (27) *Kecharitomene*, or (presumably) the lost *typikon* of *Philanthropos*. Generally speaking, he has reordered the materials in his model in a logical way, integrating his own interpolations and new chapters seamlessly in the new document. One redundant treatment of the necessity of maintaining the cenobitic life [5], cf. [25], is found also in (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], cf. [55] and doubtless also his model; it somehow escaped Athanasios' editorial vigilance.

The last two chapters of the document are clearly later additions. The Evergetian final exhortation [46] does not in fact mark the end of the document. A lengthy summary of the canonical hours [47], written up from several chapters in (22) *Evergetis* supersedes Athanasios' earlier intent to rely on an endorsement [8] of the Evergetian liturgical *typikon*, supplemented by a discussion [31] of the offices of the third and sixth hours. Also, Athanasios ultimately decided not to rely upon just the Evergetian boilerplate instructions to the superior [42] but to compose his own exhortation [48], which is the document's actual last chapter.

I. Subsequent Utilization by Later Authors

Although some later authors, like Neilos of Tamasia, author of (34) *Machairas*, evidently continued to draw directly on the text of (22) *Evergetis*,³³ Athanasios' (32) *Mamas* established a congenial, authoritative model for subsequent *typika* in the monastic reform tradition. The *mystikos* Nikephoros, author of (33) *Heliou Bomon*, utilized virtually the whole of (32) *Mamas* for his own *typikon*, composed four years later in 1162. Remarkably, the sequence of the Maman chapters and even their numeration are largely preserved in this document. Even Neilos of Tamasia, despite his apparent use of (22) *Evergetis*, could hardly be said to have ignored (32) *Mamas*, since he borrows from the latter document portions of twenty-eight of its forty-eight chapters even though he subdivides and reorders them extensively.³⁴ (32) *Mamas* remained influential at least down to the first third of the fourteenth century, when Joachim of Zichna employed thirteen Maman chapters in his (58) *Menoikeion*, generally preserving the original ordering for those chapters he chose to borrow.³⁵

Notes on the Introduction

1. For the manuscript, see Laurent, "Remarques," pp. 233–35, who believed it might be an autograph although this possibility was rejected by Siglas, *EEBS* 7 (1930), 399–405.
2. John Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum* 4.14, ed. L. Dindorf, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1868–75), pp. 300–301; *Synopsis Chronike*, ed. Sathas, *MB*, vol. 7, p. 101; *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* 3.185, ed. Th. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 274. This reconciliation of the divergent accounts of the foundation was proposed by Pargoire, "Saint-Mamas," p. 305, followed by Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 314.
3. The epigram in honor of Constantina from her tomb is reproduced in Pargoire, "Saint-Mamas," pp. 305–6.

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4. Theodore the Studite, *Laudatio sancti Platonis hegumeni*, PG 99, col. 841C.
5. Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1838), pp. 403–4.
6. Niketas Stethatos, *Vita Symeonis novi theologi*, chaps. 30, 34, ed. Irénée Hausherr, OC 12 (1928), pp. 40–42, 46; see also Basil Krivocheine, “The Most Enthusiastic Zealot: St. Symeon the New Theologian as Abbot and Spiritual Instructor,” OS 4 (1955), 108–28.
7. Eustathios Rhomaios, *Peira* 15.16 (JGR 1.48).
8. See (32) *Mamas* Prologue and First *Semeioma* below.
9. Possibly from Constantine IV Chliarenos (1154–57).
10. So Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 317.
11. P. E. D. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, vol. 2 (Geneva, 1878), p. 72; *Historia translationum S. Mamantis* 16, AASS, August, vol. 3, p. 444.
12. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 317.
13. See Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 318, based on Codex Athos Iviron 381.
14. John Kantakouzenos, *Historiarum libri IV*, ed. L. Schopen, CSHB (Bonn, 1828), pp. 107–8.
15. Kantakouzenos, *Historiarum libri IV*, ed. Schopen, pp. 259, 270, 275; Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, ed. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, CSHB, vol. 3 (Bonn, 1855), p. 188.
16. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 3076, ed. MM 2.304–12.
17. (32) *Mamas* [8], [46], [47].
18. See Chart Two: Analytic Chapter Groups of (32) *Mamas*.
19. Group A: Chapters (16) new to (32) *Mamas*: [13], [15], [16], [19], [21], [24], [27], [28], [29], [31], [33], [37], [38], [41], [43], [48].
20. Group B: Chapters (21) shared with both (22) *Evergetis* and (27) *Kecharitomene*: [1], [2], [4], [5], [6], [7], [17], [18], [20], [22], [23], [32], [34], [36], [39], [40], [42], [45], [46], [47].
21. Group C: Chapters (4) shared with (22) *Evergetis* but not (27) *Kecharitomene*: [14], minor sharing with (22) *Evergetis* [39]; [30] = (22) *Evergetis* [7]; [35] = (22) *Evergetis* [21], [22]; [44] = (22) *Evergetis* [18].
22. Group D: Chapters (8) derived from a post-Evergetian source shared only with (27) *Kecharitomene*: [3], minor sharing with (27) *Kecharitomene* [3]; [8], shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [20]; [9], shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [19]; [10], minor sharing with (27) *Kecharitomene* [24]; [11], minor sharing with (27) *Kecharitomene* [23]; [12], shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [29]; [25], shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [2]; [26], mostly new, but cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [53].
23. Subgroup B.1: Chapters (13) derived from (22) *Evergetis* with parallel treatment in (27) *Kecharitomene*: [2] = (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [13]; [7] = (22) *Evergetis* [13]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [14]; [18] = (22) *Evergetis* [10]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [47]; [22] = (22) *Evergetis* [37]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [30]; [23] = (22) *Evergetis* [33]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [25]; [32] = (22) *Evergetis* [5]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [33]; [34], uses (22) *Evergetis* [24], [26], [41]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [56], [57]; [36] = (22) *Evergetis* [9]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [42]; [40] = (22) *Evergetis* [36], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [70]; [42] = (22) *Evergetis* [17], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]; [45] = (22) *Evergetis* [14], [17]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]; [46] = mostly (22) *Evergetis* [42], [43]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [78]; [47] = (22) *Evergetis* [3], [4], [6]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [32], [35], [36], [37], [38], [39].
24. Subgroup B.2: Chapters (5) shared with (27) *Kecharitomene*; parallel treatment in (22) *Evergetis*: [1], shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13]; [5], shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], [7], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37]; [6], shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [18], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [29]; [20], shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [49], [50], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [22], [27]; [39], shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [70], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [36].
25. Subgroup B.3: Composite chapters (2) shared with both (22) *Evergetis* and (27) *Kecharitomene*: [4] = (22) *Evergetis* [12] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [1]; [17] = (22) *Evergetis* [9] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [45], [46].

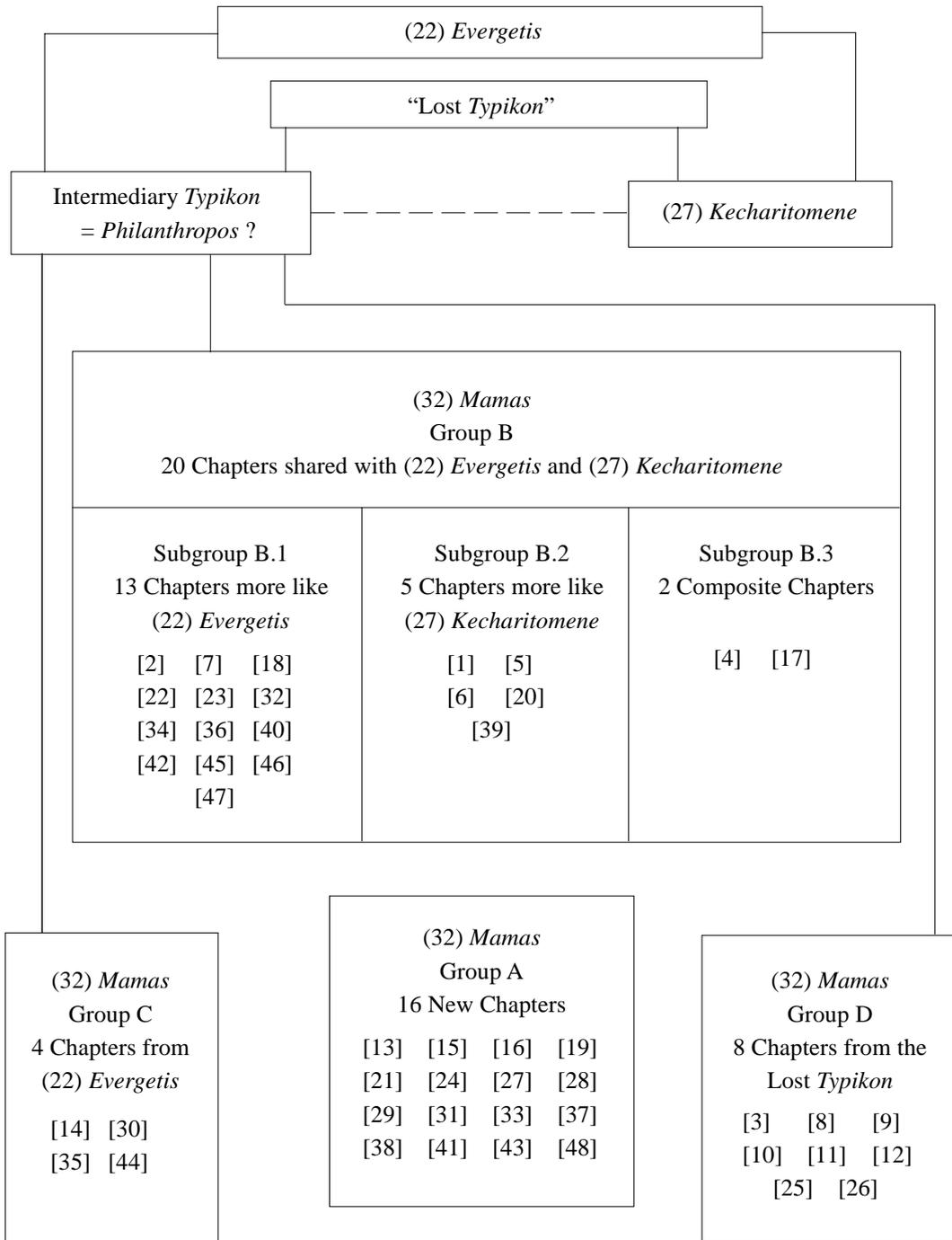
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26. Superior may appoint other officials [14], superfluous in (27) *Kecharitomene* which has detailed provisions for individuals offices; exhortation to confession [30], since the superior could not hear confessions in *Kecharitomene*; no idle talking [35], unnecessary for a cloistered community of nuns. The omission of [44] is harder to explain.
27. (22) *Evergetis* [42], [43]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [78].
28. E.g., (27) *Kecharitomene* [4], [5]; (28) *Pantokrator* [19], [28]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3].
29. E.g., (22) *Evergetis* [41]; (26) *Luke of Messina* [8]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [44]; (28) *Pantokrator* [10]; (28) *Kosmosoteira* [61]; (30) *Phoberos* [56].
30. Cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [19], [20], [23], [24], [29].
31. See Athanasios' note with his signature at the end of the *typikon*.
32. [6], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [18], which is itself based on (22) *Evergetis* [29]; [7], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13] with (27) *Kecharitomene* [14].
33. See the Group C chapters of (34) *Machairas* as discussed in Chapter Seven below.
34. (32) *Mamas* [2], [4], [5], [6], [7], [11], [15], [17], [18], [19], [21], [22], [24], [30], [31], [32], [34], [35], [36], [37], [38], [39], [40], [41], [42], [44], [46], [47].
35. (32) *Mamas* [8], [9], [12], [13], [16], [17], [23], [25], [29], [32], [35], 42, [45].

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Chart Two: Analytic Chapter Groups of (32) *Mamas*



As noted above, this document shares, probably through intermediaries, substantial portions of the texts of (22) *Evergetis* and (27) *Kecharitomene*. In our translation, the borrowings are indicated in boldface type.

Translation

Prologue

Concerning [George the Cappadocian] the *mystikos*¹ of blessed memory and new builder [of the monastery]

An extraordinarily great and divine and precious thing is a God-loving and charitable soul. For, since the latter has grasped all the virtues, in reality it bears them in itself because it conceives the fountainhead of these (virtues, namely), love. For what is greater and loftier than love towards God and one's neighbor? For surely the Master of the universe, too, publicly declared that on these two commandments both the prophets and the whole law depend (Matt. 22:40). Accordingly, blessed and many times so is he who has beautified his own soul all round with these (virtues) as if with small golden cords. For what good things is such a person not able to do from that source, and what path of salvation is he not able to cut, just like a very thirsty deer that longs for springs of waters and ardently and totally gives itself up to them?

The ever-memorable *mystikos*, lord George the Cappadocian, had the good fortune to be endowed with just this sort of God-loving, charitable and altogether benevolent soul. When the most noble of emperors ever and the most valiant of brave men in action, the purple-born emperor Lord Manuel Komnenos, was still a young man, his father, the celebrated emperor [John II Komnenos]—he who appointed [Manuel I] emperor—assigned lord George to serve especially [Manuel].

When this wholly great emperor [Manuel] passed from adolescence to manhood, the imperial office fell in love with him and fixed its eyes fully on him, after his father the emperor [John] had closed his eyes for the last time. [Then] this illustrious and sagacious man [the *mystikos* George] received as a pledge of [imperial] munificence a commanding position in the palace, he became, that is, the guardian and steward of the imperial treasury. In his loyalty to the emperor and the vigor of his mind, he dramatically surpassed all others. Among his other excellent qualities—and there were many—the one that should be admired the most is that he did not frown upon humility when he was raised to great glory and prominence by our mighty emperor, and he did not darken the grace that shines forth from [humility] with the vanity of glory. In fact, if we must say the truth, he made [humility] shine even more through glory; for he mixed them well, just as a good painter mixes naturally contrasting colors.

Consequently the man's love of God and the virtue of his uprightness adorned him no less than his spirit of humility. Yet what need is there to recount in detail most of this man's spiritual accomplishments when it is possible to embrace all of them in one statement, which, in fact, we presented at the beginning of this whole account, having fashioned not an improbable and false presentation but one which still at the present time lies on the lips of all. The truth of this [statement] can be shown by the fine conclusion that he added to his previous accomplishments, which is the following:

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The monastery of Mamas, who had nobly shone forth among martyrs, had flourished in former times and bloomed and abounded in many properties and things and appeared beautiful all around and flanked, so to speak, by favors, but in the long course of time had grown old and slipped away, and for this very reason it was running the risk of priding itself on the name alone of the martyr, because its fortunes had abandoned it altogether on account of the greed and shamelessness of the *charistikarioi* at various times, who gaped at it like wolves. When that man who loved God and goodness saw that [the monastery] was situated in a favorable environment, but the convenience of the location was rendered useless by the disorderly conditions, he was seized by a godly love and fired with the desire to restore it to its former graceful appearance which was hinted at and faintly outlined, so to speak, from some small remnants.

So he approaches him who was at that time patriarch² of this great city of cities and tells the tragic tale of the monastery's collapse and desolation and fervently beseeches him to extend his own hand to help it and thereby to raise it up and have it rebuilt because it was already sagging and giving at the knees, and on the other, also to rebuild some of the buildings from their very foundations and generously to let it make further acquisitions. For he considered it a terrible thing and unworthy of a God-loving soul to overlook the fact that a large church, and one not inferior to others of its kind, as far as construction is concerned, was standing empty and otherwise unadorned, running the risk of being shortly deprived of even this [form of existence] and, as they say, falling on its face; and that, while he was himself anxious for a long time to show his love of God and his generosity. Thereupon he asked—or to put it more precisely, he was asked—and received for himself and his legal heir, by means of a [patriarchal] memorandum, the venerable monastery of our holy great martyr Mamas which was then under the jurisdiction of the holy bureau of the *sakelle* of the Great Church. As soon, then, as he had received this, [p. 258] he became, as the saying goes, a torch set on fire or water being borne downhill with a mighty rush.

First of all, because he had intermingled his power partly with bribes and partly with persuasion, he cajoled some of those who reckoned the possessions of the monastery as booty even up to its documentary rights themselves, even though envy did not abandon all of them, to lay down and to give back again everything to the monastery. Next he devoted himself to deeds and applied such zeal as cannot be expressed. But what was the next thing? When he saw that the monastery was being renovated by many and very great expenditures, of which he himself was the bestower, but that nevertheless it still needed greater and more ample generosity and resolve, he realized that perhaps some drones, men who are destroyers, may grow upon the toils of others (for, in fact, he was shrewd, more than anyone else, and most resourceful at grasping readily what was necessary). Putting this in mind, therefore, that perhaps some men, after the grant given to him and his legal heir will have expired, may sit upon the lavish abundance of the things that had been previously acquired by the monastery and dedicated to it, and, having eaten everything, may leave behind only whitewashed walls, as the scripture says (Acts 23:31), and even savagely lay hands on these, too, and drag down the monastery again to its former collapse, what does he do? O, what sagacity and high-mindedness! He approaches the then patriarch³ again and demands that this monastery be honored with an independence that is continuous and not subject to any time limits in order that it may exist by itself, never to be given to any person for reason of *ephoreia* or as *epidosis*, or to be placed under the control of anyone for any other management whatsoever; nor to

be subjected even to the holy bureau of the great *sakelle* to which it was previously subject, in any way whatsoever, reasonable or specious, and that it may be governed and administered by the monks alone in it.

Accordingly, the patriarch, after he had closely examined by himself the purpose of the man's request and had found it concordant with the things that had been done for the monastery up to that time by him and, besides, pleasing to God, gave in writing a memorandum of the monastery's independence. The latter is most clearly proved by both the petition of that greatly preeminent man that was presented at that time and the *lysis* of the most holy patriarch regarding this and by the patriarchal memorandum following the preceding [petition and *lysis*], [and] furthermore, by the chrysobull issued regarding these matters by our God-crowned emperor and purple-born Lord Manuel Komnenos, which was set like a crown upon the aforesaid documents.

Consequently, then, after he had accomplished everything and had put the monastery beyond all human agency so as not to be subjected ever to any yoke of bondage, he was able thereafter to care for it in a more relaxed manner. Not that his hand was held back, stricken by niggardly numbness. On the contrary, as the saying goes, he added fire to the fire [p. 259] and kindled his zeal. So, that fiery lover of the Almighty proceeded to seek also someone who was to direct the monastery spiritually and be its superior, and he found me (I do not know whence and how he was moved to this), entrusted as I was at that point of time with the office of steward of the renowned and imperial monastery of the *Philanthopos* Savior,⁴ in which I had also been reared and tonsured and educated. As soon as he handed me the leadership and government of the monastery, that God-loving soul and liberal and generous hand immediately poured in like a stream the things needed for the maintenance of the monastery with even greater munificence and generosity than before. Everything was there: the lavishness of subsidy for the buildings, the munificence for the latter, the love for their beauty, the assembling of monks, the supplying of the necessities of life to the latter and all the other care and management; for to himself he assigned the subsidizing but to me the management.

This monastery of ours, accordingly, began to grow and to become strong and to get back again its former dignity, with regard to sacred vessels made of the purest silver inlaid with gold all round; sacred veils, these, too, embroidered with gold; holy icons and their very lavishly fashioned decoration; books, some not basely embellished; and with regard to the interior as well as the exterior of buildings. One could see the force of time that long ago had prevailed against the monastery and a God-loving and liberal spirit fighting against each other, opposing and forcing [each other], the former in order to make the man hesitate to spend continually for embellishments and the latter in order to accomplish everything lavishly and magnificently out of the love of God, this is clear from the following. For, since water from a spring was not yet being channeled to the monastery, that magnanimous and munificent man supplied us with the abundance of water by the multitude of hands of skilled workmen and by the abundance of expenditures so that the water surpassed even the need of the monastery, flowing continuously and extending beyond it everywhere.⁵

Yet what need is there to speak of his very many munificent deeds and to recount them individually? It is possible for anyone who so wishes to go over the particulars of the monastery's inventory,⁶ composed by me after his departure to the Lord, and discover the man's fiery love for

the monastery from the prefatory account written therein. If, however, I myself, too, have contributed anything to the man's love and deeds, thank him, who chose and made me his own fellow worker in his undertaking. But we were engaged in these things for a brief period of time, during which the monastery manifestly got the better of all extraneous control and under my agency became self-governing, when that lofty fellow and wholly a man of God disappeared from the ranks of men and ceased, albeit unwillingly, to care for the monastery.

For my part, I hesitate to discuss what happened next, lest I appear to talk about myself, but for those who are not envious the sight and condition [p. 260] of things are just as much of a mouthpiece. Yet, if there was someone else who did not hesitate to speak freely, he might have said openly that, with the exception of the lavish expenditures, he had supplemented the blessed man's deficiency. For those who are acquainted with the facts know how much was the zeal which we displayed so as to take over this monastery from the *sakelle* of the Great Church, to which it was previously subject. For, even if, while the blessed man was still living, the monastery had been honored with independence, as doubtless the patriarchal memorandum distinctly states, yet [its independence] did not take effect as soon as [the memorandum] was issued, a thing which we, God granting, brought to completion, as the inventory which was made at that time proves.

Since, however, along with other things I ought to have set forth also a *typikon* because it had not already been done while that divine man was still around, inasmuch as in this matter also I am already fulfilling his wish, I am composing this, too. Furthermore, that really pious man who was also very quick at grasping what was necessary, while he was still living, insisted on imposing upon me the composition of the *typikon* and kept both urging and inciting me to this because he had in fact entrusted to me both the monastery itself and everything under its jurisdiction, and that while he was still carrying the dust, even though I myself, partly because I revered him and partly because I was given to procrastination, kept putting off the fulfillment of the injunction.

At any rate, either for this reason I would have a right to prescribe the things that relate to the monastery, or (but let there be no divine retribution) because of the fact that I, too, nevertheless, have made some small contribution to this God-loved work, even though that wonderful man laid down the foundation stones and almost everything. At any rate, whichever of the two [reasons] one should consider, he would entrust the whole thing to me. For even the expression of eagerness is often considered as a deed. Therefore, not only he who himself completes the labors but also he, too, who arranges the contest and anoints the athlete must be accepted. First of all, then, we order the following concerning the appointment of the superior.

Chapter 1

Concerning the installation of a superior

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [11]]: **The choosing and installation of the superior must be discussed first. If the death of the superior then in office is expected and known in advance, all the community should go to him** with all respect and reverence and the appropriate demeanor and to remind him to give thought to who should rule the monastery after him in a manner pleasing to God. He, on the other hand, like an affectionate father should by all means take care to leave behind to them as a paternal inheritance one who is worthy of exercising leadership **since he has knowledge of the conduct and way of life of each of the monks**. For he shall select by himself

impartially, dispassionately and as though God, “Who searches the hearts and reins” (Ps. 7:9), were invisibly watching over his judgment [p. 261] **three** [members] from the whole brotherhood who more than the others are adorned with **intellect** and virtue **and are recognized and acknowledged as wiser and more experienced for the governance of souls, such as may be found among all the officials or even the rest of the monks.**

After he has both written down their names with his own hand on a paper and has sealed the latter in the presence of the leading men of the brotherhood, without the knowledge of those who have been selected, he shall deposit the paper in the sacristy; and after the departure to the Lord of him who holds the office of superior the paper shall be brought out and opened, and, when those who have been selected are made known to the brotherhood, the appointment of him who will hold the office of superior shall take place, just as the account will show more clearly, as it proceeds.

But if the superior should happen to depart from this life unexpectedly without giving any consideration to his successor or making anything known, then when the whole community has gathered by itself, it should make its choice; and, if all of them agree and are unanimous with regard to one, who is surely superior in both virtue and activity and reputation, there will be no need for the decision of the protector of the monastery except only that he, too, be informed of the matter. Furthermore, if all [the brothers] agree and are altogether pleased with one of the three [candidates] already selected by the superior, as stated above, the depositing of the pieces of paper on the holy altar is superfluous.

But if a rift should occur and a dispute arise among them concerning the choice, which I pray does not happen, with some [members] proposing this one, while others that one, in that case the selection concerning the three and the depositing of the pieces of paper on the holy altar will take place. Let **the protector of the monastery** have the liberty to **resolve the arguments, favoring the judgment of the group that excels in virtue and spiritual life. But he shall always be careful to make his decision freely and dispassionately unless he wishes to see the Judge and Master of all creation perversely influenced against him** and [have] the holy great martyr Mamas as an opponent and antagonist on account of the fact that he, too, **perhaps perverted justice by an unjust decision, which I pray may not happen.**

Both **the choice** of the three [candidates] who are about to be selected **and their installation will be carried out in this manner. On three pieces of paper of the same size the following words will be written:**

“Master, Lord Jesus Christ, our God, thou who knowest the hearts [of men], by the intercessions of our all-pure Lady, the Mother of God, and of the holy celebrated among martyrs Mamas, reveal to us sinners whether thou hast judged our brother so-and-so worthy of the position of our superior.”

The same words [will] be written again on the other pieces of paper and the names of the three [candidates] inscribed on them.⁷ **When the papers have been stamped with a seal—that of the protector** if he is present, and in case he does not want to be or is somehow unable to be, by the seal of [a representative] whom the [protector] will assign by means of a written and signed statement—they will be placed [p. 262] **on the holy table during vespers on Saturday or that of a feast of the Lord or that of the holy great martyr Mamas, if it should occur at that time. A**

vigil shall be performed and a whole-hearted supplication with a contrite heart shall be made by you, my most venerable fathers, because the matter for which we make the supplication is important. On this hangs the maintenance of the monastery and, equally, its destruction, which I pray does not happen, and the hope of your salvation.

On the next day, after the divine liturgy has been celebrated and after its completion, while the priest is still dressed in his priestly vestments, a *trisagion* will be performed by you and these *troparia* will be sung: “Have mercy on us, O Lord, have mercy”; “Lord, turn to us from heaven and behold” (Ps. 79 [80].14); “Glory”; “By your God-given staff, Holy One”; “And now”; [and] “Only-begotten One, of the same substance.” The deacon will make an *ektenes* declaiming this after the other petitions: “We again beg that the Lord Our God reveal to us the one worthy of our leadership.” You will respond, “*Kyrie eleison*,” thirty times and perform fifteen deep bows, saying this also to yourselves, while you raise your hands to God: “God, thou who knowest the hearts [of men], show to us sinners the one worthy of our leadership.” After these bows when the priest himself has performed three similar bows before the holy table, and while still dressed in his priestly vestments, as we said, is repeating the same invocation, he will lift up one of the three pieces of paper. When it has been offered in the presence of the whole community by the priest himself to the one who placed his own seal upon it, he will recognize his own seal and the piece of paper will be opened, as all watch, and the owner of the name written on it will enter with the priest into the holy sanctuary with his head uncovered. Then as our *typikon* and the staff are lying in the place before the holy altar, he [the superior-elect], after making three bows will take them, pondering and considering with himself from where he takes them and to whom he promises to protect them, and that angels are recording his promise, who are going to lead him to that fearful place of judgment to give account of the fulfillment of his promises.

After the whole brotherhood has responded three times “worthy,” he shall come out and stand in the place assigned to the superior, and everyone will offer him the divine greeting [with a kiss], and glory will be offered to God, [p. 263] and the dismissal will follow with the customary prayer of the priest. He will be your superior thereafter, whom you are to revere as a father, and have an obedient attitude towards him as the one appointed by God.

After this let all the brothers, taking him along, go up to the most holy ecumenical patriarch so that he may receive from the latter’s holy right hand the *sphragis* and benediction of the office of superior in accordance with the contents of the memoranda that belong to the monastery. Let the same procedure be followed as well in the case of [a candidate] elected by common consent.

I pray, therefore, that there always be among you yourselves an abundance of those worthy of leadership, and that there will never fail to be such men in our monastery, but, a need arises whenever a need to appoint a superior arises, the selection can take place from the monks themselves who practice the religious life here. If, however, the wicked enemy, the originator of evil, who always envies the salvation of mankind, shall overpower your souls so much and make you so neglect your own salvation that no one may be found among you of attested virtue and learning and experience for the governance and leadership of souls—I trust by the mercy of my Christ who loves mankind that such a thing may not ever occur—in that case of course we give permission to the protector of the monastery at the time with also the prompting

and consent of the monks to discover from outside someone from another monastery, a man who is devout and approved for the office of superior and to install him in this office.

It is our wish, however, that he be appointed thus. If, indeed, two alone from the entire brotherhood in the monastery are found such as ought to be selected, in accordance with what has been said, and a third is missing, one [candidate] alone must be brought in from outside. Thus, after the three [names] have been recorded on the papers and the aforementioned procedure followed, he whom God should approve and reveal is to be preferred. If, on the other hand, one alone of all of you is manifestly worthy of selection, it is surely fitting to find the other two from elsewhere and to have them recorded and to have again the same procedure take place. If, however, the monastery lacks even the three—a thing which I pray may not happen—it is certainly necessary, even if the three are likewise selected from other monasteries and recorded, that you make the prescribed supplications and entreaties to God and the saint and thus appoint to the office of superior him who, in the former's discretion, is revealed as worthy.

Chapter 2

Concerning the removal of an unsuitable holder of the office of superior

[= (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. lines 644–58]: So much for that. **The following matters**, however, that are about to be discussed concerning him who, after our passing away, will be holding the office of superior and those who will be holding the office of superior after him, [p. 264] **I did not wish to commit to writing, for it should not be necessary to remove from his position and rank someone who has previously been selected for it. This would be a pleasing and agreeable state of affairs if in fact our nature remained unchanged and unmoved, but that is impossible, for we repeatedly change and alter, such is human nature, and when we are thought worthy of honor we grow weaker with regard to the performance of good deeds, giving way to laziness in most cases, since authority has a habit of weakening those who have been elevated to it whereas they ought to demonstrate a greater struggle and diligence. We feign virtue at the start through the desire for the authority and the success it brings, then when we have gained it we are found to be still exactly what we were, like octopuses which when pursued by bigger fish take a tight hold of the rocks nearby and simply pretend that they are a rock, but whenever they escape the danger, they are recognizable as octopuses again, which in fact they were. For these reasons the matter must be committed to writing and punishment given as strongly as possible.**

[= (22) *Evergetis* [14], ed. lines 661–73]: **So, if the superior should continue unchanged, properly maintaining his virtue through which he was thought worthy of that rank, he will not be removed from his leadership but remain firm. But if time proves him to be unqualified and unsuitable, either because he has carried out his leadership of the brothers in a careless and indifferent manner or because he has been doing favors for his relatives or has been appropriating some of the monastery's property or has been betraying or subjecting the monastery's property to anyone's control or has been totally disregarding any of the instructions in the present rule and following his own wishes or clearly been involved in bodily passions then for these reasons, he has been proved unsuitable for the guiding of souls.**

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14], lines 694–700]: **If, then, though living so wickedly, he should ever take stock of himself and give up his evil ways and embark on the road that leads to higher things and salvation, let him stay and be your superior. But should he remain the same, and still not give up his evil ways but in fact indulge in them more widely, if you were unanimously agreed,** having deliberated with the protector of the monastery concerning him, it is our wish that you **remove that worthless man from the leadership over you,** and that a selection and another vote and an appointment of another superior again be made in accordance with what has been prescribed above.⁸

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14], lines 701–4]: If, however, **the one removed from the office of superior should wish to stay** in the monastery as one of the brothers, **accorded the rank and seat of second to the superior, in the refectory I mean, and at the other gatherings,** and to be submissive to the superior in all things and not to destroy the monastery's good order by being both troubled and troubling, let him be again in the monastery. If not, however, let him leave the latter and depart where, in fact, he wishes, especially if he happens to be from those who come from outside, in order that he may not become a cause of offense to the rest also. [p. 265]

Chapter 3

Concerning those who have been appointed for the protection of the monastery, that is, the protectors

Since one of the indispensable things is for the monastery to have its protector in order that it may not become booty to those who wish to pillage other people's property, inasmuch as it is not being protected under some kind of shelter and security,—a thing which, in fact, it has suffered even before—this is exactly what we have done for reason of the best management. It is our wish, therefore, that above all the supremely glorious, most noble lord Theocharistos the Cappadocian and genuine full brother of our master of blessed memory and new builder, serve as its protector and patron so as to look after and assist and defend it and to repel those who attempt to misuse it in various ways, and, when perhaps any of the things that have been prescribed in the present *typikon* incurs the danger of being violated, to prevent it and simply to have such jurisdiction over the monastery, as long as he lives just as our celebrated master of blessed memory did, for he knows his [brother's] wish and is like him in all good accomplishments and greatly loves the monastery and cooperates with it as much as possible and guides it. But, even if he wishes to add or even remove anything in the present *typikon*, let him have this, too, within his purview.

Yet what need is there to say many things and prolong the discussion? If anything should seem to him absolutely pleasing to God and helpful to the monastery, let him effect and accept it as though it had been effected by our master of blessed memory himself. After, however, his departure to the Lord (for, since he is a human being, he expects to die and pay the common debt of nature) the supremely glorious *mystikos* at the time, whoever, in fact, he may be, will undertake the protection of the monastery, at the earnest supplication of the superior and the monks of the monastery, being called to this soul-beneficial service freely [and] without pay, for the sake of his soul's salvation and that alone, as we said. For what would he even want from it, being as it is utterly poor and almost resourceless, except only an eternal commemoration?

[cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [3], ed. lines 275–82, 289–90]: With the exception of the aforesaid full brother of the *mystikos* [George] of blessed memory, for to him and him alone it has been permitted, as we said above,⁹ to do whatever he wishes, **none of those who have been entrusted with the protection of the monastery should use this as a reason for having control over any property in it, or pervert any of the provisions in this rule to the detriment of the monastery, or remove the superior, or enroll monks or introduce or expel them, or demand any accounts either of the superior or the steward or one of the monks in the matters they manage and look after, [p.266] or demand knowledge of the income and the expenditure, or try to get anything at all from the monastery, or appropriate anything whatsoever.**

He is obliged only to set right the harmful things that are sometimes done contrary to the tenor of the *typikon* and even to drive off, as much as he can, those who are wont to display any insolent behavior in the monastery and to reconcile the monks and the superior whenever they happen to be at variance. For the foregoing reasons **it will be enough for them** [the protectors] **to be commemorated in the monastery three times each day and after their deaths for their names to be inscribed in the diptychs** and to be buried in the monastery, if they should wish, without any donation whatsoever.

Chapter 4

Concerning the fact that the monastery is self-governing

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [1], ed. lines 180–91]: Since the monastery received the good fortune of independence of all kinds through a patriarchal memorandum and through a divine and imperial chrysobull,¹⁰ **it should be**, in accordance with their contents, **independent and under its own control** and above **all mastery and lordship, and no one at all should have any right or privilege in respect of it, but it should remain independent in every way, separate and in control of itself, and be administered in accordance with** the regulations that have been expressly laid down in the present *typikon*, **being subjected neither to imperial or ecclesiastic or personal rights nor assigned as a gift or *epidosis* or for reasons of *ephoreia*, stewardship or superintendence or for any other reason to any kind of person whatsoever or monastery or holy house or some other bureau, but it is to remain forever only under the authority of the mankind-loving God alone and the holy great martyr Mamas, to whom it has in fact been dedicated, and it should be governed by the superior in it at the time and to be administered in accordance with the regulation of the present *typikon*.**

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [1], ed. lines 201–9]: **But if anyone ever at any time and in any way wishes to gain control over it and to set it under the authority of someone else, whether he be an emperor, or a patriarch, or some other member of the clergy or of the senate, or the superior himself, or its steward, or simply anyone of the brothers in it, prompted by an attack of the devil, not only will he be held responsible for the divine body and blood of our God and Savior Jesus Christ, but he will be also accursed, just as the holy apostle says (Gal. 1:8), and subject to the curse of the three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers [= (22) *Evergetis* [12], ed. lines 556–58]: and share the lot of the betrayer Judas and be numbered along with those who cried aloud “Away with him, away with him, crucify him” (John 19:15) and “His blood upon us and upon our children” (Matt. 27:25).**

Chapter 5

Concerning the fact that the monks must pursue a cenobitic way of life; and concerning their number; and that they must be tonsured gratuitously; and that [p. 267] all the monastery's movable and immovable possessions must be inalienable; and concerning the fact that it must accept the things that are offered to it with a purpose dear to God

[Cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], ed. lines 218–19]: **It is right that something be said more clearly and briefly next concerning the way of life and the number of the monks and their whole organization in the monastery.** Accordingly, the monks of the monastery of the holy great martyr Mamas shall be twenty in number. They ought continually to attend to the service of the church and to the duties inside and outside the monastery. Of them, however, let there be of necessity two or even three priests and two deacons, but, if there should be even more, thanks be to God. Yet, if—a thing for which we pray—the Lord God should grant that others, too, come to the monastery on account of the moral excellence of those who practice asceticism in it and the observance of the cenobitic way of life, and if he should supply also the necessary things for self-sufficiency either from the things that the monastery now possesses, through the superior's careful management, or also from the things that some Christ-loving individuals will dedicate to it, as we believe [that they will], so as to be sufficient for even more, a larger number of monks shall not be prohibited as long as the superior should wish it and there should be a capacity of cells in the monastery.

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [7]]: **We wish that those who enter should be accepted and have their hair cut and be counted in the aforesaid number of monks without any gift. If one of them were to wish of his own free will to offer something of his own possessions, whether the offering is of movable or immovable property, it will be accepted. For what is offered in faith as a dedication to God and the holy great martyr Mamas is going to be for the maintenance of the monastery and to commemorate and help the soul of the giver and ought not to be rejected.**

But if, tempted by demons, he ever tries to leave the monastery—there are many examples of fickleness—and wishes to take back what he has given, it must not be given to him whatever it happens to be. For what has once been dedicated to God cannot be taken away, and the person who takes it away is sacrilegious and everyone knows, even if we do not say it, what sort of penalty sacrilege carries.

So whoever makes an offering of private movable or immovable property should read the preceding words here, and if he makes his offering with a free motive pleasing to God, with no intention of getting it back later, then indeed his gift should be accepted and dedicated to God and the Saint, by whom he will be indeed properly recompensed with the reward of his faith. All the things that have been set apart or will be set apart for the monastery or in any way whatsoever will accrue to it, not only immovable but also movable, are to remain with it inalienable. They are not to be given away as gifts, not to be exchanged, not to be alienated in any way whatsoever.

For it is downright sacrilege to do any such thing or to accept it when it has been done, and he who has done such a thing or has tolerated it will render an account for this on the frightful day of judgment, finding also Christ himself, the master of the things that are alienated, an unsympa-

thetic and just Judge, and the great [p. 268] martyr Mamas a formidable adversary in both the present and the future life, even if two-fold or three-fold is that which is given in place of the thing that is alienated. Thus let the alienation of the things that have been dedicated be altogether forbidden.

Chapter 6

Concerning how the installations of the officials must be made

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [18]]: **The superior will be the one carrying out both the selection and the installation of all the officials of the monastery, selecting and installing by his own decision.** For he shall appoint by all means those who excel the rest in both virtue and competence for the performance of their office. **Whenever it is necessary for anyone to be installed to whatever sort of office, the keys will be placed in front of the holy sanctuary, and, after the *trisagion* has been completed, the one set apart for the office will approach, genuflect three times, receive the keys, and after this will bow his bared head to the superior,** and the latter shall make the sign of the cross over him, **saying,** “The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ installs you.” **However, in the case of the offices for which there are no keys,** the *sphragis* by the superior and **the words spoken** in connection with it **will be enough for the installation so that [each] may know from where he is receiving his office and in what way he promises to manage it.**

Chapter 7

Concerning the installation of the steward

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. lines 615–22]: The steward of the monastery also shall be installed by the superior, one who is superior in virtue and activity and esteem. **He** who has been selected, as I have stated, having approached **the superior and having performed the proper obeisance to him, shall offer him his head uncovered and he should make the sign of the cross over him** with his hand **and say,** “**The** grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, through the **intercessions of the saint, installs you steward of this monastery.**” **Then, when he has given him the sacred kiss, he is to set him in the [appropriate] place for the steward, and all the brotherhood, one after the other, will kiss him. After the kiss,** the priest shall recite the customary prayer, and the dismissal of the congregation will take place. He, indeed, who has been appointed for the purpose of executing the function of steward shall carry out all the affairs of the monastery, just as he should be instructed by the superior, and he shall do nothing without the latter’s knowledge and order.

Chapter 8

Concerning the ecclesiarch

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [20]]: **The ecclesiarch moreover, being appointed by the superior, will be whoever seems to him fit and [p. 269] suitable for this office, receiving from the sacristan at the time of his appointment with an inventory everything that should be used in the church of the monastery, and at the proper time other things suitable for daily use or for**

use during the feasts. He will look after the customary decoration of the church, and he should look after the orderly condition of the church during the singing of psalms as is customary for ecclesiarchs. The office, however, ought to be sung in accordance with the *synaxarion* of the monastery of *Evergetis*¹¹ following the traditional form and the practice. The ecclesiarch at the time ought always to have an assistant ecclesiarch working with him and ministering and assisting in the office assigned to him. The aforesaid person ought to keep also the box with the *nomismata* that are received and paid out, as will be made clear later on in fuller detail.

Chapter 9

Concerning the appointment of the sacristan and at the same time keeper of archives and his office

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [19]]: We wish there to be a sacristan in the monastery who must guard the sacred vessels and liturgical cloths, and think worthy of every kind of care the things handed to him in a written and reliable inventory of transfer. This official must hand over to the ecclesiarch for the service of the church both the things for daily use and the things used in the feasts, and when it is time, receive these back again from him and guard them; and the things surplus to requirements he must keep in the sacristy shut up and sealed by the superior, and he is required to hand back everything that has been entrusted to him whenever he is moved from this office according to the inventory of transfer made out for it. For it is within the power of the superior to remove and change those who hold office in the manner described. For it is just to leave unchanged those who have been appointed to each of the offices while they are performing them in a careful and devout manner, but those who neglect or despise them, and perhaps even behave deceitfully in them, should be removed and others appointed. If one of these people were to appropriate something, anything at all, he will be responsible to God and the holy great martyr Mamas, from whom in fact he received his keys.

The same person will not only be sacristan but also archivist, receiving all the papers containing the rights of ownership of the monastery, and will guard these, thinking them worthy of every kind of care and when a need for some document occurs, on the instruction of the superior he will bring out the required document and hand it over. When a few days have passed after this, he will remind [p. 270] the superior, and recall the document that was taken out, as has been described, and will not allow it to be lost. Since, however, the cabinet made for the protection of these [documents] is safeguarded by two keys, the superior ought constantly to keep one of them, while the sacristan keeps the other, both of them using a wax seal so that the one may not be able to open the aforesaid cabinet without the other.

Chapter 10

Concerning the treasurer of the *nomismata*

[cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [24], ed. lines 884–85]: We must speak about the keeping and listing of monetary income and expenditure. For it is our wish that there be a box that is secured, in which ought to be deposited the *nomismata* that are collected from any source whatso-

ever and of whatever quality they may be, as well as the notes that are issued for their receipt and disbursement, in the presence of the superior, the steward, the ecclesiarch, and the sacristan. After these have been deposited, let this box be sealed by the superior and the aforesaid [officials]. The superior, however, shall take out from it a sum of *nomismata* in the presence of the aforesaid monks and shall hand this over to the treasurer for the monastery's daily expenses, and they should note this sum in the ledger of disbursement that should always be in the box. The treasurer, however, shall make another detailed note of the disbursement of the *nomismata*, which note, the one issued by the treasurer, that is, ought to be shown twice a week to the superior and recorded in order that he may keep fresh in mind the disbursement as it proceeds.

After all of the *nomismata* that he will already have received have been spent, let the total disbursement be read from the beginning in the presence of the superior and the aforesaid monks and let it be computed by the superior. Then in the same manner other *nomismata* shall be turned over to him, the box being opened in accordance with the aforesaid observance, and thus it shall be done continuously. Other *nomismata*, however, shall not be taken out of the box unless beforehand the treasurer hands over the account-book of disbursement and gives an account of what he received and spent.

Chapter 11

Concerning the official who takes in and issues the food, that is, the cellarer

[cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [21] and [23]]: Likewise [it is our wish that there be] also an official who **takes in and issues all food** and drink **in the monastery**, whom, in fact, we call cellarer. [p. 271] Besides that, he **must receive all the crops and legumes and issue them on the instruction of the superior, and take care of these in every way, so that they are not perhaps ruined by neglect**. The aforesaid ought to see also to the preparation and care of the table of the monks, as well as the kitchen, being obliged to have under his authority both an assistant cellarer and a cook.

The food shall be served to the brothers one dish and one bowl at a time, for we do not wish that they eat two portions at a time, especially of cooked food and legumes, for reasons of suitable thrift. The olive oil he ought to get, of course, every month from him who closely guards it. For no one even from the ranks of all the officials ought to lay claim to the olive oil, the wax, and the incense under the pretext that these belong to his office, but he shall be authorized to guard them whom the superior should commission either from the ranks of the officials or from the ranks of the ordinary [monks]. If, however, [the superior] himself wishes to have control of them by himself, there is no one who can prevent him.

Chapter 12

Concerning the gatekeeper

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [29]]: **Furthermore the superior must appoint the one who is to hold the keys of the gate, whom we call the gatekeeper, whose responsibility it will be not to open the gate at all without the permission of the superior and to see to it that people do not enter or leave the monastery without the knowledge of the superior. The one appointed to this office must be devout and already inclining towards old age and by the testimony of the**

whole community a person of godly life. Each evening he will bring the keys to the superior, and he will not see those who have come to see him [personally] without the permission of the superior, but with his permission he will see them in whatever way he is permitted.

Chapter 13

Concerning the poor, both monks and laymen, who come to the gate of the monastery

It is also likely that some of our brothers in Christ, the poor, will come to the gate of the monastery because of want. Since it is impossible for all of them to be brought in within the monastery, let the gatekeeper at the time, who ought to be altogether devout and blameless, as we said above, have it in his power to go to the cellarer and get bread and give it to the beggar without hesitation and complaint in order that he himself may not suffer judgment. If, however, the beggar is a monk, let also wine be given to him, as well as [p. 272] fish or cheese or anything else. But also, after the brothers have taken their meal, let the leftover cooked food be given, also, by the aforesaid gatekeeper, to the poor who are found at the gate in order that, through your cheerful charity to our brothers and sharing, you, too, may receive in return cheerful and abundant mercy from God. For it is our preference that not even one beggar turn away from the gate with empty hands, and we enjoin in the Holy Spirit the gatekeeper at the time to observe this continually. In fact, the requirements of hospitality and charity will be observed thus forever both inviolate and immutable.

Chapter 14

Concerning the fact that the superior has it in his power to appoint also other officials

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [39], ed. lines 1201–3]: **Regarding other offices**, too, **which the other monasteries usually have, I wish people to be appointed to them in the monastery as the occasion demands**, if the monastery should perhaps expand by the will of God **and there is urgent need**. Our wish concerning these matters, and our approbation and counsel and injunction, must be inviolate and immutable, since they are for your advantage and soul's salvation and security and everyone's tranquility, and let me say also for my spirit's boast and adornment in the presence of the Lord.

Chapter 15

Concerning the fact that all the things that have been explicitly stated in the present *typikon* must remain immutable and unchangeable forever

For surely the present *typikon* shall remain permanent and inviolate forever, not admitting of any addition, or subtraction, or of alteration. For it is our wish that any of the things that have been prescribed in it never be transgressed by you or admit of any alteration or change by anyone whatsoever, even if far better ordinances and regulations should be introduced either by the superior himself or by the protector of the monastery, an exception being made only in the case of the genuine brother of the *mystikos* [George], as we said above.¹² For to the latter and the latter alone we have given license to do whatever at all, in fact, he wishes that contributes certainly to the benefit and support of the monastery.

Chapter 16

Concerning the reading of the present *typikon* at the refectory for all to hear

In addition to everything this, too, must be observed no less than the other things, if not even more, as both the source and reason for the unabated observance of the things that have been prescribed [p. 273] and utter strengthening of the monastery. Let the *typikon* be read, therefore, so as to be listened to by all the members of the monastery four times a year, that is, every three months. Beyond the four times let it be read also on the commemoration of the *mystikos* [George] of blessed memory on the fifteenth of the month of July, and on my commemoration on the day on which I shall depart from the body, and besides on the commemoration of the genuine brother of the *mystikos*, lord Theocharistos, in order that, by the continuous reading of it, the things that have been prescribed may be more permanent and indelible.

This, of course, you must observe most carefully, not as our legislations, but as divine laws that are inviolable and unchangeable, and not only must you not be disheartened or vexed with such precepts and admonitions but reasonably even rejoice and exult because, having been relieved from all concern, you will have one undistracted occupation, [namely], the concern and care for your soul's salvation.

Chapter 17

Concerning the procedure and order to be followed at the refectory and concerning the food of the monks on the ordinary days and concerning the three fasts

[= (22) *Evergetis* [9], lines 325–26, 337–48, 352–57]: **It should be the right time to mention the table and food and the other things that supply nourishment to the body.** For neither will the soul ever be well without the latter's suitable nourishments, I mean prayer and chanting and reading of the sacred scriptures, nor, indeed, will the body be sustained or would render assistance to the [soul's] divine ministrations without the things that are of necessity useful to it. Therefore, **after the customary collation has taken place, all should gather and sit waiting for the summons to the table which is given by the striking of the semantron. When the semantron has been struck, then beginning [to recite] the customary psalm audibly, walk to the refectory, that is the superior and all those without exception who have been instructed to sit down at the table during the first sitting. Then entering the refectory and completing the aforementioned psalm and the short prayer that accompanies it, they should sit down in the order laid down by the superior and gratefully partake of what has been set before them.**

Moreover the reading, from the sacred scriptures must take place during the meals, as ordered by the superior, with no one making a noise or causing a disturbance or destroying the benefit which comes from that with worldly conversations and idle chatter. The superior only may speak sparingly if he wishes and perhaps the one asked by him may answer similarly in a few brief phrases, if possible. [p. 274] When, however, the superior is not present, prevented perhaps by weakness of the body or even some other reason, the steward in his stead shall fulfill the things that ought to be done by him. If the latter is not present, the ecclesiarch shall fulfill these duties.

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [45], ed. lines 1314–16]: **So then, after the monks have got up from**

the table, there should be a second sitting of loaves and courses set out, whatever has been set out for the first sitting, and those who served should eat.

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [46], ed. lines 1322–27]: **At the midday meal on the ordinary day your food will be on Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday two dishes, and sometimes even three, of fish and cheese and legumes, as the superior should order; while on Monday two [dishes] of legumes cooked with olive oil, and on Wednesday and Friday two dishes of legumes, also cooked with olive oil, and similar vegetables, as the superior should order.**

If, however, they wish, for the sake of [strict adherence] to the canons let them eat dry food these two days, especially, if not “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) but “Alleluia” should be sung. Let them also drink wine, because of their weakness, [distributed] with the customary measure of wine. If, on the other hand, **a feast of the Lord occurs also on these [days], I mean Wednesday and Friday, let them eat fish, too, and unless there should be a refreshment [of-fered] by others, the superior himself should take care of this. Your drink on all the ordinary days will be of the larger measure.** Whenever the superior decides and especially on the feast days and the commemorations, let also the customary blessing [treat of wine] be given. However, **at supper on the same days bread and vegetables and fruits that are in season or any other thing will be set out for you at the discretion of the superior; and the drink will be distributed with the larger measure** in accordance with the rule.

Chapter 18

Concerning the food of the monks during the three fasts

[= (22) *Evergetis* [10]]: **While such is the case on the ordinary days of the year, that is not the procedure during the holy fast days and especially during the first and greatest fast, on the first day of which, that is, Monday of the first week, the liturgy should not be celebrated nor should care be taken with the table or food. However, on the subsequent days of the same week attention should be paid to the table, and whoever chooses should partake of food. This will be composed of legumes soaked in water and perhaps some raw vegetables and fruits, and the drink will be wine, distributed with the half measure.** For, since those who chant are very few and the office is long, if they drink water only, they would be able neither to chant more sonorously nor, indeed, perform more easily the continuous bending of the knees, and for this reason there is need [p. 275] for a moderate concession even if it is contrary to the standards of the sacred canons. This shall be the case up to Saturday; for on this [day] one must eat boiled vegetables and shellfish, even twice a day, and drink with the customary large measure of wine. But if a refreshment is provided by someone of the Christ-loving persons, you shall be feasted also with fish.

That way you should carry out the first week of the holy and great Lent, whereas on all Saturdays and Sundays of the same holy fast two or three cooked dishes containing olive oil should be set out for you and for your drink the customary large measure of wine should be distributed. The same thing should take place also on Wednesday in the middle of Lent and on the Thursday of the great canon. But on Tuesdays, however, [you must eat] boiled beans, black olives, and other such things; and on Thursdays two cooked dishes, both containing olive

oil, will be set out for you. Whereas **on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays**, [you shall eat] legumes soaked in water and raw vegetables, and, moreover, walnuts and dried figs and other such things; the drink, certainly, throughout the whole week, apart from Saturday and Sunday, ought to be given with the customary two-thirds.

But if the commemoration of the discovery of the precious head of [St. John the] Forerunner or of the feast of the Annunciation¹³ **should happen to fall on** Tuesday or Thursday or Saturday or Sunday [you] **should eat** fish and be given a share of **wine measured out with the larger measure.**

If, on the other hand, the **commemoration of the holy Forty Martyrs**¹⁴ **should happen to fall on the** aforementioned **days, you should eat** shellfish and the wine shall be [distributed] **with the larger measure.** Therefore, **throughout all the other days of the holy Lent you will not be allowed at all to eat fish,** unless a refreshment perhaps should be sent by some Christ-loving person on Saturday or Sunday.

When the feast of the Annunciation falls, you should celebrate it as splendidly as possible, partaking of fish provided by the monastery and drinking wine of the larger measure. You will eat fish during this holy feast, as has been said, if it does not fall during the great holy week. For at that time you will use only shellfish, and receive a refreshment because of the feast since for three days of that week—that is Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday—it is right to live content with some legumes soaked in water, raw vegetables, fruits that happen to be at hand, and you shall drink also half a measure of wine on account of your fatigue.

If, however, [it should fall] either on Holy Wednesday or on Good Friday or even on Holy Saturday itself, on Holy Wednesday and on Good Friday you shall be satisfied with boiled legumes and vegetables with olive oil and you shall partake also of wine with the larger measure, **but, if on Holy Saturday, all anxiety that produces distraction must be avoided;** for you shall not break the fast of Holy Saturday because of the feast [of the Annunciation].

In accordance with the ecclesiastical canons, we have been taught to fast from everything on [Holy Saturday] alone, and we must especially observe the regulations of the divine fathers. **On Holy Thursday**, therefore, when we do not celebrate the Annunciation, [p. 276] **eating will be as on Thursdays of the other weeks of Lent** and the wine shall be [given out] with the larger measure.

On Good Friday, however, unless the aforementioned feast occurs (on it), **no cooking is to be done at all, but you are to partake of some raw vegetables and fruits, and wine distributed with the larger measure because of your weariness from the vigil.**

On Holy and great Saturday there should be only a collation in accordance with the traditional custom. [The monks], however, will enter the refectory for the sake of quietude and have a collation there in accordance with the traditional form and custom, even if the feast of our wholly undefiled Mistress and Mother of God should occur (on it).

In this manner your diet for the period of the holy and great Lent should be kept, though care should be shown to the sick at the discretion of the superior. On the aforesaid holy great Lent, however, apart from a great emergency, the monks should not go out of the monastery at all except the officials alone.

The procedure for the fast of the Holy Apostles¹⁵ **will be laid down immediately next.**

After the completion of the whole canonical office of the hours and the divine liturgy as the *synaxarion* prescribes in detail, you should be summoned to the refectory at the seventh hour in accordance with the rule laid down above, at which on Tuesday and Thursday **two** or three **dishes cooked with olive oil** shall be served and **wine** will be drunk **of the larger measure**. On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays let them eat dry food and let wine be given with the larger measure. Let the superior, however, have it in his power to provide refreshments and concessions whenever, in fact, he wishes. On Saturdays and Sundays, on the other hand, let them partake also of fish supplied from the house, **unless a refreshment** should be provided by someone, and on all these days, even on Wednesdays and Fridays themselves, the wine, too, shall be [served] with the larger measure. But on all of them let also **a supper** be served of bread and raw vegetables and fruits that are in season and wine with the **larger measure, because of the heat and dryness of the season**. But, if there should be **any refreshment** even on another day apart from Wednesday and Friday, they must **partake** even then of fish, thanking God.

The fast of the Holy Nativity of Christ¹⁶ will be similar to that of the Holy Apostles in both food and drink, after the completion of course of the whole canonical office according to the *synaxarion*. It will differ from it in one thing only, [namely], that you eat once. For your food should be set out for you at the ninth hour during the period of a fast, as has been said; and it will always be a fast when “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117[118]:27) is not sung at matins but “Alleluia.” [p. 277]

Chapter 19

Concerning the fact that without reservations one is to eat cheese and eggs during the entire week prior to the week of Meatfare on account of the heresy of the Artzibourians,¹⁷ and that even every day the gardeners, the vine-dressers, and simply all, apart from those who habitually are in attendance, are to come together at the refectory

But a specific thing which I almost bypassed, must be committed to writing because it is necessary and it separates us from the loathsome tradition of the Artzibourians. Since in the week before the Meatfare week the Artzibourians received the tradition to eat nothing else except bread and water, we, in order that we may be differentiated from their heresy, unhesitatingly eat both cheese and eggs throughout this entire week, and we likewise observe this during the entire week of Cheesefare because of another heresy.¹⁸

However, both our fellow-brethren who take care of the vineyards and the gardens and all the other ministrants, apart from those who are in attendance, ought without fail to come also to the first table sitting each day and in common to enjoy the bounties of God in order that the name “brotherhood” may not be just a name, but that it may become a reality through deeds. If however, some of the brothers, because they have been sent for service or have gone off even on some personal business with the knowledge of the father [superior], delay thereupon, and return perhaps after the midday meal or even supper, whatever was distributed to the other brothers during the day at the table must be given without diminution to them, too.

We have the tradition that on the holy and venerable Dormition of our supremely holy Mistress, the Mother of God,¹⁹ when the brothers are having their meal at the refectory, they eat also

grapes previously blessed at the church by the priest who holds the daily service. This tradition also must be observed. If, in fact, anyone of the brothers should be detected as having taken a taste of grapes before this feast, he shall suffer in consequence the penalty of disobedience and shall not partake of them at all until the Exaltation of the precious Cross.²⁰ Liable, however, to the same penalty shall be also anyone of the brothers working in the vineyards who shall disregard this commandment.²¹ At the refectory, however, twice or even three times a week after the feast, grapes shall be served up until the time of the vintage; but when figs and melons are in season, they shall partake of them also almost every day, if they have any.

Chapter 20

Concerning the fact that the monks are not to eat secretly, and concerning poverty

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [49], ed. lines 1444–53]: But **we introduce the matter concerning abstinence from secret eating and drinking. Avoid this to the utmost of your power, continually keeping [p. 278] in mind the fact that in the beginning disobedient eating made us subject to death and deprived us of life in paradise when the devil, the wicked author of evil, introduced it, who from that time right up to the present has not ceased suggesting to those who take up war against him like an ancient weapon the secret and forbidden tasting of some food or drink. Not only does he suggest it but advocates secret tasting saying that it is a natural action and blameless. But you, do not be ignorant of his intentions, looking away to the result of his advice namely the transgression of a command.**

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [50]]: **So that you may easily surmount this trap of the Evil One, we are imposing on you the poverty which can be of the greatest service, and preserving this you would without effort escape the danger of secret eating. For what would the person who has nothing taste? So then, practice poverty not only in unattainable and superfluous things but also in food and drink even to the smallest amount.**

For this reason, accordingly, **we instruct also the superior** to enter into your cells, **whenever he wishes, and to examine them and to allow you to have nothing more than the things allowed by the cenobitic rule.**

Chapter 21

Concerning the fact that one is not to be absent, except for illness or other reasonable cause, from the ecclesiastical office

But above all I entreat you, my spiritual fathers and brothers, that no one be absent from the ecclesiastical office either during the daytime and nighttime doxologies or during the vigils that are usually performed. For, if, in fact, anyone should be absent in consequence of sloth and negligence and not because of illness, which, of course can attract forgiveness, let such a person know that, if after a first and second and third admonition he abides in his sloth, he shall have in consequence as his just penalty the eating of dry food and the drinking of water only on the day on which this offense should be committed by him. Those, however, who perhaps are occupied with certain tasks or wrestle with bodily illnesses, as I have stated, shall not be subjected to the censure of this sort. For it is necessary to show consideration for the illnesses and the labors of men.

Chapter 22

Concerning how those who enter must be tonsured and after how much time

[= (22) *Evergetis* [37]]: We **must**, moreover, **speak** in fuller detail **about those who** come to the monastery for the purpose of being **tonsured**. **If they are distinguished people or people known to you for a long time and have close knowledge of the monastery's way of life and regime** [p. 279] **they should be tonsured** after a period of six months **if perhaps they themselves ask for this and are accepted**. **But if they are common and unknown, after an interval of seven days after their arrival at the monastery, they should assume the [novice's] rags and put on the monastic headdress, and they should be appointed to proper tasks and observed to see if they carry out these with perseverance eagerness and humility. If they persevere in this attitude for up to a period of two years, then they should receive the pledge of the divine and angelic habit, that is to say, the cloak. But if they perhaps appear to have grown tired, grumbling and being negligent about instructions, it will be the responsibility of the superior** [to decide about them].

Those who have been judged worthy to be accepted should not be put under any compulsion concerning a renunciation and an entrance offering. But if the one who is to be tonsured himself willingly chooses to offer something to God and the saint, it should be accepted, as we said above. But so much concerning those who are tonsured in the monastery.

One, however, **should consider also those who come from a different [monastery]** for the purpose of making a beginning in it. Let him, therefore, who has been chosen by the monastery to be admitted as a monk spend only eight days in it for the purpose of seeing it and its regimen. If, indeed, he is obviously pleased, let him make a confession to the superior. Then, while the *trisagion* is being performed in the church, he must present his head to the superior, bowed and uncovered, and, as the superior makes the sign of the precious cross over it, he reverently says approximately the following, "May the grace of the all-Holy Spirit, brother, through the prayers of our fathers, grant you power and strength to complete well and pleasingly to God the beginning which you made for the edification and salvation of your soul." Thereupon let the superior give him the kiss in the Lord and successively likewise all the brothers. Let him, however, make a prostration to the brothers, saying, "Pray for me, fathers and brothers, that God may grant me perseverance," and, after the brothers have answered, "May God grant you, brother, perseverance in every good work," he shall be enrolled in the brotherhood. For in no other way shall anyone be numbered among the brothers of our monastery unless, along with the confession, this ceremony takes place in exactly the same way.

Chapter 23

Exhortation concerning the fact that all those who serve are to apply themselves thoroughly to their services and not to despise them in any way

[= (22) *Evergetis* [33]]: **I entreat all those who carry out offices** in the monastery, from the first down to even the last, **to apply themselves to their offices wholeheartedly since they expect no small recompense from them. As regards those among them who are unlettered, the diligence and care they show in their office will be totally sufficient as their defense before**

God and us, but we exhort those who are educated but are perhaps prevented [p. 280] by the busy nature of their office from carrying out the daily cycle of prayers and from meeting with the brothers in the services not to be neglectful or despairing, as if they had lost the benefit to themselves, but be more cheerful and joyful because the Lord has given them the strength to serve their brothers in imitation of him, who says, “I came not to be served but to serve and to lay down my life as a ransom for many” (Matt. 20:28).

You see, my brothers, what work you perform, you see whom you imitate. You see that you are putting into practice the greatest of all good, love. Why then do you grieve and are sorrowful when you miss the service? Do you not think that you are laying down your own lives for many like my Master, Christ, so that you may bring comfort to your brothers? So, you should be happy and rejoice because you yourselves are accomplishing each day by your work what could scarcely be achieved by those who devote themselves to prayer. You are blessed in that occupation and to be envied. For prayer is indeed a fine thing, a very fine thing, bringing us into contact with God and raising us from earth to heaven, but love is of course greater and much more important. For the former is a part of virtue and an element and section of the whole body of sanctification that brings perfection, but love is its crown and consummation. For joined to itself it displays humility that exalts (cf. Matt. 23:12), mercy, and love of mankind, because of which God indeed became man and, through which man is revealed as God.

So why do you give up the treasure house and culmination of all these good things [and run to what is inferior when thus having reached to the summit] easily you should hold on to it securely and do everything so as not to be thrown down from it? “We are afraid,” they say, “because of our failure to carry out the rule;” but do not be afraid, for sincere confession will make up to your failure, justly granting you pardon. Fear this, be on your guard against this; but if this is not the case, then rejoice, I beg you attending to your offices eagerly.

Chapter 24

Concerning respect to the superior and deference, that is, bowing [to him]

When one is about (for even these precepts are necessary to those who live in a cenobitic monastery) to go out of the monastery at all either for the sake of some task or because of personal need, let him not go out of the monastery before he receives a blessing from the superior. Likewise let him neither depart to the bath without an obeisance [to the superior], nor, indeed, have his hair cut or his vein opened.²² Let him also who is about to sound the *semantron* and those who have been chosen to perform the sacred rites and the chanters and the precentors and simply everyone before [he starts] his work receive a blessing from him. For he who wishes to obey the apostolic regulations must do nothing at all without the knowledge and consent of the superior but in all things [p. 281] follow his orders, nay rather also render to him the honor that befits him, so as never to pass him by without bowing to him, whether one shall meet him on the road or should see him emerging.²³ Whether one is summoned by him or even of one’s own accord should go to him for the sake of a request regarding some need, let him beforehand make an obeisance and, folding his hands together, let him stand thus. It is fitting that, you too, render the same respect to one another inasmuch as there is peace on all sides and concord directs your relationship with one another.

Chapter 25

A broader exhortation concerning the fact that those who live the monastic life in the monastery of the holy great martyr Mamas must pursue the cenobitic way of life even if it happens that the entire income of the monastery is reduced to the sufficiency of two monks [= (27) *Kecharitomene* [55]]: Although **the way of life** of the monks and the whole organization of life in the monastery was already discussed above²⁴ **briefly, it will be discussed again**, compatible with what has been clearly stated and declared by the divine fathers with regard to those who have renounced the world. For they decided and laid it down that those who fled from the very stormy world and took refuge in the calm harbor of monastic life should enter upon a cenobitic way of life, and renouncing their own will give themselves up to a life of submission, seeing that they need a helmsman and guide as they direct the blind eye of their soul this way and that and are not able to help themselves through their ignorance of goodness.

Therefore obeying these men, **we wish that** the monks in our monastery of the holy great martyr Mamas **live in a cenobitic constitution and way of life** and that the rule of this constitution should always be in force in it **unaltered and unbroken, not perverted or altered in any way, nor altered for any reason or pretext whatsoever, neither because of wealth or poverty, neither because of shortage or abundance, nor any other specious reason or pretext whatsoever, but the cenobitic constitution and way of life should be completely preserved in every way unbroken for ever, even if the whole revenue of the monastery should be reduced to being sufficient for two monks**—which I pray will not happen.

If one of the superiors wishes the opposite, the monks are to oppose him; but, if the monks wish the opposite, the superior should resist them. If they all were to agree, the protector of the monastery should defend what I have laid down; and if he also were to consort with them, we grant permission to anyone who wishes, to strive for a pious matter and go to court on behalf of **goodness itself and the reward for it, and seek to make our instructions effective** [p. 282] **and drive from the monastery those responsible for the abolition of the cenobitic way of life, and not to think this is a small achievement but a very great one that brings salvation.**

Chapter 26

Concerning the fact that there must neither be *kelliotai* nor imposed guests in the monastery

[cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [53], line 1494]: **We wish that there should be neither *kelliotai* nor imposed guests** at all within the monastery. In fact we forbid this completely. [= (27) *Kecharitomene* [4]. ed. lines 340–49; 305–12] If, however, anyone who is from a more exalted station in life shall wish to come to the monastery and to **cast off his worldly hair in it**, or perhaps should **enter** as one who has already been **tonsured**, and if he should be **unable to change** suddenly from the **more luxurious way of life** to the more **harsh** and should perhaps have need of a **servant** and some small modification and concession so that neither the regimen of the cenobitic monastery may be relaxed completely, nor, indeed, anyone who comes to it be sent away, the superior shall be permitted, if he wishes, to make concessions to the one who enters the [monastery] and to allow the latter even to have a **servant** and a comfort such as [the superior's] sagacity

should determine, especially if the one who enters it benefits the monastery either through his rank or an offering or even both.

They, too, however, ought to maintain the cenobitic way of life; for in no way whatsoever is it our wish that the appellation of “*kelliotēs*” be used in the monastery, nor that there be external monks,²⁵ whether one should be of a distinguished station in life or should abound in much wealth and in consequence present an offering that is both lavish and prodigious or make a promise with reference to bringing in certain specified provisions from outside the monastery. For this is appalling to the patristic regulations and to our wish.

[cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [53], lines 1504–8]: **Who would send an imposed guest to a monastery that is independent and is ruled by the mighty hand** alone of the Lord and the great martyr Mamas, who is honored therein, as the most inviolable documents belonging to [the monastery] prove? **No one, would ever wish this, he would not be so foolish** as to violate the promulgated written decrees of [the monastery’s] independence, unless he wishes altogether to render God, who is “mighty in wars” (Sir. 46:1), openly hostile to himself.

Chapter 27

Concerning the fact that women are not to come into the monastery nor laymen dwell within it

This, too, is one of the indispensable things, that the monastery never be entered by women, except perchance rarely for the sake of the burial or commemoration of those who are close relatives by blood to our master [George] of blessed memory and new builder or even of some other magnates who may be buried later. But they, too, as soon as [p. 283] they will have completed the rites for the commemoration of the deceased, shall depart immediately from the monastery in the course of the same day.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [39]], ed. lines 1197–1200]: Let, however, also for the sake of worship, as **many women as are well known for their way of life and virtue, as well as nobility and eminence, come in but very rarely and carefully and, if possible, unexpectedly so that in that way we may be able to preserve our respect for them and maintain freedom from harm for ourselves.** However all other women will absolutely not enter the monastery, even if they be known kinswomen of either the superior or of any of the monks; but surely neither during the days of Eastertide nor on the commemoration of the saint shall entrance in the monastery be permitted to them.

Indeed we prefer that not even any laymen at all have their residences within the monastery, but that the area within the monastery be allotted as a kind of God-planted paradise to those alone who practice asceticism, so that any cause for offense may not arise therefrom.

Chapter 28

Concerning the clothing of the monks and concerning the price of a bath and soap

Concerning, indeed, clothes and footwear and various other bodily coverings of the monks it is our wish that there be given to each of them anything he needs in accordance with the cenobitic pursuit and regimen which has been traditional from long ago. Inasmuch, however, as contention accompanies, as it often does, the distributions of this sort, and it is one of the most troublesome

things to satisfy the pleasure and wish of each, we considered it better that the items of clothing be supplied to each of the brothers through the use of money, putting an end to contentions and grumblings even in this matter.

Therefore, there shall be given to each of the brothers, from the highest to the lowest, to all of them equally, except for the old men who do not toil, for the latter ought to be subject to the discretion of the superior, at the present time two *hyperpyra* each and two old *trikephala* each; that is, at the beginning of September one *hyperpyron* each and one *trikephalon* each and at the beginning of March similarly one each. But, if, indeed, as time progresses, the monastery should prosper, as I hope and pray, it is our wish that even three *hyperpyra* be given them for the whole year.

Beyond these there ought to be given each year one thick outer garment to each of those who carry out the offices, in the category of whom ought to be included also those who attend to vine-dressing, for the latter even more than all the others tear apart their clothing by the use of the spade. Every month a sum that is adequate for soap and the price of a bath ought to be given to all the brothers for the sake of one bath, if, that is, a bath is not attached to the monastery.²⁶ [p. 284]

Chapter 29

Concerning the confession of the monks, and concerning the fact that all are to have the superior as a spiritual father

Our common enemy and foe, who, according to the great apostle (I Pet. 5:8; Ps. 21 [22]:13), “goes about like a lion seeking whom he should devour,” knowing precisely that confession snatches away from the middle of his throat those who are about to be devoured, sets in motion all his wiles and contrivances so as to strip whomever he can from this great and noble aid, inserting in the practice [of confession] humiliation and shame. But this shame, says the theologian Gregory, is part of the punishment for the sins we confess.²⁷ Let us hasten, therefore, as much as we can, to pull ourselves away from under the punishment in the other world through this salutary and noble aid, I mean, of course, confession. For no one at all should fail to understand how much more painless it is to declare one’s secret to a person, and him a shepherd who is both sympathetic and of like nature, than to be convicted in the presence of the angels and the whole race of mankind and God himself.

It is our wish, therefore, that the whole assembly of brothers disclose to the superior the bruises of the soul they have suffered or the foul thoughts themselves that spring up in them as human beings, and that all have him as a common and spiritual father, even if perhaps he happens to be unordained, because he has assuredly the permission from the most holy and ecumenical patriarch, having been empowered to apply also the remedy that is suitable to each illness. For thoughts are wounds of the soul that are inflicted by the evil demon, who ensnares our life. A wound, however, when it is revealed immediately and receives the medical treatment that is suitable and appropriate, is easily healed; but, when it is kept concealed and becomes chronic, it causes putrefaction and generates a stench and becomes difficult to heal.

It is, therefore, exceedingly helpful to have the physician close by. But, if it is disagreeable to anyone, a thing which seems to me unreasonable, to have one’s own father also as a physician, let him tell his father in secret his own purpose and the latter will take care to send him off to whom-ever the superior himself wishes or even to one of the priests of the monastery, who is both more

devout and more aged. I made a great concession in writing this since the subordinate [monk] has no right at all on the basis of the patristic traditions not to have the superior as a spiritual father.

Chapter 30

Exhortation regarding the fact that the brothers are to confess unhesitatingly and honestly

[= (22) *Evergetis* [7], ed. lines 263–87]: It is good to say even to you yourselves what is proper. **So then you, my brothers, seeing the superior hurrying off to this good ministry which is very beneficial to your souls, you should run, [p. 285] and reach with eagerness this calm harbor that is safe for your souls, and reveal completely without any covering up every stirring of your mind and every thought that harms your soul, as though you are making your confession in the presence of God and not a man. But the one who sets out to lie to God will always get his punishment. For the psalmist says, “Thou wilt destroy all that speak falsehood” (Ps. 5:6). So then, by confessing without deceit and ridding your minds of all wrangling, all confusion and trouble, you may be happy and rejoice, having gained this good hope namely that you will not fail to gain salvation. But make your confession without accusing each other when perhaps a violent dispute or some other argument occurs. Do not make your confession if you consider yourselves blameless and you are looking really for condemnations, nor should you speak about the bodily needs which afflict you. If you must speak of some violent dispute, be keen to ascribe and assign to yourselves all the blame and reason for the fault, whatever it is. But if you speak about some other passions, reveal these completely so that you can gain double benefit from this, by both attaining sound health of soul and clothing yourself in exalting humility, for possessing this we will actually be like God who says, “Learn from me that I am gentle and lowly in heart” (Matt. 11:29). What else would be a clearer proof of gentleness and humility in heart than clearly to bear all affliction nobly and blame oneself in everything? The true confession without which I do not think anyone gains salvation is the cause of so many good things.**

Chapter 31

Concerning the third and the sixth hour and their office

When the *semantron* then, is struck at the time that is proper, all must assemble in the narthex and sing together the third and sixth hours along with the prayers that accompany them. At the beginning, however, of the sixth hour both the priest and the deacon who have the priestly duties of the day and the assistant ecclesiarch along with them must make a genuflection to the superior, and, while the former must enter into the holy sanctuary to prepare this divine oblation, the latter must go off to strike the large *semantron*. So much about the third and the sixth hour.

Chapter 32

Concerning the divine mystery and which of the brothers and how and when they ought to partake of the divine elements

[= (22) *Evergetis* [5]]: **It is necessary now also to speak about the divine mystery, which must of necessity be celebrated, if not every day, at least four times [p. 286] weekly without**

postponement, apart from the feasts of the Lord. **But you yourselves must be sure to take care in this, my brothers, because what is performed there is divine and fearful, and because there more than in anything else the fearful and very great mystery of our orthodox faith is accomplished, I mean the most divine and most precious sacrifice of the completely undefiled body and blood of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ.**

So during it, my brothers, as has been said, you must pay strict attention, and as far as possible chase from you every thought that is sown by the devil, impure, and unworthy of that fearful celebration, and purify yourselves in every way. Then as many as allowed by the superior should partake of the divine elements. For it will not be possible for any of you to partake freely and in a thoughtless manner, nor yet each day.

This we would indeed wish, for to partake often of the divine elements is to share in life, as Christ himself says, “He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him” (John 6:56) and again, “Unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood, you have no life in you” (John 6:53), and as the divine apostle says, “He who is united to the Lord becomes one spirit” (I Cor. 6:17), and as the most gentle David says conversely, “They that remove themselves far from thee shall perish” (Ps. 72 [73]: 27).

Therefore we would indeed wish this, as has been said, but because of human weakness and the danger of the action we do not allow it, for “Whoever eats the body and drinks the blood of the Lord unworthily is guilty of his body and blood” (I Cor. 11:27) says Paul, the divine and inspired speaker and leader of the apostles. This statement is frightening, my brothers, and causes not only sinners like me but also those who are very confident in themselves to fear partaking.

So then as many as are sure that they are pure and free from disgraceful thoughts and submission to them, from anger and grumbling, grief and denigration, deceit and disorderly laughter, furthermore, bearing of grudge and irritation, disgraceful talk and such things, should partake of communion once a week. But those who fall prey to the aforementioned passions and hasten to a renunciation of them through confession and repentance should partake of communion once a month or even once in two months at the discretion of the superior of course, for he should be in charge of such matters.

But for someone to consider himself unworthy of communion without his knowledge cannot be approved. For he who does this will be condemned as someone fulfilling his own wish. However, those who should partake of communion must to the best of their ability read more attentively the prayers laid down for the partaking, make a common genuflection together to one another to grant forgiveness, and thus to partake gratefully of the life-giving elements. So let these things be carried out in this way. [p. 287]

Chapter 33

Concerning those who have grown old in the monastery

Yet this, too, we both formulate and declare, and I believe not without reason and better purpose, that those who have grown old in the monastery or have otherwise done hard work and undergone some harm or mutilation of the body so as not to be able as a result of this to render service, be they men of learning or, indeed, even illiterate, even if they should be found not to have

lived in the monastery for a long time, it is our wish not only that they not be expelled from the monastery but rather that they be taken care of in their old age and be absolved from work, so far as it is possible, by someone of their fellow brothers in the monastery, whomsoever its superior selects. Their food and drink should be equal to that of those who are young and healthy.

I enjoin, for the sake of such a purpose and such a service, all those who are destined to administer in any way whatsoever the affairs of the monastery, both superiors and others, never to set aside or violate or alter this God-loved regulation, so long as, God granting, the monastery exists and monks live in it, unless he who shall attempt such a thing wishes to provoke against himself the statement “As you did it not to one of the least of these my brothers, you did it not to me” (Matt. 25:45).

Chapter 34

Precise instruction concerning the fact that all are to have the same food and drink, with reference also to the care of the sick and to the fact that the [monks] are not permitted to have servants or domestics

[= (22) *Evergetis* [26], ed. lines 941–43, 947–51]: **Before God** and the holy great martyr Mamas, **we give you this instruction, that you should all have the same food and drink and that there should never be any difference** in anything **ever** for anyone, **but you will all**, those who are advanced in age and virtue and celebrity of life and those who are inferior to the latter in these qualities, **use for food the same things.**

For you should only help and take care as is possible **of those who are clearly afflicted with illness, and for this reason perhaps need better food and drink to sustain** our weak and **unfortunate bodies. For I think that this shows discernment and preserves the conscience of everyone else free of offense.**

[= (22) *Evergetis* [41], lines 1256, 1259–63, 1257–58]: We must, therefore, allow, with the knowledge of the superior, those who are weary because of illness that has fallen upon them, to rest in their own cells and there to partake of nourishment that is suitable and appropriate for their illness, to whom the one who would be ordered by the superior will render service in all things, **both food and drink and the other necessities. But** [p. 288] **our sick brothers emboldened by this should not cast off self-restraint by seeking for extra things, even those which perhaps they have never even heard of, much less seen and eaten, but they should restrain and control themselves, being satisfied only with those things which the circumstances of the season and the resources of the monastery** and superior’s lenient judgment **provide for them.**

Since, however, two hospitals are near us, if, as I hope and pray, the monastery is ever able, the superior ought to see to it that someone of the neighboring **physicians visit the ailing brothers every day** and offer the appropriate medical treatments and deem them worthy of every sort of care. If, however, the monastery is unable—a thing which I pray will not happen—he who needs medical care must go to those who share [authority in] the hospitals and request to be given a bed. Whenever a brother has been given a bed there and is being treated medically, his food must be provided by the monastery in order that he may not defame it because he is distressed in some respect, as [he would] if the things that are being given him in the hospitals are not adequate.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [24], ed. line 917]: **It will not be possible for you to have servants** nor

domestics who render services, but each shall serve himself and, in turn, one another, the young one him who is advanced [in age], and the novice him who entered the arena earlier, and the stronger one him who is weaker, according, of course, to the superior's orders. For thus the Master's commandment will be fulfilled and the law of love will be observed unimpaired.

Chapter 35

Concerning the fact that those who come together in manual labors are not to talk idly and concerning the fact that they are not to have acquisitions and concerning the fact that they are not to steal from the monastery

[= (22) *Evergetis* [21], ed. lines 877–84, 889–96]: **If any of your number should gather on some manual task or other service and amuse themselves with idle conversations—for this is usual at gatherings—and then turn to disgraceful talk—for “by a multitude of words,” he says, “thou shalt not escape sin” (Prov. 10:19)—they should not reject the admonition of the superior. For we instruct him to do this in love and persuade them to give up topics which harm the soul, and either discuss matters from Holy Scripture or be silent. “For,” the author of the Book of Proverbs says, “If thou refrain thy lips, thou wilt be prudent” (Prov. 10:19) and discreet.**

Also those who happen to be on a journey and are afflicted in the same way should be cured with the same medicine by the [superior]. Furthermore, they are not to resort to mutual rebuking or verbal sparring. For he who does such a thing will be liable to excommunication, and if he does not repent and beg for forgiveness “with a contrite heart” (Ps. 50 [51]:17) he will be punished—for we prefer that you should always be loving and peaceful towards one another and, instead of anything that provokes quarrels, learn to say [p. 289] “Bless and forgive [me], brother.”

Furthermore, **those who form idle gatherings and visit one another with no good reason, without any pressing cause, or the knowledge of the superior, especially after compline, when they are admonished and do not desist, they will be punished.**

[= (22) *Evergetis* [22], ed. lines 899–904]: **Those who acquire some possessions contrary to the rule of the monastery, without the knowledge of the superior, will be liable to punishment. But the person who purloins anything from the monastery and does not make amends after a first and second admonition and up to the seventh will be expelled completely.**

Chapter 36

Concerning the fact that one is not to seek at all a seat of honor

[= (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 364–78]: We **refuse** even to hear at all that someone of his own accord seeks after a loftier seat or the ensuing honor. **For how could this be acceptable, that men who are living according to God's will should quarrel at all about seating, like those who are keen to show themselves in a worldly way superior to everyone else in this, as those who are excited by glory that is vain and hated by God? For “Everyone that is proud in heart is an abomination to the Lord” (Prov. 16:5), says Holy Scripture, and “The Lord resists the proud, but he gives grace to the humble” (Prov. 3:34).**

So this will not happen among you, it will not. But if any of you is found, causing annoyance in this matter, putting forward as an excuse perhaps age or sphere of work, and does not abide by the command of the superior nor is satisfied with the place allocated to him, I command in the Lord that he be allocated the last place and be taught to leave to the world the habits of the world.

But those who have been entrusted with these two primary offices, [namely], the steward and the ecclesiarch, shall sit ahead of all of them on the one side, while on the other [side] the priests according to their rank of seniority and after the latter, in turn, the deacons, unless, the superior should prefer some who are advanced in years or old age or even some who are preeminent in the world, worthy of respect and honor, to sit ahead of the latter, the deacons, that is. After they are seated, however, there shall not be a preference in respect to seating but thereafter the seating will be assigned suitably to each at the discretion of the superior.

Chapter 37

That all the things that have been registered in the inventory must be inalienable; so must also be the things that have been acquired in any way whatsoever at any time whatsoever

Since the monastery had need of sacred vessels, divine offerings and books for the praise of God and the Saint and the illumination of those who practice asceticism in it, as many things as were necessary were dedicated to it by the grace of God through the intercessions [p. 290] of the Saint and through our master the *mystikos* [George] of blessed dormition, who has been mentioned many times;²⁸ all the silver vessels, [that is], and revered icons and veils and books and bronze items that are seen.

An inventory has been made by us, in which are compiled both the things that belong to the monastery from long ago and the things that have been made lately, which inventory, was, in fact, signed by my own hand. Concerning these [things], furthermore, we command that they be absolutely both inalienable and irremovable. He who shall dare to remove from them anything of whatever kind shall be considered sacrilegious and along with Judas shall be referred to eternal punishments, and before the [punishments] may he also inherit [Judas'] noose.

But may no one, whether potentate or magistrate or protector or anyone of those in the monastery, whether superior or subordinate, even think of removing or alienating any of the divine offerings or of the books in it, either large or small, or any other thing whatsoever. Instead let there be more eagerness to make additions and further dedications for the glory of God and for their own considerable benefit. Let, in fact, this very [rule] be observed also for the things that will be acquired at any time whatsoever, both movable and immovable.

Chapter 38

Sworn exhortation to the protector of the monastery at the time

But really the zealous concern for my fathers and brothers, always lying couched in my soul, persuades me to collect from all quarters the things that are for their benefit. In order, therefore,

that they might not be abused by some abusers, as though bereft of human assistance, I adjure by our Lord Jesus Christ the protectors of the monastery at the time, since they can readily help it, that, if, the monks should come to them and present the present simple regulations of the *typikon* and say that they are being unjustly treated by some, especially regarding the bringing in of water by pipes from the outside, for which I toiled very much and often, that they proceed against the injustice in accordance with their power and check its impetus and rescue the flock of Christ and the Saint from the hand of quite cruel men, and not to ignore it but support and defend it in accordance with the dictates of law and justice, in order that thus they may procure a reward for themselves and have the divine favor because they graciously received the monks and deemed them worthy of the proper assistance. For this reason, in fact, we have prescribed that they even be commemorated both while alive and after death. [p. 291]

Chapter 39

Concerning the monks who depart to the Lord

[= (27) *Kecharitomene* [70], lines 1713–16, 1733–35, 1737–38, 1742–46, 1750–52]: Since we must take thought for the monks, not only when they are alive but also when they depart to the Lord, it is necessary to prescribe at this time also about matters concerning the latter. Whenever, then, anyone of the monks should depart from this world, let **the customary things done for the dead monk be carried out in the exonarthex, I mean both the singing of psalms and all the clothing of the remains. Then it should be transported to the burial-place with the bier and be buried in the tombs of the monks on the right side, that is, of the church, in which the brothers alone must be buried, no one of those from the outside being buried with them.**

The commemorations on the third, ninth, and fortieth days for the one who has died should be sung in the narthex of the church, and *kollyba* prepared on those days on his behalf, and let an offering [of eucharistic bread] be made for each liturgy on his behalf until the fortieth-day commemoration and let him be commemorated. But **he should also be remembered at matins and vespers until the aforesaid fortieth day.**

His name also must be written on the diptychs and he, too, must be commemorated [in the future] along with the rest. **So that a common commemoration of all the monks may take place, on each Friday after the office of lamp-lighting, unless a feast prevents it, they must sing a canon for the dead** in the exonarthex **and an *ektenes* should be made for all those who have already departed. Moreover, we urge both the priests and the deacons to consult the diptychs during every liturgy in order to remember those listed on them, so that they may not bear the responsibility for forgetting and omitting them.**

Certainly **on the Saturday of Meatfare, the Saturday of Cheesefare, and the Saturday of Pentecost let *stauria* also be made on their behalf** and let four of those **who have already passed away be commemorated** at each *staurion*. But, if they should be superiors, let individual offerings [of eucharistic bread] be made and let them, too, be commemorated. Likewise in the commemorations of each one of [the monks] let a liturgy and offering [of Eucharistic bread] be made on his behalf.

Let, however, the memorial rites for the superiors be made more generously, especially if some of them should happen to have conducted themselves in a manner worthy of their calling so as to leave behind to their successors certain good advantages. The surviving monks ought to receive on both the **Saturday of Meatfare, the Saturday of Cheesefare, and the Saturday of Pentecost one *staurion* as an offering for the commemoration of their parents, and, after the *stauria* have been offered, they should be assembled by the gatekeeper and a distribution should take place** at the gate. [p. 292]

Chapter 40

Injunction to the brothers and the superior concerning how the annual commemoration of our master of blessed memory [George] *mystikos* and new builder ought to be held

In the prefatory statement of our present *typikon* concerning our master [George] of blessed memory, the *mystikos*, we have rendered to him our full gratitude for his bounty and [ascribed to him] also the establishment and advancement of this holy monastery. Or, to put it better, he himself painstakingly has given us his favors, having displayed his intrinsic goodness and at the same time his soul's graciousness and love for God. [Therefore] we ourselves, too, have decided that it is necessary, even if we are not able to do so in a manner worthy of him, to render to that God-revering man, so far as it is possible, a reward within our present means. For this, too, is not a small thing that we too return his kindness as we can, giving back eagerly what is possible but ceding the repayment he deserves to the Almighty, who alone knows how to mete out to the worthy their rewards proportionately.

For this very reason I leave to you, oh fathers and brothers, also a paternal injunction as a final admonition that you consider him rather as the primary and true founder of the monastery. Whenever you offer an *ektenes* on his behalf at every office of the divine ritual, say aloud six times “*Kyrie eleison*” at both vespers and matins, and the liturgy, and, after the dismissal of vespers and matins on every day that is free of fasting, apart from Sundays and feasts of the Lord, sing at his grave the customary *parastasimon* and “Among the spirits of the righteous,” and the rest, and let also an *ektenes* be made on his behalf, the “*Kyrie eleison*” being sung fifteen times; and at each liturgy let one offering [of eucharistic bread] be offered on his behalf. So much for the daily services.

Let also his commemoration be celebrated annually with two candelabra with twelve candleholders and four tapers lit within the church, and let also the illumination of the church be done more lavishly than usual, as well as the provisioning of the monks with fresh fish up to three dishes, the customary treat [of an extra serving of wine] also being given. The lamp, too, at his grave shall be perpetually lighted, and a candle will burn for him in every office.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [36], ed. lines 1083–89]: The commemoration, however, of his full brother, lord Theocharistos, and of the latter's wife, Zoe Dalassena, ought to be held just as they themselves shall direct in writing. **Furthermore, commemorations should take place every year for all those who have accomplished something worthy of remembrance** in accordance with the tenor of their agreements, **and** [p. 293] **equally for those brothers whose names will be inscribed on the diptychs**, the death of each of these, too, being made positively clear from the

recording into the record-book. **In addition, the commemoration also of a brother who has recently died is to be made in the *ektenes* every day in every service until his fortieth-day commemoration,** just as has been discussed above in fuller detail.

Chapter 41

Reasons for which the present rule of the *typikon* was set forth, and a prayer concerning the fact that the items in it are to be preserved inviolate, and a most horrible curse against him who shall attempt to proceed towards the annulment of the present rule

The things, then, that I have previously stated have presented quite clearly the circumstances that made the composition of the present rule of the *typikon* necessary. For the rule and constitution of the cenobitic monasteries, if they should be left unexamined and not be guided by the proper control of reason, would collapse not before long. May the Triune God keep preserving inviolable up to the end of the present world all the things that have been formulated in order that thus the flock of Christ may be called light, in accordance with the statements of the gospels, and through it yet others also might be brought to edification.

May it be a truly chosen flock that heeds the voice of him who calls to life and by its examples be able to instruct many souls of men that see its correct way of life as a marvelous example. Let him, however, who shall even attempt to proceed towards the annulment of the present lifesaving rule of the *typikon*, in addition to not being listened to, be also alien to the hope of the Christians, because he has wanted to overturn and violently shake this peace-loving rule that has been established for the benefit of my fathers and brothers.

Chapter 42

Instruction to the superior: how he ought to be disposed towards the brotherhood

[= (22) *Evergetis* [17], ed. lines 785–99]: **You, spiritual father and guide of this holy flock, be moderate and fair with the brothers, and in your concern maintain in everything a fatherly affection for them. Yes, I entreat you, care for them all, have concern for them all, forebear with them all, support them instructing, advising, teaching, comforting, healing the sick, supporting the weak, encouraging the faint-hearted, restoring those who sin, forgiving “seventy times [p. 294] seven” (Matt. 18:22) in accordance with the word of Our Lord. For it is better that we, who are imitating the Lord himself, be judged considerate [even though] a little remiss in what we ought to do, than by maintaining utmost righteousness we be condemned as heartless and haters of our brothers. Also, to omit the rest, St. Basil says “And the superior himself, as a father caring for true children, will watch over the needs of each one and will bring them suitable healing as far as he can, and will support with love and fatherly affection the member who is truly weak whether spiritually or physically.”**²⁹

Chapter 43

Sworn order to one from a different [monastery] who is about to hold the office of superior

I adjure, by the Lord God and by the great martyr Mamas, him from a different monastery who is about to hold the office of superior in accordance with what has been prescribed above in

our monastery not to bring into the monastery with himself more than one brother, and him in the role of a disciple, as it were, from either intimates or acquaintances which he has. For, if he brings over more, many are the improprieties that will spring up from this. For it is inferred from this that those whom he himself will bring in from the outside he considers as genuine sons, while those whom he will find in the monastery he views as illegitimate, which is one of the most improper things. From this, offense and distrust is caused. But those rather he ought to consider as genuine and exceedingly beloved whom he will find in the monastery, who will both receive and honor him. These [brothers] he himself, too, has the obligation to honor and relieve in accordance with his ability, even if perhaps as human beings they have acquired certain small defects such as the length of life is disposed by nature to engender, that is to say, idle chatter, coarse jesting, license of tongue and other such things, in order that in him, too, the statement, “he who brings forth the worthy out of the worthless” (cf. Jer. 15:19) and so forth, will be fulfilled.

Chapter 44

Exhortation to the monks concerning the fact that they are not to question the superior in the things that he does as he is going to give to God an account of the sins he dared to commit, and that he is to be excommunicated if he does not correct himself

[= (22) *Evergetis* [18]]: If, then, your superior, brothers, conducts himself thus, as we said above, being both paternally disposed towards you and devoutly and piously tending the flock of Christ, you **will not question** him in any way **nor will** you **demand an account** of how he handles the affairs of the monastery. **For this is unworthy and harmful, breeding a great deal of mistrust and producing discord, instability and every other cause for sin.**

Neither will the superior himself spend the wealth of the monastery in doing favors for his own relations and friends. [p. 295] **For by acting in that way, he will not be taking part in the divine mysteries.**³⁰ **For if we have judged that he should not be subject to the brothers in an examination of his actions, yet he will not really escape the unerring judge and the reproof of his conscience. Therefore, he should take care not to “fall into the hands of the living God” (Heb. 10:31). For even though we are not capable of imposing on him a penalty appropriate for making unjustifiable and unnecessary payments and bringing about changes in the affairs and property of the monastery, yet he will not escape the fearful judgment of God, which we confer upon him in writing this. But if he is seen to be so fearless and utterly shameless that he does not even fear the condemnation of God, but spends the wealth of this wholly poor monastery improperly, he will be excommunicated until he refrains from this unlawful action;** but, if he corrects himself, he shall be forgiven by God the Ruler of All.

Chapter 45

Another exhortation to all the brothers and to the protector himself concerning the fact that they are not in any blameworthy way to make both the choice and selection of the superiors, including the fact that one is not to spring upon such an office by his personal rashness and audacity

[= (22) *Evergetis* [14], ed. lines 708–27]: Having, then, sufficiently treated of both the superior and all the other officials, we must turn our discussion to you, **O beloved children in the Lord**, and to the protector. **I entreat** you, therefore, **or rather, I instruct you and I call on God**

as witness of my instructions, and overseer of its carrying out, that when you are selecting and choosing the superiors there should be no strife, there should be no jealousy, there should be no pointless partiality and irrational favoritism, but correct judgment, an accurate aim and the strict yardstick of justice and truth should come together, and, as if he was observing you, he the eye itself “that beholds all things” (Sir. 15:19) and “searches hearts and reins” (Ps. 7:9). Your selection should take place in that way.

For, if, suffering from some human failing, you were to produce a faulty judgment, consider how far the evil would spread and calculate how many harmful effects would follow and if the “righteous” (2 Tim. 4:8) and unerring Judge were to require from you a just account for them, I do not know what defense you would make to secure your escape from condemnation. You, who have, alas, with evil and ruinous judgment selected the unworthy persons and brought such great harm not only on them but also on yourselves seeing that you have secured perdition for them as well as yourselves.

So then you will not resort to quarreling and dissension in your selection, but in unanimity and agreement you should choose the persons you select and with the counsel and judgment [p. 296] of the protector you should effect their selection and choice.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [17], ed. lines 800–814]: **If you always live like that, there will be no one who will usurp this office rashly and by one’s own judgment, making a display perhaps of his seniority or knowledge or sphere of work or noble birth or rank or offering of property or money, but that man should be preferred in this office who has been selected by you after perfect scrutiny, even if he has been recently tonsured or is unlearned and without experience in worldly things, for no harm will come to the monastery from the latter.**

For “God is able even from stones to raise up children to Abraham” (Matt. 3:9) and to give wisdom to the blind and to supply reason to those without reason, he who takes more pleasure in these people than in those who glory in their own wisdom and power, and wealth and nobility. As a witness to this the truly divine and great apostle clearly expresses it in the following words, “God chose what is foolish in the world and weak and despised to shame the wise and strong and lofty; and things which are not to bring to nothing things that are” (I Cor. 1:27).

Chapter 46

More detailed instruction to the brotherhood on how they ought to conduct themselves

[= (22) *Evergetis* [42]]: **So then all that we wish and is acceptable to God**—in my opinion at least—and to our fervent patron and helper, the holy great martyr Mamas, **and greatly beneficial for your help** has been discussed sufficiently; **in the future it will be your concern to maintain them unbroken and unchanged always. By this I mean, to carry out completely in all the services the canonical procedure handed on to you,** in accordance with the *synaxarion* of the monastery of *Evergetis* which is in effect today with you, **to preserve loyalty and honor which is due to your superiors, to love one another, to be keen each of you to surpass each other in humility** in every way, **to labor** in all kinds of ways **with one another in everything as the limbs of one body and “to complete what is lacking”** (Col. 1:24) **in one another, not to stir**

up quarrels nor form improper friendships or cause schisms and breakaway services, to refrain from claiming the seat of honor and worldly preferments, but look to one thing only, that is to live and conduct yourselves virtuously and breathe in nothing else, if possible, than the word of salvation and everything that is for the edification and benefit of your soul; furthermore to banish from you the source of all evils, I mean the love of money, and the filching of the monastery's possessions or in any other way in which the superior has not approved nor the rule given to you has allowed, not only that but as a result of carelessness or some other act of disregard to allow something belonging to the monastery to disappear. For that is the same as the former case, even if it seems to be somewhat different, and brings the same liability in the presence of God. [p. 297] You must root out familiarity as much as possible and, that I may be brief, banish everything that does not lead to salvation.

So, my children and brothers, let us in no way prefer the things that harm, and pass by those that bring salvation; for nothing of what has been handed on to you is impossible or hard to accomplish. But if one of these [instructions] were to be thought of as such perhaps, yet let us strive, let us persevere, let us endure, let us bear it nobly, let us force ourselves a little. For we did not abandon the world for indulgence and luxury, but for exertion and to strive as much as we could to gain the good things that were promised. Therefore let us force ourselves, let us force ourselves, as has been said; "for the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence, and men of violence take it by force" (Matt. 11:12). No one has ever gained a triumph by being careless, no one has triumphed over his enemy by sleeping and carelessness. Crowns and triumphs belong to those who run well, toil, strive, persevere in the labors of battles. "Through many tribulations," the Lord says, "we must enter the kingdom of heaven" (Acts 14:22). So then I beseech you all, "lead a life worthy of your calling" (Eph. 4:1), "present your bodies holy to the Lord" (cf. Rom. 12:1), "love one another" (John 15:12), "run well the race that is set before you" (cf. Heb. 12:1). Whatsoever is good, whatsoever is beloved of God, consider these things (cf. Phil 4:8). Do not fail to do the things "you have heard and learned" (Phil. 4:9). My brothers, "the appointed time has grown very short" (I Cor. 7:29). Remember your souls and our insignificance and lowliness, do not forget us in your prayers.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [43], ed. lines 1318–24]: "The God of peace who called us to his eternal glory" (Heb. 13:20–21), through his great and unspeakable goodness confirm and strengthen you in his holy will through his only-begotten Son Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ and the All-holy and Life-giving Spirit, to whom belong all glory, honor, worship, now and always and for ever and ever, Amen.

Chapter 47

Partial explanation concerning the ecclesiastical order and other conduct

[The brothers] are to be content with all the chapters that have been written above, as they have been written. Now it is necessary to speak briefly also concerning the ecclesiastical order that ought to be observed, as we have written in many places, in accordance with the *synaxarion* of the Monastery of *Evergetis*, which is in effect at the present time, without failure and omission.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [3], ed. lines 67–70]: So now we must turn our attention to the subjects

of our discourse and since we wish to begin from a preferable place, it is preferable to begin with the hour that brings us light, that is the first hour of the day, and I think it absolutely necessary that those who are going to give a description of the works of light should begin following the light.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 75–95]: So after the worship of matins, [p. 298] the office of the first hour should be sung by you following on immediately, as is customary, and at the end of this the following prayer should next be recited, “Thou who at all times and all hours.” After the prayer the customary fifteen genuflections should be performed by the able bodied on the bare floor. Three of them should be completed in a more leisurely manner inasmuch as while you are standing you should say three times to yourselves with hands stretched out “God, be merciful to me the sinner” (Luke 18:13), then when you are kneeling down with your heads resting on the ground, you should say once “I have sinned against thee, Lord, forgive me.” But the remaining twelve should be carried out more quickly so as to utter the aforementioned supplicatory phrases once at each genuflection and each time you stand, but yet in unison and with fitting good order, not with some getting ahead and others falling behind, but all following the lead of the ecclesiarch.

That should take place when “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is not sung during matins; but if it is, the performing of these genuflections should be omitted but three deep bows should be performed while at each of them the aforesaid supplicatory phrases should be said to yourselves. Then after these genuflections or bows all should repeat the following prayer aloud with hands raised, “O eternal God” and “Thou who sendest out the light.” If, however, the superior should wish, let also the *short catechesis* from the words of the fathers be presented and let it be read by him before the three prayers, that is, or after the completion of the *troparion*.

All the prayers should be said with hands held up in accordance with the following, “Lift up your hands in the sanctuaries, and bless the Lord” (Ps. 133 [134]:2) and “The lifting of my hands as an evening sacrifice” (Ps. 140 [141]:2) and “In every place lifting holy hands without anger and quarreling” (I Tim. 2:8). When the first hour has been completed, as we said, and the priest has spoken his customary prayer, all of you should immediately fall on your faces and hearing the superior asking for your prayers like this, “Brothers, pray for me in the Lord that I may be delivered from passions and the snares of the Evil One,” you should answer, “May God save you, honored father, and you pray for us, holy father, that we may be delivered from passions and the snares of the Evil One.” Then again the superior should say, “May God through the prayers of our fathers save you all.” Then rising, some must depart to their tasks, while others (will go) to their own cells, avoiding all meeting together and foolish distraction, idle chatter, and disorderly laughter.

Let each go away to his cell in a sober frame of mind and at the same time most vigilant, doing what is pleasing to God. But if some are discovered to be conducting themselves in a disorderly manner, whether they are young or old and advanced in the monastic life, they are to be admonished with the laws of love by the more devout or even by the superior himself. But, if they do not mend their ways they are to be punished. Going away to your cells you should carry out the whole canonical procedure, with the customary prayers and genuflections. [p.

299] **For genuflections should not be carried out in the church when “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is sung, as we have said.**

In your cells, however, you should always kneel down when you pray, but we will avoid this also in our cells whenever there is a vigil because of the weariness that comes from that, also during the twelve days of Christmas, during Easter week, or even the entire Pentecost. Let, however, those who so choose genuflect after the Easter week. So the ritual of the first hour should be like that on the days of the year that are free from fasting.

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [6], lines 195–96]: The details concerning the third [hour] and sixth [hour] have been described earlier in the chapter concerning the divine mystery [of the Eucharist]. Consequently, we must speak also concerning the ninth [hour] and the lamplighting office. The **ninth** [hour], must be sung in the narthex **in the same way as the preceding hours**, the small **semantron** being struck for this [hour] and **calling us, as is usual**. By the holy great martyr Mamas I adjure the ecclesiarch at the time and the priest who has the priestly duties of the day not to delay the time of the striking of the **semantron**, I mean both that of the night and that of the day, but, as soon as this is struck, immediately they must begin the singing of the hymns. For the delaying, as I have learned by experience itself, is wont to produce many things that are harmful.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 196–240]: **The regulation in the *synaxarion* sets out very clearly how the office of vespers should be carried out, as well as compline after the supper. When compline has been sung and the priest has said his customary prayer also, you should fall on your knees just as at the end of the first hour and incline your ear to the superior as he says, “Forgive me in the Lord, brothers, for I have sinned in deed, word and in thought.” You should grant him forgiveness, saying, “May God forgive you, father.” But you also should beg this from him by adding, “Forgive us also yourself, honored father, for we have sinned in deed, word, and in thought,” then again he should pray for you and say, “May God through the prayers of our fathers forgive you all.”**

Then standing up and according him the required obeisance, you should go away to your cells and carry out your night office in accordance with the regulation, and then full of gratitude and spiritual joy you should turn to sleep until the one who is in charge of the clock learns from it the appropriate hour and goes to the superior, receiving from him the required blessing, and then striking the small **semantron in the customary way, he will rouse you to sing the celebration of the midnight office in the narthex which he himself will also sing all the time as he carries out the prescribed lighting of the church, and then when he has sounded the great **semantron** and the [p. 300] bronze one also, he will call you all for the dawn worship. The preliminary part of which you must carry out as follows.**

For after the striking of the bronze **semantron praise should be ascribed to God by the priest who has the duty for the day, and as he praises God he should at once make the sign of the venerable cross with the censer in front of the holy table; and you replying “Amen,” should immediately [sing] a *trisagion* together with the twentieth psalm and the usual *troparia* and the *Kyrie eleison*, taking care to keep together as far as is reasonable while these are being sung. The priest himself should go round all the divine church and cense everyone, and then, standing before the holy screen, when he has once more made the sign of the venerable cross with the censer, with the censuring he should offer up praise to the all-holy Trinity,**

speaking as follows, “Glory to the holy and consubstantial and life-giving Trinity always, now and always and for ever and ever.” After replying “Amen” the ecclesiarch should at once begin the six psalms, saying the words of the psalms in a low voice slowly, quietly, and carefully so that all may then be able to recite them without error or stumbling. Then after the completion of the six psalms, the whole office of matins should be celebrated as the *synaxarion* describes.

Such, then, is our pattern for your daily office which, moreover, ought to be performed with the admittance of neither addition, nor, in fact, subtraction of any sort. The hours of the great Lent, however, ought to be sung melodiously within the church, with the customary “Alleluia” and the readings.

Chapter 48

Advice and exhortation and soul-beneficial counsel to the superior at the time

Our spiritual father and brother in the Lord. The Word of God the Father, in addition to the other things with which he has benefited us, granted us this, too, [namely,] to be near the living even after death, and, though mortal by nature, to be almost immortal by the power of the spirit. In this respect writing certainly works wonders. Accordingly, I myself, too, even though I have already suffered death of the body, which is in accord with nature, and am covered by a tombstone, as you see, I am with you through this piece of writing and I use this as a mouthpiece and I offer it as the voice which I owe you. For I am not even left alone by the scripturally celebrated moth of the bones (Job 4:19, Is. 50:9, Matt. 6:19, Luke 12:33) that continuously stirs and incites me so as to write in brotherly manner once more in fuller detail and to suggest to you sincerely and affectionately some of the things that help [us] to please God.

I, the most pitiable of all men, am nudged to write not because [p. 301] I consider myself as knowing the ordinance of God more than you, whoever, in fact, you may be, but because I have been urged to this, that is to say, ordered, even if I am unworthy, by our master, the famed *mystikos* [George] of blessed memory, who has been mentioned in many places.³¹

Beloved one, truly great is the dignity of the guidance of souls and difficult to bear is the weight of the leadership of the brothers. For this reason it is necessary for him who has shouldered this to be continually sober and vigilant that he may not, having dozed a little while, be weighed down with the burden itself and be cast quickly to the very pit of destruction. For narrow and precipitous (cf. Matt. 7:14) is the road of life and the slight deviation from the center produces a destruction that is pitiable. For, according to one of the wise men, vices are annexed to virtues and are somehow very near.

It is necessary, therefore, inasmuch as the divine grace summoned you to this greatest and awesome and very rewarding ministry and rightly and fittingly has appointed you to the leadership of the brothers of our monastery of the famed among saints, holy Mamas, for you to arise and earnestly to entreat the Divinity by night and day to grant you pastoral skill and freedom from passions of soul and body and to clothe you with the breastplate of righteousness and truth in order that you may neither say nor, in fact, do anything in the state of passion.

For you must be angry without anger and dissemble the passions dispassionately for the ame-

lioration and benefaction of souls that are ill, and take up unto yourself the wars that invisibly come against the brothers from the Evil One, and have patience with their small-mindedness and weakness, and endure nobly their aberrations and their grumblings, and urge them with love and tender-heartedness to abstain from the soul-destroying deeds and the irregular and coarse habits, and most of all to live together with devoutness and discretion.

Even if, however, you see that some are disobedient to your words and choose to live indifferently, do not be discouraged or become remiss, but reprove and exhort and teach them the things that contribute to salvation. With genuine understanding do not give up admonishing some privately, each one individually, while others even openly. Do not think lightly of the things over which they perhaps demur and become angry whenever you give counsel; for double is the crown that you will receive in return, for teaching and advising the things that are proper and certainly also for not being distressed and irascibly disturbed over the things that they complain about loudly and are displeased. But if ever it will be necessary to be harsh, dispassionately you shall discipline and use astringent remedies, sometimes through punishments, sometimes through rather severe words, and sometimes by pretending to turn away and overlook.

For according to the variety of the passions and the degree of the faults you ought to apply also the correction, knowing this clearly that neither are all the ages equal, nor, indeed, the minds, and not the same bodily constitutions or habits or dispositions exist in all of them in the same manner. [p. 302] But neither are all the wars equal, but of those who practice asceticism one is tempted in this way while another in another way by the desires or the demons. Your good understanding must display paternal compassion equally to all and show mercy to all with an ardent and compassionate heart.

Let the lamp of discretion precede every injunction and order of yours to the brothers, and let everything that you ought to manage and accomplish and prescribe publicly or privately and recommend be adorned with discretion, and work at the thoughts of your soul which are for the general benefit with unerring scrutiny and thoughtful study and considerate judgment, not following your own will but rather in every way seeking after the common good. For, if you consider yourself entirely sagacious and abhor the advice of prudent men, you will easily be deceived and by the successive conflicting winds of the travails of self-reliance you will be like a reed being swung about here and there by violent winds.

Your piety must not make with your own hand the more particular payments, that is to say, disbursements, for the financial administration of the monastery and the brothers, for this is unworthy of a director of monks and a spiritual leader of souls.³² It befits us, according to the apostolic exhortation (cf. I Cor. 10:32), to “give no offense” to those on the outside and to remove, as it is possible, all excuse from which fault-seekers are able to find occasions for the calumination of our way of life, whom let us endeavor in all kinds of ways to ward off through our own irreproachable behavior. For from the latter we shall prove that we fulfill the Lord’s statement in the gospels, for he says, “Let your light shine before men” (that is to say, the shepherds and superiors) “that they may see your good works and glorify your Father who is in heaven” (Matt. 5:16).

For it is not possible, it is not possible for the superior’s reputation to be preserved unsullied in any other way unless he sees to it that all income and disbursement and payment be made

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openly and with the consent of the community and through the hands of others in accordance with his [own] instruction. For this reason, in fact, we suggest to you that the disbursements of the monastery no longer be made through yourself but that you count the sum of *nomismata* and give them to someone of the more devout brothers in order that all disbursement might be made by him with both your knowledge and order, as we have shown with fuller detail in the chapter concerning the treasurer of *nomismata*.³³

These things, as the time permitted, we have suggested to your piety, projecting our love to you in brotherly manner and in every way working at both your irreproachability and the brothers' peaceful way of life and progress towards virtue. As for you, most honorable father, having received a small reminder from us, proceed to add from your part the things that are lacking, but [do so] appropriately as well as continuously. For "Give to a wise man an opportunity and he will be wiser" (Prov. 9:9); and I, for my part, call wise one who has in his heart the fear of God, since, in fact, "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord" (Prov. 1:7).

These things are enough [p. 303] for your piety. Pray, however, for the sake of the Lord for me, who am in the darkness, who, have written, but not done. May the grace of our mankind-loving God and Savior, Jesus Christ, through the intercessions of our supremely holy Mistress, the Mother of God, and of the holy and glorious great martyr of Christ, Mamas, be with you and with us. Amen.

+ The Signatures

+ The present *typikon*, after it had been produced with our knowledge at the behest of the celebrated master of blessed memory and my full brother, the *mystikos*, lord George, by the most honorable superior of the venerable monastery of the holy great martyr Mamas, lord Athanasios, monk of the monastery of [Christ] *Philanthropos*, was signed also by me, as I am accustomed to sign, in the month of November, of the seventh indiction, in the year 6667 [= 1158 A.D.].

+ the *doulos* of the emperor, Theocharistos the Cappadocian.

+ I, Athanasios, the humble monk of the monastery of [Christ] *Philanthropos*, and lowly superior of the monastery of the holy great martyr Mamas, after I had set forth the present *typikon* by order of our celebrated, supremely glorious master of blessed memory and new builder of our monastery, lord George the Cappadocian, who through the monastic habit was renamed Gregory, as well as by the will of his now surviving supremely distinguished full brother, lord Theocharistos, who also has affixed his signature on it above with his own hand, signed it in the month of November of the seventh indiction, in the year 6667 [= 1158 A.D.].+

+ the lowly monk and steward from the same monastery, Gregory.

+ the lowly monk and ecclesiarch from the same monastery of the holy great martyr Mamas, Theodoretos.

+ the monk and priest from the same monastery of the holy great martyr Mamas, Sabbas.

+ the monk and priest from the same monastery, Kallinikos.

+ the other monk and priest Kallinikos.

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- + the monk and priest from the same monastery, Leontios.
 - + the monk and lowly deacon from the same holy monastery of the holy great martyr Mamas, Athanasios. [p. 304]
 - + I, Basil, the lowly monk and treasurer from the same monastery, affixed my signature with my own hand.
 - + the monk from the same monastery, Isaias.
 - + the monk and sacristan from the same monastery, Joseph.
 - + the lowly monk from the same monastery of Saint Mamas, Kyrillos.
 - + the lowly monk from the same monastery, Klemes.
 - + the lowly monk from the same monastery, Symeon.
 - + the lowly monk from the same monastery, Neophytos.
 - + the lowly monk, Antony, from the same monastery.
 - + the lowly monk, Nikephoros, from the same monastery.
 - + the lowly monk from the same monastery, George.
- Those who signed by the sign [of a cross]³⁴
- + Sign of the monk, Luke, from the same monastery.
 - + Sign of the monk, Hilarion, from the same monastery.
 - + Sign of Theodosios, monk from the same monastery.
 - + Sign of Meletios, monk, the vine-dresser from the same monastery.
 - + Sign of Basil, monk, the vine-dresser from the same monastery.
 - + Sign of Gerasimos, monk from the same monastery.
 - + Sign of Ioannikios, monk, the groom, from the same monastery.
 - + Sign of Meletios, monk, the baker, from the same monastery.
 - + Sign of Sabbas, monk, the gatekeeper, from the same monastery.
 - + Sign of the monk, Hilarion, the gardener, from the same monastery.
 - + The humble monk of the same monastery of the great holy martyr Mamas, Kyrillos, signed last.

[Judicial Confirmation]

It has also juridical confirmation which runs somewhat thus:

- + The present *typikon* ought to have validity and durability for all time and not to be altered or nullified by anyone, since we have made also a *semeioma* upon it in the month of January, of the

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twelfth indiction, in the year 6672 [= 1164 A.D.].

+ The quaestor and *nomophylax* Theodore Pantechnes. [p. 305]

Two bulls, which contain under them all the quires, have been suspended also outside the book sideways on the binding of the quires. Of these one belonged to the judge and reads as follows:

Seal of the writings of Theodore Pantechnes

While the other belonged to the most honorable monk, who is indicated within, lord Athanasios of the monastery of [Christ] *Philanthropos* and superior of the monastery, [of St. Mamas] and reads as follows:

Seal of the writings of monk Athanasios

This book, that is, the *typikon*, is covered with silk cloth and has nine silver clasps, eight almond-shaped studs and sixteen round bulls. Both of the latter are silver.+

[First *Semeioma*]

The *semeioma* that has been made for its confirmation reads as follows:

On Sunday, January fifth of the twelfth indiction, in the presence of lord Theophylaktos, the all-honorable archimandrite and superior of the venerable monastery of *Stoudios*; of lord John Dithetes, the supremely distinguished secretary of our mighty and holy emperor; of lord John Maurikas, the *kouropalates*; of lord Theodosios, the most honorable monk and steward of the monastery of *Stoudios*; of the monk Paul and priest [?] of the venerable monastery of the *Peribleptos*;³⁵ of the monk Theodoulos from the same monastery; of Akakios priest, Barnabas priest, Philaretos, Michael and Kyrillos, [monks] from the venerable monastery of *Stoudios*.

Having been summoned today to the venerable monastery of the renowned holy martyr Mamas, which is situated immediately opposite the cenobitic nunnery of Aristenai³⁶ and near the venerable monastery of Iasites,³⁷ we found assembled in the main church the most honorable monk and superior of the same monastery, lord Athanasios of the monastery of [Christ] *Philanthropos* and the monks under him, who also will be successively indicated by name.

The monks of the aforesaid monastery said, in the presence of their most honorable superior, that the monastery of Saint Mamas, which formerly was under the patriarchal jurisdiction, used to be given by the patriarchs at various times to various *charistikarioi*, the greater number of whom used to abuse the monastery as landed property and to seek nothing else but what they were going to gain from it, and there was no concern for the monastery and its affairs. For this reason, in fact, the fortunes of the monastery were reduced to naught. For not only had all of the monastery's buildings fallen down, the church alone having been left standing, and that even without a roof, but even the monks were reduced to two [p. 306] and the latter did not reside at the monastery but went about searching for their daily sustenance.

Finally the same monastery was entrusted to the celebrated *mystikos* of blessed memory, lord George the Cappadocian, as *charistikarios*, by the late celebrated patriarch, lord Kosmas [II Attikos (1146–47)]. Accordingly, when the *mystikos* had taken over the monastery's affairs and seen that

it had been reduced to complete desolation and that the monastery had almost lost its very being, he became moved by a divinely inspired zeal and desired to set right the monastery's affairs and to bring it to its former condition or even better.

Because, however, he had a suspicion, which was not an unreasonable fear, that perhaps after his death or even after that of his successor in the management of the monastery, the latter may fall again into the hands of a *charistikarios* like the former ones who would use the monastery as they did, seeking after its revenues but taking no care of the monastery, and might destroy the outlays that will be made by him, he went to the late patriarch, lord Nicholas [IV] Mouzalon [(1147–51)],³⁸ and sought to have the monastery made independent and released from the patriarchal rights, which, in fact, was done at the request of the supremely distinguished *mystikos*—the late patriarch having listened to him—and a memorandum was made for the independence of the monastery.

This foundation of its independence aroused the eagerness of the *mystikos*. Having, therefore, taken courage that from now on he was not going to spend in vain and that the improvements made by him were not going to come to naught, he proceeded with a more lavish hand to lay down almost his entire wealth for the restoration of the monastery and of the monastery's affairs, having used as a fellow-worker for this purpose also the present-day most honored superior of the same monastery. For he undertook the whole burden and did not spare himself, pressing himself with relentless toils for the monastery's preservation. Whereas the expense was being furnished by the *mystikos*, the care for its affairs and each particular concern was exerted through the agency of the superior. He supervised the affairs, not permitting the expenditures to be laid down in vain, but for each of the things that were being done the best was to be accomplished.

While, however, the buildings were being constructed and the monastery had not yet been completed, the celebrated *mystikos* of blessed memory died, having entrusted the monastery to God and to his celebrated, supremely distinguished full brother, lord Theocharistos the Cappadocian, and to the superior himself, and having prescribed that for the future its way of life and preservation and the *typikon* of the monastery (in conformity with which the affairs of the monastery and the monks in it are going to be administered) be established through the agency of the same superior.

After, however, the death of the *mystikos* more buildings than the previous ones were built and were more splendid. For both the refectory was erected from its foundations, a bath was constructed both for the comfort of the monks but also for producing an income for the monastery,³⁹ and not a few other new buildings were erected, [p. 307] worthy of wonder and sufficing to prove that God accepted the purpose and offering of the celebrated *mystikos* of blessed memory. For [otherwise] he would not have entrusted to such a man his affairs after his death.

The *typikon* too, accordingly, was made in the month of November of the seventh indiction, in the year 6667 [= 1158 A.D.], on which both the celebrated lord Theocharistos of blessed memory and the superior himself affixed their signatures. This *typikon*, therefore, was put into our hands by the monks, the superior himself, too, being present and acknowledging his personal signature. This *typikon* ran thus in its beginning: “An extraordinarily great and divine thing is a God-loving and charitable soul,” while at the end thus: “These things are enough for your piety. Pray, however, for the sake of the Lord for me, who am in the darkness, who, have written, but not

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done. May the grace of our mankind-loving God and Savior, Jesus Christ, through the intercessions of our supremely pure Mistress, the Mother of God, and of the holy and glorious great martyr, Mamas, be with you and with us. Amen.” All of the *typikon*'s folia were sixty-one.

At the end of the completed [*typikon*] the following was written:

The present *typikon*, after it had been produced with our knowledge at the behest of the celebrated master of blessed memory and my full brother *mystikos*, lord George, by the most honorable superior of the venerable monastery of the holy great martyr Mamas, the monk lord Athanasios of the monastery of [Christ] *Philanthropos*, was signed by me, as I am accustomed to sign, in the month of November of the seventh indiction, in the year 6667 [= 1158 A.D.].

+ the *doulos* of the emperor, Theocharistos the Cappadocian.

After his there is the signature of the superior which reads as follows:

I, Athanasios, the humble monk of the monastery of [Christ] *Philanthropos* and lowly superior [of the monastery] of the holy great martyr Mamas, after I had set forth the present *typikon* by order of our celebrated, most glorious master of blessed memory and new builder of our monastery, lord George the Cappadocian, who through the monastic habit was renamed Gregory, as well as by the wishes of his now surviving supremely distinguished full brother, lord Theocharistos, who also has affixed his signature above with his own hand, signed it in the month of November of the seventh indiction, in the year 6667 [= 1158 A.D.].

After them the monks from the same monastery signed it (the names of the monks who signed it are presented as they were written above).

This book was sealed with a leaden bull of the same superior, which has letters on each side, reading: Seal of the writings of monk Athanasios. [p. 308] Which *typikon* we, too, have sealed with our leaden seal, which reads on each side: Seal of the writings of Theodore Pantechnes. We signed also after the signature of the last monk, having confirmed this *typikon* in order that for the future, too, it may have inherent credibility, and having written before the signature that such a *typikon* ought to have validity and durability for all time and not to be altered or nullified by anyone, since we have made also a *semeioma* upon it.

Jointly all the monks along with the superior himself proclaimed that they wished this *typikon* to be preserved firm and immovable in perpetuity, and, as long as the universe exists, the affairs of the monastery are to be managed by [this *typikon*]. Those who, during the existence of the universe, would be superiors, stewards, and the rest of the monks are to conduct themselves in conformity with it. Whosoever should attempt to subvert any of the prescriptions of the *typikon* and proceed to oppose the latter is to be thenceforth expelled from the monastery, having recourse to no help on account of the fact that he opposed the decree of the founders; inasmuch as the *typikon* had been made by the aforesaid monk and superior at the behest of the *mystikos* [George], who, indeed, had urged that it be made through the agency of the superior, and with the consent of the supremely distinguished lord Theocharistos, who, indeed, had affixed his signature upon it. To this lord Theocharistos, the *mystikos* himself, too, of blessed memory⁴⁰ had entrusted the care and *ephoreia* of the monastery. Since, in fact, two of the monks of the monastery, the monk Isaias and the monk Kyrillos, were missing, a place was left for them according to their appropriate rank so

that they might affix their signatures, after they had returned, and none of the brothers might be left without having approved this *typikon* and having affixed their signatures.

After these things had been compiled and confirmed according to custom, they were delivered on the aforementioned month and indiction, in the year 6672 [= 1164 A.D.]. The signature:

+ the quaestor and *nomophylax*, Theodore Pantechnes. His customary leaden bull, too, was suspended.

+ I, the *protonotarios* and *megas logariastes*, signed the present copies of both the original *typikon* and the *semeioma* made according to the wishes of both the superior and the rest of the monks by the supremely distinguished quaestor after they had been collated with the original. +

+ I, Theodore Pantechnes, the quaestor and *nomophylax*, signed the present copies of both the *typikon* and the *semeioma* made by me, having at the same time collated them with the originals and having found them to be identical. + [p. 309]

+ I, John Manoutes, the judge of the *Velum*, signed the present copies of the original *typikon* and of the *semeioma* made according to the wishes of both the superior and the rest of the monks by the supremely distinguished quaestor after they were collated with the original. +

+ I, Thomas Aploucheir, the judge of the *Velum* and *epi ton hippodromon*, signed the present copies of both the original *typikon* and the *semeioma* made according to the wishes of both the most honorable superior and the rest of the monks by the supremely glorious quaestor after they were collated with the original. +

+ I, Leo Monasteriotes, the judge of the *Velum* and *tou hippodromou*, signed the present copies of both the original *typikon* and the *semeioma* made according to the wishes of both the most honorable superior and the rest of the monks by the supremely glorious quaestor after they had been collated with the originals. +

[Addition]

Addition after the deposition in the monastery of [Christ] *Philanthropos* of the original *typikon* and the original inventory.

Already some years ago I did set forth three identical copies of the *typikon* and three of the inventory, the latter also identical, of which the two originals, both the *typikon* and the inventory, I deposited together with the original rights of independence of the monastery at the venerable monastery of [Christ] *Philanthropos*. [I did this] with the knowledge of the protector of the monastery⁴¹ and the wishes of the superior and all the monks. A juridical *semeioma* also was produced at the time of their deposition, made by the *kouropalates* and judge, lord Basil Liparites, on the fifteenth of the month of March, in the present fourth indiction, which *semeioma*, of course, ought also to be appended to the present *typikon*.

I, therefore, advise and enjoin the fathers at the time and my brothers, both the superiors and the rest, to insist that the things that are contained in it which contribute to the advantage of the monastery and to its preservation be by all means done in accordance with the contents of the aforesaid *semeioma*. Let him however, who does not wish to do so, whoever, in fact, he may be, be subject to the curses that have been recorded in the *typikon*. For it is for this reason that the present

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addition also has been set forth by me in the month of April of the fourth indiction
[= 1171 A.D.]. +

+ I, Athanasios, the humble monk of the monastery of [Christ] *Philanthropos* and former superior of the monastery of the holy great martyr, Mamas, having set forth also the present addition, signed it. [p. 310]

[Second *Semeioma*]

+ Monday, the fifteenth of March of the fourth indiction. In the presence of lord George Pantechnes, Nicholas Exarchopoulos, and Eutybios Iberopoulos, the most honorable superior of the venerable monastery of Saint Mamas, lord Athanasios, accompanied by the monk and steward of the same monastery, lord Theophilos, and the monk and keeper of the store-houses, lord Isaias, summoned us today also to the venerable monastery of Christ *Philanthropos*, and in our presence and in the presence and hearing of the most saintly superior and treasurer of the same monastery, lord Isaias, the monk and priest, lord Theoktistos, the ecclesiarch lord Maximos, and the monk, lord Nikodemos, he [lord Athanasios] said that on the eighth day of this month, at the same monastery [of Christ *Philanthropos*], in our presence and in the presence of the most learned deacon of the Great Church of God, lord Constantine Ophrydas—representing the preeminent and *panyoikeiotatos* with our mighty and holy emperor, the *mystikos*,⁴² who is also the *ephoros* of his monastery of Saint Mamas—he gave to the sacristan of the same monastery of *Philanthropos* a box containing a chrysobull of our God-protected, most powerful and holy emperor, confirming the independence of the same monastery [of Saint Mamas]; a patriarchal *lysis*, pertaining to [the monastery's] independence, written in response to a memorandum by the *mystikos* of blessed memory, the lord George the Cappadocian; a patriarchal memorandum in favor of this independence; the inventory of the monastery and the *typikon* (both in book form) as well as a *semeioma* issued for this *typikon* by the now most glorious judge who was a quaestor at the time.⁴³

He gave this box to the same sacristan closed and sealed with a lead seal imprinted with the name of the same superior [Athanasios]. Upon giving this box to the [sacristan], [Athanasios] said that it must be deposited in the sacristy of the monastery [of *Philanthropos*] and that at no time at all should any or all of the enclosed titles be given either to the *ephoros* or to another party⁴⁴ from his monastery [of Saint Mamas], unless both parties representing the monastery and the *ephoros* were present. If, in an exigency, they are given out to either party in the presence of the other, as stated, after the elapse of three days they must be returned to the same monastery [of *Philanthropos*] and he who had taken them must not be permitted to retain them for more days.

At present [Athanasios] notifies also about this the most saintly superior and the aforementioned monks and through them the rest of the monks. For the security of the documents which were deposited, as stated, he adds the following, inasmuch as both the [superior] himself and the entire party of his monastery [of Saint Mamas] can be influenced:⁴⁵ [p. 311] even in the presence of the *ephoros*, the party of his monastery [of Saint Mamas] cannot otherwise take out one or several of the deposited documents, unless previously and in the presence of a judge, it hands over to the party of the monastery of *Philanthropos* the first and most important document pertaining to the properties of the monastery of Saint Mamas.

This document must remain in the aforementioned monastery [of *Philanthropos*] until that of the aforementioned documents which was taken out has been returned and deposited again in the presence of the same judge. When this will be done, when this [document] will be returned and deposited, the party of the monastery of Saint Mamas will be permitted again to take back the document of the same monastery which, as stated, had been given [as a guarantee] to the monastery of *Philanthropos*.

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The corrections of A. Sigalas (*EEBS* 7 [1930], pp. 399–405) and V. Laurent (*EO* 30 [1931], pp. 233–42) to S. Eustratiades' edition of the *typikon* have been tacitly incorporated in the translation.

1. For this office, see Paul Magdalino, "The Not-So-Secret Functions of the Mystikos," *REB* 42 (1984), 229–40.
2. Kosmas II Attikos (1146–47), identified below in the First *Semeioma*.
3. Nicholas IV Muzalon (1147–51), identified below in the First *Semeioma*.
4. For this foundation, see also Addition and Second *Semeioma* below, and Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 527–29.
5. Cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [69].
6. Cf. [37] below.
7. (27) *Kecharitomene* [11] has "with only the names changed," which makes better sense.
8. In [1] above.
9. As stated above in this chapter; so also in [15] below.
10. For these documents, see the Prologue above and the First *Semeioma* below.
11. The liturgical *typikon* of the *Evergetis* monastery, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 256–614, also endorsed below in [46], [47].
12. In [3] above.
13. Feast of the Annunciation, March 25.
14. Feast of the Discovery of the Head of St. John the Forerunner, February 24; feast of the Forty Martyrs, March 9.
15. Fast of the Holy Apostles, from Monday after the feast of All Saints (Sunday after Pentecost) through the vigil of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 28.
16. Fast of the Holy Nativity, from November 15 until Christmas.
17. On the Artzibourians, see (20) *Black Mountain* [55] and note.
18. The reference is to the heresy of the *Tetraditai*: see (20) *Black Mountain* and n. 68.
19. Feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God, August 15.
20. Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, September 14.
21. See also (34) *Machairas* [132] and the Pachomian *Praecepta* [73], [75], ed. A. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina* (Louvain, 1932), pp. 34–35.
22. (34) *Machairas* [133] is similar; see also the Pachomian *Praecepta* [97], ed. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina*, p. 40.
23. (28) *Pantokrator* [14] is similar.
24. In [5] above.
25. *exomonitai*; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [53].
26. In the First *Semeioma* below, there is a record of just such a bath having been constructed for the foundation.
27. *Thesaurus Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni*, ed. J. Mossay (Turnhout, 1990–91), p. 11.

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28. In the Prologue, [16] above and [40], [48], First *Semeioma* below.
29. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 28, PG 31, col. 1417C.
30. (22) *Evergetis* [18] adds here “in the Holy Spirit,” completing a scriptural quotation from Rom. 9:1. This is important to the understanding of the text, which does not refer to excommunication but to the superior’s sinful participation in the liturgy. The subsequent statement (ed. p. 295, lines 9–11) supports this interpretation.
31. In the Prologue, [16], [37], [40] above and the First *Semeioma* below.
32. See also (3) *Theodore Studites* [22] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [32].
33. In [10] above.
34. These are the illiterate monks.
35. The edition has *tou monachou Paulou kai monachou Papa tes sebasmiias mones tes Peribleptou*, which appears suspect. For the monastery of *Peribleptos*, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 51–52.
36. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 218–22; it is also mentioned in passing in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [108].
37. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 255–56.
38. For this patriarch, see Alexander Kazhdan, “Nicholas IV Mouzalon,” *ODB*, pp. 1467–68.
39. See [28] above.
40. Theocharistos has evidently died in the interval between the completion of the *typikon*, which he signed in November 1158 and the present document, dated to January 5, 1164.
41. Presumably a successor to Theocharistos the Cappadocian, who was deceased before 1164; possibly the *mystikos* Nikephoros, author of (33) *Heliou Bomon* if he was still alive in 1171.
42. As in the Addition above, this is a reference to an unknown successor of Theocharistos the Cappadocian.
43. For these documents, see the Prologue and the First *Semeioma* above.
44. *Meros*: a “party” in a legal transaction.
45. The edition has *hair[etos]*, while Sigalas (*EEBS* 7 [1930], p. 405) reads *haireit(ai)*. The alternative translation, “for both [the superior] himself and the entire party of his monastery are elected,” does not make sense in the present context. By taking extra precautions for the safety of the documents, Athanasios clearly shows in this case his fear that the monks of Saint Mamas might succumb in the future to pressure by the protector or any other authority seeking to deprive the monastery of its independence.

Document Notes

Prologue. The historical references to the monastery’s foundation are treated again with more specificity in the First *Semeioma* below.

- [1] Choice of the superior. A Subgroup B.2 chapter, shared previously with (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], cf. parallel treatment in (22) *Evergetis* [13]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1].
- [2] Removal of the superior. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [13]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [2] and (34) *Machairas* [88], [89], [90].
- [3] Role of the protector. A Group D chapter; minor sharing with only (27) *Kecharitomene* [3]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [3].
- [4] Independent and self-governing status. A Subgroup B.3 chapter, shared previously with both (22) *Evergetis* [12] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [1]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [4] and (34) *Machairas* [21].
- [5] Number of monks; voluntary entrance gifts inalienable. A Subgroup B.2 chapter, shared previously with (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], [7], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5] and (34) *Machairas* [59].
- [6] Installation ceremony for officials. A Subgroup B.2 chapter, shared previously with (27) *Kecharitomene* [18], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [29]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [6] and (34) *Machairas* [92].
- [7] Installation of the steward. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [13], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [14]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [7] and (34) *Machairas* [81].

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- [8] Duties of the ecclesiarch. A Group D chapter, shared previously only with (27) *Kecharitomene* [20]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [8] and (58) *Menoikeion* [4].
- [9] Duties of the sacristan and archivist. A Group D chapter, shared previously only with (27) *Kecharitomene* [19]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [9] and (58) *Menoikeion* [5].
- [10] Duties of the treasurer. A Group D chapter; minor sharing with only (27) *Kecharitomene* [24]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [10].
- [11] Duties of the cellarer. A Group D chapter; minor sharing with only (27) *Kecharitomene* [23]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [11] and (34) *Machairas* [96].
- [12] Duties of the gatekeeper. A Group D chapter, shared previously only with (27) *Kecharitomene* [29]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [12] and (58) *Menoikeion* [7].
- [13] Charity for poor monks and laymen. A Group A chapter, copied by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [13] and (58) *Menoikeion* [7].
- [14] Superior may appoint other officials. A Group C chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [39]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [14].
- [15] Preservation of the *typikon*. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [15].
- [16] Reading of the *typikon*. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [16] and (58) *Menoikeion* [9]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [43] and related documents.
- [17] Diet for non-fast days. A Subgroup B.3 chapter, shared previously with both (22) *Evergetis* [9] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [45], [46]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], (34) *Machairas* [61], [62] and (58) *Menoikeion* [8].
- [18] Diet during fasts. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [10], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [47]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18] and (34) *Machairas* [67], [68], [69], [70], [71], [72], [73], [76].
- [19] Diet to spite the Artzibourians; fellow-brethren to eat with other monks; blessing of the grapes. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19] and (34) *Machairas* [78], [79] (except for blessing). See other treatments of this diet in (20) *Black Mountain* [55], [90]; (28) *Pantokrator* [12]; (30) *Phoberos* [19]; and (36) *Blemmydes* [11].
- [20] No secret eating; superior's inspection of cells. A Subgroup B.2 chapter, shared previously with (27) *Kecharitomene* [49], [50], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [22], [27]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [20].
- [21] No absences from the office. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [21] and (34) *Machairas* [49]. See similar provision in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [80].
- [22] Length of the novitiate. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [37], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [30]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22] and (34) *Machairas* [55], [56], [57], [58], [60].
- [23] Exhortation to the officials. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [33], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [25]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [23] and (58) *Menoikeion* [10].
- [24] Demonstration of respect for the superior. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [24]. (28) *Pantokrator* [14] is very similar; see different treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [16] and related documents.
- [25] Maintenance of cenobitic life. See also [5] above. A Group D chapter, shared previously only with (27) *Kecharitomene* [55]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [25] and (34) *Machairas* [11].
- [26] No kelliotic monks or imposed guests. A Group D chapter; minor sharing with only (27) *Kecharitomene* [53]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26] and (58) *Menoikeion* [11].
- [27] No access for women or resident laymen. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [27]. See different treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [39] and related documents and in (28) *Pantokrator* [18].
- [28] Clothing and bathing allowances. A Group A chapter, copied later by (34) *Heliou Bomon* [28]. See different treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [25], [28] and related documents; (28) *Pantokrator* [15], [22]; and (31) *Areia* [T3], [T4].
- [29] Confession to the superior; exception. A Group A chapter, copied later by (34) *Heliou Bomon* [29]

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- and (58) *Menoikeion* [13]. See different treatment in (22) *Evergetis* [7], [15] and related documents, and in (28) *Pantokrator* [20].
- [30] Exhortation to confession. A Group C chapter, shared previously with (22) *Evergetis* [7]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [30] and (34) *Machairas* [51].
- [31] Offices of the third and sixth hours. See also [47] below. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [31] and (34) *Machairas* [35].
- [32] Reception of communion. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [5], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [33]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [32], (34) *Machairas* [36], [37], [38], [39] and (58) *Menoikeion* [16].
- [33] Maintenance of elderly monks. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [36]. See also the subsequent treatment of this issue in (55) *Athanasios I* [7].
- [34] Equality in food and drink; care of the sick; ban on servants. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [26], [41], [24]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [56], [57]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33] and (34) *Machairas* [87], [106], [107], [108].
- [35] No idle talking; no private possessions. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [21], [22]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [27]; and (30) *Phoberos* [39], [40], [41]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [34]; (34) *Machairas* [87], [113]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [17].
- [36] No arguments over precedence. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [9], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [42]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [35] and (34) *Machairas* [64].
- [37] Purpose of the inventory. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [37] and (34) *Machairas* [94].
- [38] Exhortation to the protector. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [38] and (34) *Machairas* [161].
- [39] Commemoration of deceased monks. A Subgroup B.2 chapter, shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [70]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [36]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [39] and (34) *Machairas* [157].
- [40] Commemoration of the founder and benefactors. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [36]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [70]. Copied later by (34) *Machairas* [156]; see also the analogous provision in (33) *Heliou Bomon* [50].
- [41] Why the *typikon* was composed. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [40] and (34) *Machairas* [162].
- [42] Instructions to the superior. See also [48] below. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [17]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [41], (34) *Machairas* [144] and (58) *Menoikeion* [19].
- [43] Instructions for a superior from another monastery. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [42]. See also the later treatment in (37) *Auxentios* [3].
- [44] Monks not to question superior; superior not to spend the monastery's wealth for friends or relatives. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [18]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [43] and (34) *Machairas* [145], [146].
- [45] No partiality in elections; hostility to privilege. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [14], [17]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [44] and (58) *Menoikeion* [18].
- [46] Final exhortation. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [42], [43]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [78]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45] and (34) *Machairas* [163], [166], [168].
- [47] Summary of the canonical hours. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, judging from the content of [46] above, an apparent later addition to the document, derived from (22) *Evergetis* [3], [4], [6], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [32], [33], [35], [36], [37], [38], [39]. Copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46] and (34) *Machairas* [30], [31], [32], [33], [34], [48].
- [48] Message to the superior. See also [42] above. A Group A chapter, copied later by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [47].

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Judicial Confirmation. This document of the quaestor and *nomophylax* Theodore Pantechnes is dated to January 1164, more than four years after the *typikon*, which is itself dated to November 1158.

First *Semeioma*. This document, referred to in the Judicial Confirmation above, is dated to January 5, 1164. It contains a more specific history of the foundation than that found in the Prologue above. It also describes the *typikon* itself, the signatures to it, and the seal of the author Athanasios Philanthropenos.

Addition. This brief document, dated to April 1171, serves to introduce the Second *Semeioma* below.

Second *Semeioma*. This document, dated to March 15, 1171, is a record of the provisions taken to assure the safekeeping of the *typikon*, the inventory, and the foundation's other important charters. See also other security provisions in (19) *Attaleiates* [40], (27) *Kecharitomene* [77], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [78].

33. *Heliou Bomon: Typikon* of Nikephoros *Mystikos* for the Monastery of the Mother of God *ton Heliou Bomon* or *Elegmon*

Date: 1162

Translator: Anastasius Bandy

Edition employed: Aleksei Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rykopisei*, vol. 1: *Typika*, pt. 1 (Kiev, 1895), pp. 715–69.

Manuscript: Patmos 265 (autograph)¹

Other translations: None

Institutional History

A. Prior History of the Foundation

The foundation was located just to the east of what is now the Turkish village of Kurşunlu on the south shore of the gulf of Gemlik, an extension of the Sea of Marmara, about 15 miles to the north of Bursa. Its curious attribute *ton Heliou Bomon* or “Altars of the Sun” may indicate a pagan use of the site in antiquity.² As Janin noted (*Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 142), the monastery’s double name in its twelfth-century *typikon*, *Heliou Bomon / ton Elegmon*, may indicate that there were two predecessor institutions. A monastery of *Elegmoi* is attested as early as 826, at which time its superior Antony and steward Basil make an appearance in the *Life* of St. Joannikios.³ The association of the monastery with Patriarch Methodios (843–847) is questionable, however.⁴ A certain Nicholas, brother of St. Eustratios, was the monastery’s director during the reign of Basil I (867–886). According to his *Life*, the saint was buried here for a time until his remains were removed to his own monastery on Mount Olympos.⁵ Patriarch Nicholas I *Mystikos* (901–907, 912–925) wrote a letter to one of its superiors.⁶

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, *Elegmoi* was used by the emperors as a place of imprisonment, often a sign that a particular foundation had become an imperial monastery. The individuals recorded as having been imprisoned here are the treasurer Anastasios, exiled there in 921 by Romanos I Lekapenos, and the deposed Emperor Michael V (1041–1042) in 1042.⁷ In between, Romanos Saronites, son-in-law of Romanos I, prudently retired here in 961 after the exposure of the conspiracy of Basil Peteinos against Romanos II (959–963).⁸ This suggests that *Elegmoi* was at one time the property of the Lekapenos family, and thereafter became an imperial foundation for the duration of the Macedonian dynasty.

B. Revival under Nikephoros the mystikos

This monastery was likely another of the many victims of the *charistike*. According to the Prologue of the monastery’s *typikon*, the foundation had lost its endowed properties and was in danger of becoming extinct when the document’s author, Nikephoros the *mystikos*, a courtier of Manuel

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I Komnenos, obtained *Heliou Bomon* as a grant through a patriarchal memorandum issued by Constantine IV Chliarinos (1154–57), countersigned by the emperor himself (cf. [4]). Nikephoros acquired [4], cf. [26] for *Heliou Bomon* the kelliotic monastery of St. Basianos in the Deuteron section of Constantinople. Books and sacred vessels belonging to the foundation that had been placed in Hagia Sophia for safekeeping were released [37] to Nikephoros. The emperor then contributed an imperial *solemnion* for the foundation's financial support. After undertaking considerable building on the site, likely including the surviving Komnenian church, Nikephoros surrounded the foundation with a perimeter wall for its security.

The patriarchal memorandum permitted Nikephoros to issue a *typikon* for the foundation, the present document, of which the autograph is preserved. As discussed below, the *typikon* is an exceptionally close copy of (32) *Mamas*. This suggests that Nikephoros was the protector of the Constantinopolitan monastery for which the latter document was written. Also, as at that foundation, the protectorate here is vested [2] in the office of the imperial *mystikos*. At a much later date, the *typikon* passed into the collection of the library of the monastery of Petra in Constantinople.⁹ It is now in the Patmos monastery. There is also a nineteenth-century copy in the Athonite monastery of Panteleemon.¹⁰

C. Subsequent History of the Foundation

A brief epitaphal inscription of Joachim, superior of *Elegmoi*, dated December 30, 1196, survived down to the late nineteenth century, when it was found by a peasant in the local cemetery.¹¹ In it, this superior is described as being archimandrite of the confederation of monasteries on Mount Olympos. Another epitaph, also now lost, was of Andronikos Kontostephanos, a Komnenian noble, dated February 23, 1209, who died as a monk at *Elegmoi* under the monastic name Antony.¹² In Palaiologan times, it had become a dependency of the monastery of the Mother of God *Peribleptos* in Constantinople. Hilarion, a monk of the latter foundation, was based at *Elegmoi* when, circa 1306, he undertook his noteworthy (and controversial) military defense of the local community against the Ottoman Turks.¹³

Perhaps the monastery was abandoned after the Ottoman occupation of neighboring Prousa (Bursa) in 1306, for it is unattested again until the seventeenth century, when Patriarch Paisios I granted it a patriarchal *stauropegion* or “charter of foundation” in 1652.¹⁴ By that time, an exclusively Greek village called Ligmous or Ligoumous, evidently recalling the *Elegmoi* monastery, had developed on an adjacent site. In 1803 and 1838, this community was prosperous enough to erect two additional churches utilizing many medieval *spolia*. Meanwhile, the monastery church was rededicated to St. Aberkios, and Chrysanthos Notaras, the orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem, met Meletios, the revived monastery's superior, in 1724.¹⁵ All these structures passed out of use in 1922, when the Greek community was forced to leave the area. The monastery church, in a ruined condition, survives, as do the two eighteenth-century churches, one of which is now employed as a private residence.¹⁶

Analysis

This document is another *typikon* for an independent monastery in the Evergetian reform tradition, as mediated by (32) *Mamas*, its model.

A. Model Typikon

The author of this document, Nikephoros *Mystikos*, may have been either a blood relative or a successor in office to the brothers George the Cappadocian and Theocharistos who served respectively as the new founder and first protector of the *Mamas* monastery. If so, this would explain the choice of that institution's *typikon*, (32) *Mamas*, as his model. In fact, (33) *Heliou Bomon* follows the text of (32) *Mamas* so closely that this *typikon* can serve as a witness in the manuscript tradition of the earlier document.¹⁷ Along with (11) *Ath. Rule*, it is the least original monastic *typikon* among our documents professedly by different authors.

Despite this very close textual dependence on (32) *Mamas*, our author provides no acknowledgement of his source. So stubborn is his reluctance that on several occasions [19], [29], [48] he feels compelled to allege his acquaintance with independent sources for matters he has actually learned about from (32) *Mamas*. Moreover, his dependence on (32) *Mamas* was not only literal but also structural. John, the author of (30) *Phoberos*, another close copier of an earlier model *typikon*, was careful to follow the structural order of (22) *Evergetis* as we know it today, though he readily interrupts it to insert his own or other materials. Other authors who utilized (22) *Evergetis* either directly or indirectly, such as Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene, the author of (27) *Kecharitomene*, Isaac Komnenos, the author of (29) *Kosmosoteira*, and Athanasios Philanthropenos, the author of (32) *Mamas*, happily rearranged materials found in their model to suit the order of their own *typika*. Our author here, however, preserves not only the order of his model (32) *Mamas* but even to a large extent the numeration of the model's chapters. He disturbs the parallelism in the numeration of the chapters only twice, once when he overlooks (32) *Mamas* [33], only to insert its content in his own [36], then a second time when he omits (32) *Mamas* [40] which is particular to its own document.

B. Value for the History of the Reform Movement

In addition to serving as a useful control on the minimal amount of changes that one might expect a new author to introduce into his own work from such a recent model, this *typikon* provides a view of the incremental development of the late reform tradition. For this purpose, both our author's additions to and subtractions from (32) *Mamas* need to be noted carefully.

Among the changes of note are: the restriction [1] of internal succession to the superiorship to officials and the "more eminent" monks; a willingness to consider [1] external candidates for the superiorship from a restricted geographical area; the substitution (in [8] and elsewhere) of the Studite *synaxarion* for that of *Evergetis*; a division (in [16] and elsewhere) of the community into "fathers" and "brothers," an unwillingness to tolerate [26] kelliotic monks, even in the dependency; an acknowledgement [49], cf. [45] of the increasing role of the emperor in providing financial support for this reformed institution; and a recognition [51] of the honors still due the original founders of revived institutions even after the long passage of time. These are less momentous changes than those between, say (22) *Evergetis* and (27) *Kecharitomene*, or between the latter and (32) *Mamas*, but they serve to show that certain changes were possible between two ideologically consistent *typika* separated in composition by no more than a decade.

C. Lives of the Monks

1. Number of Monks

As in (32) *Mamas* [5], there were to be [5] twenty monks in this foundation. This figure included, however, both monks at the main monastery and those at the dependency of St. Basianos ([4], cf. [48]), in Constantinople. As in the model *typikon*, the author welcomes the prospect of an increase in the number of monks due to better management or additional endowment of property. The author also alludes [16], [30], [44] to a division of the community into “fathers” and “brothers.” The latter may include the manual laborers [19] discussed below.

2. Liturgical Duties

As in (32) *Mamas* [5], two to three priests and two deacons were assigned [5] to the church for the performance of liturgical services. The prescriptions [31], [46] for services follow those in (32) *Mamas* [31], [47]. The one change of significance is the author’s requirement that his monks follow [8], cf. [45], [46] the Studite *synaxarion* (as opposed to that of *Evergetis*). There is also an original chapter [48] towards the end of the *typikon* that serves to regulate the patronal feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God as well as the feast of St. Basianos in the dependency.

3. Manual Labor

The incidental indications in (32) *Mamas* [23], [47] that manual labor was practiced reappear [23], [46] here. As in the model *typikon*, several of the monastery’s officials, a cellarer and an assistant (but no cook), are assigned to work in the kitchen [11] or at the gate [12]. Here at *Heliou Bomon*, fishermen and farmers (*georgoi*) are found [19] on the list of those who are entitled to eat meals with the rest of the monks in the refectory along with the gardeners and vine-dressers mentioned in (32) *Mamas* [19].

4. Length of the Novitiate

The author follows (32) *Mamas* [22] in setting [22] a novitiate of six months for “distinguished people” and two years for all others.

5. Sacramental Life

The provision [32] for the celebration of the liturgy four times a week and on feasts of the Lord follows (32) *Mamas*. As in the model *typikon*, the superior was to determine the appropriate frequency for his monks to receive communion. The author also endorses (32) *Mamas* [29]’s willingness to allow the monks to have a confessor other than their superior.

6. Cenobitic Lifestyle

In most particulars, the author endorses the Maman vision of cenobitic life, e.g., the unalterability of the cenobitic order [25], equality in food and drink [33], the bans on idle talking [34] and quarrels over seating [35]. He even retains [28] the cash payments for the monks’ baths and in lieu of communal distribution of clothing that are found in (32) *Mamas* [28], though he is careful to make the monastery’s farmers and fishermen eligible for the clothing allowance.

7. Servants Not Permitted

As in (32) *Mamas* [34], the monks are not permitted [33] to have personal servants or domestic workers.

8. Diet

The *typikon*'s dietary regulations [17], [18], [19] follow those in the equivalent chapters of (32) *Mamas* without significant changes.

9. Bathing

The author follows his model (32) *Mamas* [28] in providing and paying for [28] a once-a-month bath for his monks at a facility outside the monastery.

10. Care of Sick and Elderly Monks

The author includes (32) *Mamas* [33] in his *typikon* which provides [36] for the superior to designate someone to take care of the monastery's elderly monks. In including [33] the provision of (32) *Mamas* [34] for the admission of seriously ill monks to outside medical facilities, he makes this the responsibility of the superior himself.

11. Burial

The provisions for the burial of the monastery's monks and for their memorial services closely follow [39] those found in (32) *Mamas* [39], but allow for the performance of the canon for the dead at a monk's grave as well as in the outer narthex.

D. Constitutional Matters

1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

Like (32) *Mamas* [4], our author asserts [4] the independence of his foundation based on a patriarchal memorandum of Patriarch Constantine IV Chliarinos (1154–57) and an imperial chrysobull of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80). Either the patriarch or the emperor, most likely the former, granted the author the church of St. Basianos at Constantinople to serve as a dependency for the newly restored foundation. According to the *typikon*'s Prologue, the patriarchal memorandum also specifically authorized the author to issue a *typikon* that “treats of both the number of monks and the management and administration appropriate to them, and of all matters concerning the monastery.”

2. Responsibilities of the Protector

The author of this *typikon* followed the example of his model in instituting [3] a protective *ephoreia* for his foundation. The author implies that he himself is currently serving as the foundation's protector (*antilambanomenos*). After his death, the office would be inherited by the *mystikos* “whoever, in fact, he may be.” The description of the responsibilities of the protector indicates, as in (32) *Mamas* [3], that a role limited to lending assistance to the foundation was foreseen; his rights were also severely curtailed as in the model *typikon*.

3. The Election of the Superior

The prescriptions [1] for the election of the superior follow those in (32) *Mamas* [1] with only a few small changes. The superior is directed to make his nominations for the succession from among the officials and the “more eminent monks,” the latter a change of some significance from the model, which made any monk eligible. In the event that outside candidates were needed, the protector was to consider monks from institutions located on Mount Olympos, at the straits [the Hellespont], or at Constantinople.

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4. Role of the Superior

The author imports [24], [43] the authoritarian model for the monastery's superior found in (32) *Mamas* [24], [44], balanced by injunctions from the same source exhorting the superior to show paternal affection [41], [48] and not to use [43] the monastery's resources to do favors for friends and relatives. The sworn order to the superior from a different monastery (a *xenokourites*) found in (32) *Mamas* [43] is also reproduced [42], virtually verbatim. Likewise, the procedures [2] for the removal of the superior follow the model, (32) *Mamas* [2], with only the slightest changes, none of them consequential.

5. Other Officials of the Monastery

The officials here are the ecclesiarch [8], the sacristan and archivist [9], the treasurer [10], the cellarer and his assistant [11], and the gatekeeper [12], precisely as in the parallel chapters of (32) *Mamas*. The author follows (32) *Mamas* [14] in permitting [14] the superior to appoint monks to additional offices.

6. Patronal Privileges

As in (32) *Mamas* [3], the protector was to serve [3] without pay, receiving only daily liturgical commemoration while living and a listing in the diptychs after his death. The author omits the prescriptions for the founder's memorial rights found in (32) *Mamas* [40] and substitutes three chapters at the end of the document. These provide for commemoration for: the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos [49], the author himself [50], and the original founders of the monastery [51].

7. Reading of the *Typikon* and Security of Documents

The *typikon* was to be read every two months at mealtime as well as on the day of the author's commemoration, thus more frequently than in (32) *Mamas* [16]. In place of the elaborate precautions taken by Athanasios Philanthropenos for the preservation of the *typikon*, inventory, and other essential documents of the *Mamas* monastery (see (32) *Mamas*, Second *Semeioma*), our author here provides [37] that the originals of these documents were not to be taken from an unidentified depository monastery "without pressing need," and even then only after the issuance of a receipt from the borrowing authority. There is also a reference [9] to a cabinet to which both the superior and sacristan had keys (as in (32) *Mamas* [9]) in which copies of these documents were to be kept (cf. [37]).

E. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

The author simply adopts the procedures of (32) *Mamas* for financial administration, including endorsing the Studite separation of the superior from direct financial control [47], the prescriptions for installation of the steward [7] and other officials [6], and the post-Evergetian descriptions of duties for the ecclesiarch [8], sacristan [9], and treasurer [10], with only inconsequential changes.

2. Inalienability of Property

According to the *typikon*'s Prologue, the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos had assisted the author in recovering the foundation's movable and immovable properties after they had "become an object

of robbery” (perhaps by *charistikarioi*). The emperor then donated an imperial *solemnion* of a hundred *nomismata* to provide an additional dependable source of income. The author’s assertion [37] of the inalienability of the foundation’s movable and immovable properties follows his model in (32) *Mamas* [37].

3. Entrance Gift Not Mandatory

The author faithfully reproduces the language of his model (32) *Mamas* [22] in banning [22] the requirement of compulsory gifts from postulants and yet prohibiting [5] as “sacrilege” the removal of free-will gifts by monks who should later wish to leave the monastery.

4. Use of the Inventory

According to the prologue of the *typikon*, an inventory had been drawn up at the time the foundation was awarded to the author. Various sacred vessels, liturgical books, and other consecrated objects were among those listed [37] in this original inventory. At some point, this surviving movable property had been moved to the sacristy of the cathedral church of Hagia Sophia for safekeeping (cf. (24) *Christodoulos* [C6]). Upon the author’s assumption of the leadership of the foundation, these were returned to *Heliou Bomon*. Later, the author drew up [37] a new inventory, presumably including both the original objects and any additional donations of movable property (cf. (32) *Mamas* [37]) at the main monastery and at its dependency.

5. Other Sources of Income

The author adopts [5], [37] the optimistic attitude of his model (32) *Mamas* [5], [37] on the future growth of his foundation through additional donations of landed property and better management of existing assets. The omission of references to the burial of laymen within the monastery and the performance of commemorative services for them (cf. (32) *Mamas* [40], [27]), however, may signify a different attitude towards these common devices for increasing a foundation’s revenues.

F. Overall Philosophy

The author faithfully reproduces the results of his model’s refinements of the ideological legacy of (22) *Evergetis* on this subject: the superior can honor [35] clergymen as well as elderly and distinguished monks with preferential seating in the refectory; nobly born candidates and generous donors were not to rank [44] above other worthy candidates in elections for the superiorship; and the superior was not to spend [43] the monastery’s money to do favors for friends and relatives. To justify the penalty of excommunication employed to enforce this last provision the author cites the authority of “the divine and patristic decrees,” another testimony to the use of canon law to support a reformist ideology. He apparently declined, however, to consider granting [27] (cf. (32) *Mamas* [27]) prominent noblewomen exceptions from the usual ban on female access to the monastery.

The author endorses [26] the post-Evergetian hostility towards “imposed guests” (*katapemptoi*) and kelliotic monks (cf. (32) *Mamas* [26]). The author explicitly cites the authority of the patriarchal memorandum for his foundation’s exemption from the obligation to accept imposed guests. Unlike John II Komnenos, who in (28) *Pantokrator* [28] was willing to leave the kelliotic constitutions of his foundation’s dependent monasteries undisturbed, our author here some twenty-five

years later insists [26] that the kelliotic monks of his dependency at St. Basianos “change over to the cenobitic way of life for many reasons.”

G. External Relations

1. Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

Apparently the memorandum the author obtained from Patriarch Constantine IV Chliarinos establishing his foundation’s independence contained provisions similar to those in the memorandum issued by Patriarch Nicholas IV Muzalon a decade earlier for the Mamas monastery. As the author of (32) *Mamas* [1], [29] did earlier, our author here recognizes [1] the right of the patriarch to bless a new superior and acknowledges [29] the need for the patriarch’s permission for an unordained superior to hear the monks’ confessions. Also, unlike the author of (32) *Mamas* who cites authority conceded to him by the new founder, our author [47] credits the patriarch with giving him permission to draw up this *typikon*.

2. Institutional Philanthropy

This foundation does not exceed its model’s modest commitment to institutional philanthropy, which is essentially limited [13] to charitable distributions to monks and beggars at the monastery’s gate (cf. [39], [50]).

Notes on the Introduction

1. See Komines, *Patmian Codices*, p. 24, pl. 13.
2. See Mango, “St. Abercius,” pp. 173–74.
3. Halkin, *BHG* 935 and 936, ed. AASS, November, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 360A, 406A.
4. See Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 144, and Mango, “St. Abercius,” pp. 174–75.
5. Halkin, *BHG* 645, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta Hierosolymitikes Stachyologias*, vol. 4 (St. Petersburg, 1899), pp. 390, 397.
6. *Epistola* 141, ed. R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink, *Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople: Letters* (Washington, D.C., 1973), pp. 452–55 (with a different interpretation of the name of the monastery).
7. Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker, *CShB* (Bonn, 1838), p. 400; John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn (Berlin, 1973), p. 421.
8. Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Thurn, p. 251.
9. See Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 145, n. 6.
10. See Mango, “St. Abercius,” p. 172, n. 12.
11. Pargoire, “Notes d’*épigraphie*,” pp. 357–58, with Mango, “St. Abercius,” pp. 175–76.
12. Grégoire, “Kontostéphanes,” pp. 159–61; with Mango, “St. Abercius,” p. 176.
13. Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo*, ed. I. Bekker, *CShB*, vol. 2 (Bonn, 1835), p. 596.
14. Sathas, *MB*, vol. 3, p. 587.
15. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Hierosolymitike Bibliotheke*, vol. 4 (St. Petersburg, 1899), p. 202.
16. For details, see Mango, “St. Abercius,” pp. 169–72, with a ground plan of the monastic church.
17. Vitalien Laurent, “Remarques critiques sur le *typikon* de Saint-Mamas,” *EO* 30 (1931), p. 234.

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As noted above, this document utilizes very substantial portions of the text of (32) *Mamas*. Since (33) *Heliou Bomon* is such a highly derivative document, we have reversed our usual convention for bolding of shared text. For this document only, the author's original materials are presented in boldface type.

Translation

[Prologue]

***Typikon* of the venerable monastery of the supremely holy Mother of God of *Heliou Bomon*, that is to say, of *Elegmon*, which is situated in the regions of the East, in the theme of Opsikion, in the district of Katabolion. This [monastery] was formerly under the authority of the most holy Great Church but was made independent through a patriarchal memorandum, which was also confirmed on the reverse side by the imperial and divine hand and wax seal.**

This [*typikon*] was set forth at the will and pleasure of me, Nikephoros, who also obtained the [monastery's] independence and have been a *mystikos*, during the reign of the most devout and most fortunate and most valiant and God-crowned emperor, Lord Manuel Komnenos [(1143–1180)], who was Born-in-the-Purple. It presents a rule of conduct for those who are going to live in [the monastery] as monks and for all other conduct and way of life, so that both the principal monastery of *Elegmon* itself and its dependency, which is in the imperial city, and everything in it and under its jurisdiction may be governed and administered in accordance with the *typikon*, which was made in the month . . . , of the indiction . . . , in the year 6670 [= 1162 A.D.]. [p. 716]

Since this is not one of the things that are rejected in the sight of God, (namely), if anyone is found expressing gratitude before him and offers this acknowledgement as a painless gift in return for the great benefits he received, behold, I myself, too, with contrition of heart fall before him. I magnify his mighty deeds and am overwhelmed at the depths of his compassion. I glorify his goodness, I sing of the majesty of his glory, and in return for having

shown me mercy, I give him a grateful mind and this a sacrifice better than a young calf, and better than any other thing. I offer myself as a whole burnt-sacrifice in his presence.

For what of all things could anyone offer him, since all things are of his ownership and there is nothing that does not recognize it? Through my gratitude, therefore, I seek to obtain his mercy, and through my good-will, I invoke his love of humanity, and in return for the things that he has given me I demonstrate the fervor of my zeal by what is better and holier. For having chosen the most precious of all my possessions, I forthwith divest myself of it and dedicate it to the wholly laudable and ever-Virgin Mother of my Lord, Jesus Christ, on the one hand, for the eternal memorial of my masters and emperors, and, on the other, for the atonement and alleviation of the weight of my crimes. But to what end are these things and what does the preface of my account wish [to say]? The following will make this known.

This venerable monastery, which had been established in the name of the supremely pure Mistress and Mother of God and had been called by the surnames of *Heliou Bomon*, that is to say, of *Elegmon*, which is situated in this region of the East and in [the theme of] Opsikion, and in the district of *Katabolion*, long ago was renowned and distinguished; but in the course of time it grew old and was not only running the risk of giving at the knees but was about to fall on its face not before long, stricken with a blow affecting the whole body. Because of this there was a danger not only that its restoration would be hard to achieve but that it would almost cease to be called simply a dwelling place for monks, just as the inventory¹ that was made at the time of the delivery of its independence proves very clearly.

Because our soul grieved not slightly at its fall, we, too, decided to do everything in our power so as to help and restore [the monastery]. First of all, we procured for [the monastery], which was formerly subject to the most holy Great Church of God, its complete independence, like a secure foundation, through a memorandum of the late most holy and ecumenical patriarch, lord Constantine [IV] Chliarinos [(1154–57)],² which memorandum the imperial and [p. 717] divine hand also confirmed on the outside with the recording of the date in red letters and his customary wax seal. Then, after we had thus restored to it with the help and good-will of my master and emperor all of its movable and immovable possessions that had become an object of robbery by those who carry off other people's possessions, we added to it through an imperial and divine edict an annual *solemnion* of a hundred *trikephala nomismata* and rebuilt its parts that had collapsed and some we straightened.

But what is more, we raised up from their foundations, with no moderate expenditures, many other and very beautiful [buildings], and we placed around the principal monastery a very secure fence, by means of which we shut the side-entrances to the monastery that were easily accessible to those who wanted to pass through it with no good intent. [We] made a secure dwelling-place for monastic men out of this monastery that until our day remained well-nigh uninhabitable by men who were holy and served the Lord, but lay instead exposed to be trampled on by men who so willed and those who are not to be permitted. We also acquired its dependency in the imperial city and simply, by the good will of God, all the monastery's possessions underwent an alteration for the better, almost everything having become new in place of the old, and having had the wrinkle scraped off that had attached itself to them from time and neglect.

Since, however, we have been permitted by the patriarchal memorandum to set forth also a *typikon* in accordance with our pleasure that treats of both the number of the monks who are going to lead a monastic life in this monastery and the management and administration appropriate to them, and all the order, and simply of all matters concerning the monastery, behold, we declare this, too, and clearly present both our will and wish. It is as follows.

Chapter 1

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [1]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the installation of a superior

The choosing and installation of the superior must be discussed first. If the death of the superior then in office is expected and known in advance, all the community should go to him with all respect and reverence and the appropriate demeanor and to remind him to give thought to who should rule the monastery after him in a manner pleasing to God. He, on the other hand, like an affectionate father should by all means take care to leave behind to them as a paternal inheritance one who is worthy of exercising leadership since he has knowledge of the conduct and way of life of each of the monks. For he shall select by himself impartially, dispassionately and as though God, "Who searches the hearts and reins" (Ps. 7:9), were invisibly watching over his judgment three [members] from the whole brotherhood who more than the others are adorned with intellect and virtue [p. 718] and are recognized and acknowledged as wiser and more experienced for the governance of souls, such as may be found among all the officials or even the **more eminent** monks.

After he has both written down their names with his own hand on a paper and has sealed the latter in the presence of the leading men of the brotherhood, without the knowledge of those who have been selected, he shall deposit the paper in the sacristy **or another safe place**. After the departure to the Lord of him who holds the office of superior the paper shall be brought out and opened, and, when those who have been selected are made known to the brotherhood, the appointment of him who will hold the office of superior shall take place, just as the account will show more clearly, as it proceeds.

But if the superior should happen to depart from this life unexpectedly without giving any consideration to his successor or making anything known, then when the whole community has gathered by itself, it should make its choice; and, if all of them agree and are unanimous with regard to one, who is surely superior in both virtue and activity and reputation, there will be no need for the decision of the protector of the monastery except only that he, too, be informed of the matter. Furthermore, if all [the brothers] agree and are altogether pleased with one of the three [candidates] already selected by the superior, as stated above, the depositing of the pieces of paper on the holy altar is superfluous.

But if a rift should occur and a dispute arise among them concerning the choice, which I pray does not happen, with some [members] proposing this one, while others that one, in that case the selection concerning the three and the depositing of the pieces of paper on the holy altar will take place. Let the protector of the monastery have the liberty to resolve the arguments, favoring the judgment of the group that excels in virtue and spiritual life. But he shall always be careful to make his decision freely and dispassionately unless he wishes to see the Judge and Master of all

creation perversely influenced against him and [have] the **wholly undefiled and all-holy Mother and ever-Virgin Mother of God** as an opponent and antagonist on account of the fact that he, too, perhaps perverted justice by an unjust decision, a thing which I pray may not happen.

Both the choice of the three [candidates] who are about to be selected and their installation will be carried out in this manner. On three pieces of paper of the same size the following words will be written: [p. 719]

“Master, Lord Jesus Christ, our God, thou who knowest the hearts [of men], by the intercessions of our all-pure Lady, the Mother of God, reveal to us sinners whether thou hast judged our brother so-and-so worthy of the position of our superior.”

The same words [will] be written again on the other pieces of paper and the names of the three [candidates] inscribed on them.³ After the papers have been stamped with a seal—that of the protector if he is present, and in case he does not want to be or is somehow unable to be, by the seal of [a representative] whom the [protector] will assign by means of a written and signed statement—they will be placed on the holy table during vespers on Saturday or that of a feast of the Lord or that of the **feast of the Mother of God**, if it should occur at that time. A vigil shall be performed and a whole-hearted supplication with a contrite heart shall be made by you, my most venerable fathers, because the matter for which we make the supplication is important. On this hangs the maintenance of the monastery and, equally, its destruction, which I pray does not happen, and the hope of your salvation.

On the next day, after the divine liturgy has been celebrated and after its completion, while the priest is still clothed in his priestly vestments, the “*trisagion*” will be performed by you and these *troparia* will be sung: “Have mercy on us, Lord, have mercy,” “Glory,” “**O Lord, have mercy on us, for we trust in thee,**” “Lord, **Lord**, turn [to us] from heaven and behold **and visit this vine**” (Ps. 79 [80]:14), “Both now,” [and] “**Let us now fervently run to the Mother of God.**” The deacon will make an *ektenes*, declaiming after the other petitions this: “Again we beg that the Lord our God reveal to us the one worthy of our leadership.” You will respond, “*Kyrie eleison*,” thirty times and perform fifteen deep bows, saying to yourselves this also, while you raise your hands to God: “God, thou who knowest the hearts [of men], show to us sinners the one worthy of our leadership.” After these bows, when the priest himself has performed three similar bows before the holy table, and while still dressed in his priestly vestments, as we said, is repeating the same invocation, he will lift up one of the three pieces of paper. When it has been offered by the priest himself in the presence of the whole [p. 720] community to the one who placed his own seal upon it, he will recognize his own seal and the piece of paper will be opened, as all watch, and the owner of the name written on it will enter with the priest into the holy sanctuary with his head uncovered. Then, as our *typikon* and the staff are lying in the place before the holy altar, he [the superior-elect], after making three bows will take them, pondering and considering with himself from where he takes them and to whom he promises to protect them, and that angels are recording his promise, who are going to lead him to that fearful place of judgment to give account of the fulfillment of his promises.

After the whole brotherhood has responded “worthy,” he shall come out and stand in the place assigned to the superior, and everyone will offer him the divine greeting [with a kiss], and glory will be offered to God, and the dismissal will follow with the customary prayer of the priest.

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He will be your superior thereafter, whom you are to revere as a father, and have an obedient attitude towards him as the one appointed by God.

After this let all the brothers, taking him along, go up to the most holy ecumenical patriarch so that he may receive from the latter's holy right hand the *sphragis* and benediction of the office of superior in accordance with the contents of the memoranda that belong to the monastery. Let the same procedure be followed as well in the case of [a candidate] elected by common consent.

I pray, therefore, that there always be among you yourselves an abundance of those worthy of leadership, and that there will never fail to be such men in our monastery, but, whenever a need arises to appoint a superior, the selection can take place from the monks themselves who practice the religious life here. If, however, the wicked enemy, the originator of evil, who always envies the salvation of mankind, shall overpower your souls so much and make you so neglect your own salvation that no one may be found among you of attested virtue and learning and experience for the governance and leadership of souls—I trust by the mercy of my Christ who loves mankind **and of my literally and truly supremely holy Mistress and Mother of God** [p. 721] that such a thing may not ever occur—in that case of course we give permission to the protector of the monastery at the time with also the prompting and consent of the monks to discover from outside someone from another monastery, **either from those of Olympos or from those who are settled at the straits [the Hellespont] or even from the Queen of Cities [Constantinople] itself**, a man who is devout and approved for the office of superior and to install him in this office.

It is our wish, however, that he be appointed thus. If, indeed, two alone from the entire brotherhood in the monastery are found such as ought to be selected, in accordance with what has been said, and a third is missing, one [candidate] alone must be brought in from outside. Thus, after the three [names] have been recorded on the papers and the aforementioned procedure followed, he whom God should approve and reveal is to be preferred. If, on the other hand, one alone of all of you is manifestly worthy of selection, it is surely fitting to find the other two from elsewhere and to have them recorded and to have again the same procedure take place. If, however, the monastery lacks even the three—a thing which I pray may not happen—it is certainly necessary, even if the three are likewise selected from other monasteries and recorded, that you make the prescribed supplications and entreaties to God **who loves mankind and his all holy Mother** and thus appoint to the office of superior him who, in the former's discretion, is revealed as worthy.

Chapter 2

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [2]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the removal of an unsuitable holder of the office of superior

So much for that. The following matters, however, that are about to be discussed concerning him who, after our passing away, will be holding the office of superior **in the venerable monastery of my supremely holy Mother of God that is under our [authority]**, I did not wish to commit to writing, for it should not be necessary to remove from his position and rank someone who has previously been selected for it. This would be a pleasing and agreeable state of affairs if in fact our nature remained unchanged and unmoved, but that is impossible, for we repeatedly change and alter, such is human nature, and when we are thought worthy of honor we grow weaker with regard to the performance of good deeds, giving way to laziness in most cases, since author-

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ity has a habit of weakening those who have been elevated [p. 722] to it whereas they ought to demonstrate a greater struggle and diligence. We feign virtue at the start through the desire for the authority and the success it brings, then when we have gained it we are found to be still exactly what we were, like octopuses which when pursued by bigger fish take a tight hold of the rocks nearby and simply pretend that they are a rock, but whenever they escape the danger, they are recognizable as octopuses again, which in fact they were. For these reasons the matter must be committed to writing and punishment given as strongly as possible.

So, if the superior should continue unchanged, properly maintaining his virtue through which he was thought worthy of that rank, he will not be removed from his leadership but remain firm and **permanent**. But if time proves him to be unqualified and unsuitable, either because he has carried out his leadership of the brothers in a careless and indifferent manner or because he has been doing favors for his relatives or has been appropriating some of the monastery's property or has been betraying or subjecting the monastery's property to anyone's control or has been totally disregarding any of the instructions in the present rule and following his own wishes or clearly been involved in bodily passions, then for these reasons he has been proved unsuitable for the guiding of souls

If, then, though living so wickedly, he should ever take stock of himself and give up his evil ways and embark on the road that leads to higher things and salvation, let him stay and be your superior. But should he remain the same, and still not give up his evil ways but in fact indulge in them more widely, if you were unanimously agreed, having deliberated with the protector of the monastery concerning him, it is our wish that you remove that worthless man from the leadership over you, and that a selection and another vote and an appointment of another superior again be made in accordance with what has been prescribed above.⁴

If, however, the one removed from the office of superior should wish to stay in the monastery as one of the brothers, accorded the rank and seat of second to the superior, in the refectory I mean, and at the other gatherings, and to be submissive to the superior in all things and not to destroy the monastery's good order by being both troubled and troubling, let him be again in the monastery. If not, however, let him leave the latter and depart where, in fact, he wishes, especially if he happens to be from those who come from outside, in order that he may not become a cause of offense to the rest also.

Chapter 3

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [3]; differences in boldface]

Concerning those who have been appointed for the [monastery's] protection, that is, the protectors

Since one of the indispensable things **after my departure from life**, is for the monastery to have its [p. 723] protector in order that it may not become booty to those who wish to pillage other people's property, inasmuch as it is not being protected under some kind of shelter and security—a thing which, in fact, it has suffered even before—this is exactly what we have done for reason of the best management. It is **my** wish, therefore, **after my decease, as I said** (for, since **I am** a human being, **I** expect to die and pay the common debt of nature) that the supremely glorious *mystikos*, whoever in fact, he may be, will undertake the protection **and patronage of the monastery**, at the earnest supplication of the superior and the monks of the monastery, being called to

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this soul-beneficial service freely [and] without pay, for the sake of his soul's salvation and that alone, as we said. For what would he even want from it, except only an eternal commemoration?

None of those who have been entrusted with the protection of the monastery should use this as a reason for having control over any property in it, or pervert any of the provisions in this rule to the detriment of the monastery, or remove the superior, or enroll monks or introduce or expel them, or demand any accounts from either the superior or the steward or one of the monks in the matters they manage and look after or demand knowledge of the income and the expenditures, [p. 724] or try to get anything at all from the monastery or appropriate anything whatsoever.

He is only obliged to set right the harmful things that are sometimes done contrary to the tenor of **our present *typikon*** and, even to drive off, as much as he can those who are wont to display any insolent behavior in the monastery and to reconcile the monks and the superior whenever they happen to be at variance. For the foregoing reasons it will be enough for them [the protectors] to be commemorated in the monastery three times each day and after their deaths for their names to be inscribed in the sacred diptychs.

Chapter 4

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [4]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the fact that the monastery is self-governing

Since the monastery received the good fortune of independence of all kinds through a patriarchal memorandum and through a divine and imperial chrysobull,⁵ **which was also confirmed on its reverse side by the imperial divine hand**, it should be, in accordance with their contents, independent and under its own control and above all mastery and lordship, and no one at all should have any right or privilege in respect of it, but it should remain independent in every way, separate and in control of itself, and be administered in accordance with the regulations that have been expressly laid down in the present *typikon*, being subjected neither to imperial or ecclesiastic or personal rights nor assigned as a gift or *epidosis* or for reasons of *ephoreia*, stewardship or superintendence or for any other reason to any kind of person whatsoever or monastery or holy house or some other bureau but it is to remain forever only under the authority of the mankind-loving God alone and **her who conceived him without human seed, our wholly unblemished Mistress, Holy Virgin and Mother of God**, to whom it has in fact been dedicated, and it should be governed by the superior in it at the time and to be administered in accordance with the regulation of the present *typikon*.

It shall rule itself and acknowledge as master the Virgin and Mother of God, who is more glorious than the cherubim, and in no way have anyone control it but rather it shall itself have authority over its dependency of St. Basianos,⁶ which is in the Great City, and all the things that are both in it and under its authority.

But if anyone ever at any time and in any way wishes to gain control of it [p. 725] and to set it under the authority of someone else, whether he be an emperor, or a patriarch, or some other member of the clergy or of the senate, or the superior himself, or its steward, or simply anyone of the brothers in it, prompted by an attack of the devil, not only will he be held responsible for the divine body and blood of our God and Savior Jesus Christ, but he will be also accursed, just as the holy apostle says (Gal. 1:8), and subject to the curse of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers

and share the lot of the betrayer Judas and be numbered along with those who cried aloud “Away with him, away with him, crucify him” (John 19:15) and “His blood upon us and upon our children” (Matt. 27:25).

Chapter 5

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [5]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the fact that the monks must pursue a cenobitic way of life; and concerning their number; and that they must be tonsured gratuitously; and that all the monastery’s movable and immovable possessions must be inalienable; and concerning the fact that it must accept the things that are offered to it with a purpose dear to God

It is right that something be said more clearly and briefly next concerning the way of life and the number of the monks and their whole organization in the monastery. Accordingly, the monks **in both the principal monastery, which is honored in the name of our supremely glorious Mistress and Mother of God, and its dependency in the imperial city**, shall be twenty in number. They ought continually to attend to the service of the church and to the duties inside and outside the monastery. Of them, however, let there be of necessity two or even three priests and two deacons, but, if there should be even more, thanks be to God. Yet, if—a thing for which we pray—the Lord God should grant that others, too, come to the monastery on account of the moral excellence of those who practice asceticism in it and the observance of the cenobitic way of life, and if he should supply also the necessary things for self-sufficiency either from the things that the monastery possesses, through the superiors’ careful management, or also from the things that some Christ-loving individuals will dedicate to it, as we believe [that they will], so as to be sufficient for even more, a larger number of monks shall not be prohibited as long as the superior should wish it and there should be a capacity of cells in the monastery.

We wish that those who enter should be accepted and have their hair cut [p. 726] and be counted in the aforesaid number of monks without any gift. If one of them were to wish of his own free will to offer something of his own possessions, whether the offering is of movable or immovable property, it will be accepted. For what is offered in faith as a dedication to God and **his wholly unblemished Mother**, is going to be for the maintenance of the monastery and to commemorate and help the soul of the giver ought not to be rejected.

But if, tempted by demons, he ever tries to leave the monastery—there are many examples of fickleness—and wishes to take back what he has given, it must not be given to him whatever it happens to be. For what has once been dedicated to God cannot be taken away, and the person who takes it away is sacrilegious and everyone knows, even if we do not say it, what sort of penalty sacrilege carries.

So whoever makes an offering of private movable or immovable property should read the preceding words here, and if he makes his offering with a free motive pleasing to God, with no intention of getting it back later, then indeed his gift should be accepted and dedicated to God and **his wholly undefiled Mother**, by whom he will be indeed properly recompensed with the reward of his faith. All the things that have been set apart or will be set apart for the monastery or in any way whatsoever will accrue to it, not only immovable but also movable, are to remain with it inalienable. They are not to be given away as gifts, not to be exchanged, not to be alienated in any way whatsoever.

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For it is downright sacrilege to do any such thing or to accept it when it has been done, and he who has done such a thing or has tolerated it will render an account for this on the frightful day of judgment, finding also Christ himself, the master of the things that are alienated, an unsympathetic and just Judge, and **his supremely glorious Mother, and Mother of God**, a formidable adversary in both the present and the future life, even if twofold or threefold is that which is given in place of the thing that is alienated. Thus the alienation of the things that have been dedicated will be altogether forbidden.

Chapter 6

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [6]; differences in boldface]

Concerning how the installations of the officials must be made

The superior will be the one carrying out both the selection and the installation of all the officials of the monastery, selecting and installing by his own decision. For he shall install by all means those who excel the rest in both virtue and [p. 727] competence for the performance of their office. Whenever it is necessary for anyone to be installed to whatever sort of office, the keys will be placed in front of the holy sanctuary, and, after the *trisaqion* has been completed, the one set apart for the office will approach, genuflect three times, receive the keys, and after this will bow his bared head to the superior, and the latter shall make the sign of the cross over him, saying, “The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, **through the intercessions of the supremely holy Mother of God**, installs you.” However, in the case of the offices for which there are no keys, the *sphragis* by the superior and the words that are spoken in connection with it will be enough for the installation so that [each] may know from where he is receiving his office and in what way he promises to manage it.

Chapter 7

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [7]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the installation of the steward

The steward of the monastery also shall be installed by the superior, one who is superior in virtue and activity and esteem. He who has been selected, as I have stated, having approached the superior and having performed the proper obeisance to him, shall offer him his head uncovered; and he, should make the sign of the cross over him with his hand and say, “The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, through the intercessions of the **supremely holy Mother of God**, installs you steward of this monastery.” Then, when he has given him the sacred kiss, he is to set him up in the [appropriate] place for the steward, and all the brotherhood, one after the other, will kiss him. After the kiss, the priest shall recite the customary prayer, and the dismissal of the congregation will take place. He, indeed, who has been installed for the purpose of executing the function of steward shall carry out all the affairs of the monastery, just as he should be instructed by the superior, and he shall do nothing without the latter’s knowledge and order.

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Chapter 8

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [8]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the ecclesiarch

The ecclesiarch moreover, being appointed by the superior, will be whoever seems to him fit and suitable for this office, receiving from the sacristan at the time of his appointment an inventory with everything that should be used in the church of the monastery, and at the proper time other things suitable for daily use or for use during the feasts. He will look after the customary decoration of the church, and he should look after the orderly condition of the church during the singing of psalms as is customary for [p. 728] ecclesiarchs. The office, however, ought to be sung in accordance with the *Studite synaxarion*,⁷ **which is sung at the present time**. The aforesaid person ought to keep also the box with the *nomismata* that are received and paid out, as will be made clear later on in fuller detail.

Chapter 9

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [9]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the appointment of the sacristan and keeper of archives and his office

I wish there to be a sacristan in the monastery who must guard the sacred vessels and liturgical cloths, and think worthy of every kind of care the things handed to him in a written and reliable inventory of transfer. This official must hand over to the ecclesiarch for the service of the church both the things for daily use and the things used in the feasts, and when it is time, receive these back again from him and guard them; and the things surplus to requirements he must keep in the sacristy shut up and sealed by the superior, and he is required to hand back everything that has been entrusted to him whenever he is moved from this office according to the inventory of transfer made out for it. For it is within the power of the superior to remove and change those who hold office in the manner described. For it is just to leave unchanged those who have been appointed to each of the offices while they are performing them in a careful and devout manner, but those who neglect or despise them, and perhaps even behave deceitfully in them, should be removed and others appointed. If one of these people happens to appropriate something, anything at all, he will be responsible to God and **his wholly undefiled Mother**, from whom in fact he received the keys **of office**.

The same person will not only be sacristan but also archivist, receiving all the papers containing the rights of ownership of the monastery, and will guard these, thinking them worthy of every kind of care and when a need for some document occurs, on the instruction of the superior he will bring out the required document and hand it over. When a few days have passed after this, he will remind the superior, and recall the document that was taken out, as [p. 729] has been described, and will not allow it to be lost. [The cabinet], **however, in which the documents pertaining to the rights** [of the monastery] **are deposited must also be kept closed and sealed by both the superior and** [the sacristan], **as I have stated above**, so that the one may not be able to open it without the other.

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Chapter 10

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [10]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the treasurer of the *nomismata*

We must speak about the keeping and listing of monetary income and expenditure. For it is our wish that there be a box that is secured, in which ought to be deposited the *nomismata* that are collected from any source whatsoever and of whatever quality they may be, as well as the notes that are issued for their receipt and disbursement, in the presence of the superior, the steward, the ecclesiarch, and the sacristan. After these have been deposited, let this box be sealed by the superior and the aforesaid [officials]. The superior, however, shall take out from it a sum of *nomismata* in the presence of the aforesaid monks and shall hand this over to the treasurer for the monastery's daily expenses, and they should note this sum in the ledger of disbursement that should always be in the box. The treasurer, however, shall make another detailed note of the disbursement of the *nomismata*, which note, the one issued by the treasurer that is, ought to be shown twice a week to the superior and recorded in order that he may keep fresh in mind the disbursement as it proceeds. After all of the *nomismata* that he will already have received have been spent, let the total disbursement be read from the beginning in the presence of the superior and the aforesaid monks and let it be computed by the superior. Then in the same manner other *nomismata* shall be turned over to him, the box being opened in accordance with the aforesaid observance, and thus it shall be done continuously. Other *nomismata*, however, shall not be taken out of the box unless beforehand the treasurer hands over the account-book of disbursement and gives an account of what he received and spent.

Chapter 11

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [11]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the official who takes in and issues the food, that is, the cellarer

Likewise [it is our wish that there be] also [p. 730] an official who takes in and issues all food and drink in the monastery, whom, in fact, we call cellarer. Besides that, he must receive all the crops and legumes and issue them on the instruction of the superior, and take care of these in every way, so that they are not perhaps ruined by neglect. The aforesaid ought to see also to the preparation and care of the table of the monks, as well as the kitchen, being obliged to have under his authority **also another [monk] working along with him.**

All the food shall be served to the brothers **equally, from the first down to the last.** The olive oil he ought to get, of course, every month from him who closely guards it. For no one even from the ranks of all the officials ought to lay claim to the olive oil, the wax, and the incense under the pretext that these belong to his office, but he shall be authorized to guard them whom the superior should commission either from the ranks of the officials or from the ranks of the ordinary [monks].

Chapter 12

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [12]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the gatekeeper

Furthermore, the superior must appoint the one who is to hold the keys of the gate, whom we

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call the gatekeeper, whose responsibility it will be not to open the gate at all without the permission of the superior and to see to it that people do not enter or leave the monastery without the knowledge of the superior. The one appointed to this office must be devout and already inclining towards old age and by the testimony of the whole community a person of godly life. Each evening he will bring the keys to the superior, and he will not see those who have come to see him [personally] without the permission of the superior, but with his permission he will see them in whatever way is permitted.

Chapter 13

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [13]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the poor, both monks and laymen, who come to the gate of the monastery

It is also likely that some of our brothers in Christ, the poor, will come to the gate of the monastery because of want. Since it is impossible for all of them to be brought in within the monastery, let the gatekeeper at the time, [p. 731] who ought to be altogether devout and blameless, as we said above, have it in his power to go to the cellarer and get bread and give it to the beggar without hesitation and complaint in order that he himself may not suffer judgment. If, however, the beggar is a monk, let also wine be given to him, as well as fish or cheese or anything else. But also, after the brothers have taken their meal, let the leftover cooked food be given, also, by the aforesaid gatekeeper, to the poor who are found at the gate in order that, through your cheerful charity to our brothers and sharing, you, too, may receive in return cheerful and abundant mercy from God. For it is our preference that not even one beggar turn away from the gate with empty hands, and **it is my wish** that the gatekeeper at the time observe this continually **in order that he may not bear the judgment, as I have said.**

Chapter 14

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [14]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the fact that the superior has it in his power to appoint also other officials

Regarding other offices, too, which the other monasteries usually have, I wish people to be appointed to them in the monastery as the occasion demands, if the monastery should perhaps expand by the will of God and there is an urgent need. Our wish concerning these matters, and our approbation and counsel and injunction, must be inviolate and immutable, since they are for your advantage and soul's salvation and security and everyone's tranquility.

Chapter 15

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [15]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the fact that all the things that have been explicitly stated in the present *typikon* must remain immutable and unchangeable forever

For surely the present *typikon* shall remain permanent and inviolate forever, not admitting of any addition, or subtraction, or of alteration. For it is our wish that any of the things that have been prescribed in it never be transgressed by you or admit of any alteration or change by anyone whatsoever, even if far better ordinances and regulations should be introduced either by the supe-

rior himself or by the protector of the monastery, **even if they perhaps seem to have in view the [monastery's] benefit.** [p. 732]

Chapter 16

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [16]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the reading of the present *typikon* at the refectory for all to hear

In addition to everything this, too, must be observed no less than the other things, if not even more, as both the source and reason for the unabated observance of the things that have been prescribed and utter strengthening of the monastery. Let the *typikon* be read, therefore, so as to be listened to by all the members of the monastery **six** times a year, that is, every **two** months. Beyond **these** let it be read also on my commemoration on the day on which I shall depart from the body, in order that, by the continuous reading of it, the things that have been prescribed may be more permanent and indelible.

This, of course, you must observe most carefully, not as our legislations, but as divine laws that are inviolable and unchangeable, and not only must you, **my fathers and brothers**, not be disheartened or vexed with such precepts and admonitions but reasonably even rejoice and exult because, having been relieved from all concern, you will have one undistracted occupation, [namely,] the concern and care for your soul's salvation.

Chapter 17

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [17]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the procedure and order to be followed at the refectory and concerning the food of the monks on the ordinary days and concerning the three fasts

It should be the right time to mention the table and food and the other things that supply nourishment to the body. For neither will the soul ever be well without the latter's suitable nourishments, I mean prayer and chanting and reading of the sacred scriptures, nor, indeed, will the body be sustained or would render assistance to the [soul's] divine ministrations without the things that are of necessity useful to it. Therefore, after the customary collation has taken place **in the holy church, after completion of the divine liturgy**, all should gather and sit waiting for the summons to the table which is given by the striking of the semantron. When the semantron has been struck, then beginning [to recite] the customary psalm audibly, walk to the refectory, [p. 733] that is the superior and all those without exception who have been instructed to sit down at the table during the first sitting. Then entering the refectory and completing the aforementioned psalm and the short prayer that accompanies it, they should sit down in the order laid down by the superior and gratefully partake of what has been set before them.

Moreover, the reading from the sacred scriptures must take place during the meals, as ordered by the superior, with no one making a noise nor causing a disturbance nor destroying the benefit which comes from that with worldly conversations and idle chatter. The superior only may speak sparingly if he wishes and perhaps the one asked by him may answer similarly in a few brief phrases, if possible. When, however, the superior is not present, prevented perhaps by weakness of the body or even some other reason, the steward in his stead shall fulfill the things that ought to be done by him. If the latter is not present, the ecclesiarch shall fulfill these duties.

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So then, after the monks have got up from the table, there should be a second sitting of loaves and courses set out, whatever has been set out for the first sitting, and those who served should eat.

At the midday meal on the ordinary day your food will be on Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday two dishes, and sometimes even three, of fish and cheese and legumes, as the superior should order; while on Monday two [dishes] of legumes cooked with olive oil, and on Wednesday and Friday two dishes of legumes, also cooked with olive oil, and similar vegetables, as the superior should order.

If, however, they wish **to keep [the fast]** for the sake of [strict adherence] to the canons let them eat dry food these two days, especially, if not “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) but “Alleluia” should be sung. Let them also drink wine, because of their weakness, [distributed] with the customary measure of wine. If, on the other hand, a feast of the Lord **or even that of the supremely holy Mother of God** occurs also on these [days], I mean Wednesday and Friday, let them eat fish, too, and unless there should be a refreshment [offered] by others, the superior himself should take care of this. Your drink on all the ordinary days will be of the larger measure. Whenever the superior decides and especially on the feast days and the commemorations, let also the customary blessing [treat of wine] be given. [p. 734] However, at supper on the same days bread and vegetables and fruits that are in season or any other thing will be set out for you at the discretion of the superior; and the drink will be distributed with the larger measure in accordance with the rule.

Chapter 18

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [18]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the food of the monks during the three fasts

While such is the case on the ordinary days of the year, that is not the procedure during the holy fast days and especially during the first and greatest fast, on the first day of which, that is, the Monday of the first week, the liturgy should not be celebrated nor should care be taken with the table or food. However, on the subsequent days of the same week attention should be paid to the table, and whoever chooses should partake of food. This will be composed of legumes soaked in water and perhaps some raw vegetables and fruits, and the drink will be wine, distributed with the half measure. For, since those who chant are very few and the office is long, if they drink water only, they would be able neither to chant more sonorously nor, indeed, perform more easily the continuous bending of the knees and for this reason there is need for a moderate concession even if it is contrary to the standards of the sacred canons. This shall be the case up to Saturday; for on this [day] one must eat boiled vegetables and shellfish, even twice a day, and drink with the customary large measure of wine. But if a refreshment is provided by someone of the Christ-loving persons, you shall be feasted also with fish.⁸

That way you should carry out the first week of the holy and great Lent, whereas on all the Saturdays and the Sundays of the same holy fast two or three cooked dishes with olive oil should be set out for you and for your drink the customary large measure of wine should be distributed. The same thing should take place also on Wednesday in the middle of Lent and on the Thursday of the great canon. But on Tuesdays, however, [you must eat] boiled beans, black olives, and other such things; and on Thursdays two cooked dishes, both containing olive oil, will be set out for

you. Whereas on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, [you shall eat] legumes soaked in water and raw vegetables, and, moreover, walnuts and dried figs and other such things; [p. 735] the drink, certainly, throughout the whole week, apart from Saturday and Sunday, ought to be given with the customary two-thirds.

But if the commemoration of the discovery of the precious head of [St. John the] Forerunner or of the feast of the Annunciation⁹ should happen to fall on Tuesday or Thursday or Saturday or Sunday [you] must be feasted with fish and be given a share of wine measured out with the larger measure.

If, on the other hand, the commemoration of the holy Forty Martyrs¹⁰ should happen to fall on the aforementioned days, you shall be feasted with shellfish and the wine shall be [distributed] with the larger measure. Therefore, throughout all the other days of the holy Lent you will not be allowed at all to eat fish, unless a refreshment perhaps should be sent by some Christ-loving person on Saturday or Sunday.

When the feast of the Annunciation falls, you should celebrate it as splendidly as possible, partaking of fish provided by the monastery and drinking wine of the larger measure. You will eat fish during this holy feast, as has been said, if it does not fall during the great holy week. For at that time you will use only shellfish, and receive a refreshment because of the feast since for three days of that week—that is Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday—it is right to live content with some legumes soaked in water, raw vegetables, fruits that happen to be at hand, and you shall drink also half a measure of wine on account of your fatigue.

If, however, [it should fall] either on Holy Wednesday or on Good Friday or even on Holy Saturday itself, on Holy Wednesday and on Good Friday you shall be satisfied with boiled legumes and vegetables with olive oil and you shall partake also of wine with the greater measure, but, if on Holy Saturday, let all anxiety that produces distraction be absent; for you shall not break the fast of Holy Saturday because of the feast [of the Annunciation].

In accordance with the ecclesiastical canons, we have been taught to fast from everything on [Holy Saturday] alone, and we must especially observe the regulations of the divine fathers. On Holy Thursday, therefore, when we do not celebrate the Annunciation, eating will be as on Thursdays of the other weeks of Lent and the wine shall be [given out] with the larger measure.

On Good Friday, however, unless the aforementioned feast occurs [on it], no cooking is to be done at all, but you are to partake of some raw vegetables and fruits, and wine distributed with the larger measure because of your weariness from the vigil.

On Holy and great Saturday there should be only a collation in accordance with the traditional custom. [The monks], however, will enter the refectory for the sake of quietude and have a collation there in accordance with the traditional form and custom, even if [p. 736] the feast of our wholly undefiled Mistress and Mother of God should occur [on it].

In this manner your diet for the period of the holy and great Lent should be kept, though care should be shown to the sick at the discretion of the superior. On the aforesaid holy great fast, however, apart from a great emergency, the monks should not go out of the monastery at all except the officials alone.

The procedure for the fast of the Holy Apostles¹¹ will be laid down immediately next. After the completion of the whole canonical office of the hours and the divine liturgy as the *synaxarion*

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prescribes in detail, you should be summoned to the refectory at the seventh hour in accordance with the rule laid down above, at which on Tuesday and Thursday two or three dishes cooked with olive oil shall be served and wine will be drunk of the larger measure. On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays let them eat dry food and let wine be given with the larger measure. Let the superior, however, have it in his power to provide refreshments and concessions whenever, in fact, he wishes. On Saturdays and Sundays, on the other hand, let them partake also of fish supplied from the house, unless a refreshment should be provided by someone, and on all these days, even on Wednesdays and Fridays themselves, the wine, too, shall be [served] with the larger measure. But on all of them let also a supper be served of bread and raw vegetables and fruits that are in season and wine with the larger measure on account of the burning heat and dryness of the season. But, if there should be any refreshment even on another day apart from Wednesday and Friday, they must partake even then of fish, thanking God.

The fast of the Holy Nativity of Christ¹² will be similar to that of the Holy Apostles in both food and drink, after the completion of the course of the whole canonical office according to the *synaxarion*. It will differ from it in one thing only, [namely], that you eat once. For your food should be set out for you at the ninth hour during the period of the fast, as has been said; and it will always be a fast when “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is not sung at matins but “Alleluia.”

Chapter 19

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [19]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the fact that without reservations one is to eat cheese and eggs during the entire week prior to the week of Meatfare on account of the heresy of the Artzibourians, and that even every day **the farmers**, [p. 737] the gardeners, the vine-dressers, and simply all, apart from those who habitually are in attendance, are to come together at the refectory

But a specific thing which I almost bypassed, must be committed to writing because it is necessary and it separates us from the loathsome tradition of the Artzibourians.¹³ Since in the week before the Meatfare week the Artzibourians received the tradition to eat nothing else except bread and water, we, in order that we may be differentiated from their heresy, unhesitatingly eat both cheese and eggs throughout this entire week, and we likewise observe this, during the entire week of Cheesefare because of another heresy.¹⁴

However, both **the farmers and** our fellow-brethren who take care of the vineyards and the gardens and **the brothers who pursue the art of fishing** ought without fail to come also to the first table sitting each day, likewise all the other ministrants, apart from those in attendance, and in common to enjoy the bounties of God in order that the name “brotherhood” may not be just a name, but that it may become a reality through deeds. If however, some of the brothers, because they have been sent for service or have gone off even on some personal business with the knowledge of the father [superior], delay thereupon, and return perhaps after the midday meal or even supper, whatever, was distributed to the other brothers during the day at the table must be given without diminution to them, too.

The monasteries have a tradition, as we learn, that on the holy and venerable Dormition of our supremely holy Mistress,¹⁵ the Mother of God, when the brothers are having their meal at the refectory, they eat also grapes previously blessed at the church by the priest who holds the daily

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service. This tradition also must be observed. If, in fact, anyone of the brothers should be detected as having taken a taste of grapes before this feast, he shall suffer in consequence the penalty of disobedience and shall not partake of them at all until the Exaltation of the precious Cross.¹⁶ Liable, however, to the same penalty shall be also anyone of the brothers working in the vineyards who shall disregard this a commandment.¹⁷ At the refectory, however, twice or even three times a week after the feast, grapes shall be served up until the time of the vintage; [p. 738] but when figs and melons **and other fruits** are in season, they shall partake of them also almost every day, if they have any.

Chapter 20

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [20]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the fact that the monks are not to eat secretly, and concerning poverty

But **I** introduce the matter concerning abstinence from secret eating and drinking. Avoid this to the utmost of your power, continually keeping in mind the fact that in the beginning disobedient eating made us subject to death and deprived us of life in paradise when the devil, the wicked author of evil, introduced it, who from that time right up to the present has not ceased suggesting to those who take up war against him like an ancient weapon the secret and forbidden tasting of some food or drink. Not only does he suggest it but advocates secret tasting saying that it is a natural action and blameless. But you, **my brothers and fathers**, do not be ignorant of his intentions, looking away to the result of his advice namely the transgression of a command.

So that you may easily surmount this trap of the Evil One, we are imposing on you the poverty which can be of the greatest service, and preserving this you would **without effort** escape the danger of secret eating. For what would the person who has nothing taste? So then, practice poverty not only in unattainable and superfluous things but also in food and drink to the smallest amount.

For this reason, accordingly, we instruct also the superior to enter into your cells, whenever he wishes, and to examine them and to allow you to have nothing more than the things allowed by the cenobitic rule.

Chapter 21

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [21]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the fact that one is not to be absent, except for illness or other reasonable cause, from the ecclesiastical office

But above all I entreat you, my spiritual fathers and brothers, that no one be absent from the ecclesiastical office either during the daytime and night time doxologies or during the vigils that are usually performed. For, if, in fact, anyone should be absent in consequence of sloth and negligence and not because of illness, which, of course can attract forgiveness, let such a person know that, if after a first and second and third admonition he abides in his sloth, he shall have in consequence as his just penalty the eating of dry food and the drinking of water only on the day on which this offense should be committed by him. Those, however, who perhaps are occupied with certain [p. 739] tasks or wrestle with bodily illnesses, as I have stated, shall not be subjected to the

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censure of this sort. For it is necessary to show consideration for the illnesses and the labors of men.

Chapter 22

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [22]; differences in boldface]

Concerning how those who enter must be tonsured and after how much time

We must, moreover, speak in fuller detail about those who come to the monastery for the purpose of being tonsured. If they are distinguished people or people known to you for a long time and have close knowledge of the monastery's way of life and regime they should be tonsured after a period of six months if perhaps they themselves ask for this and are accepted. But if they are common and unknown, after an interval of seven days after their arrival at the monastery, they should assume the [novice's] rags and put on the monastic headdress, and they should be appointed to proper tasks and observed to see if they carry out these with perseverance, eagerness and humility. If they persevere in this attitude for up to a period of two years, then they should receive the pledge of the divine and angelic habit, that is to say, the cloak. But if they perhaps appear to have grown tired, grumbling and being negligent about instructions, it will be the responsibility of the superior [to decide about them].

Those who have been judged worthy to be accepted should not be put under any compulsion concerning a renunciation and an entrance offering. But if the one who is to be tonsured himself willingly chooses to offer something to God and **his wholly undefiled Mother**, it should be accepted, as we said above. But so much concerning those who are tonsured in the monastery.

One should, however, consider also those who come from a different [monastery] for the purpose of making a beginning in it. Let him, therefore, who has been chosen by the monastery to be admitted as a monk spend only eight days in it for the purpose of seeing it and its regimen. If, indeed, he is obviously pleased, let him make a confession to the superior. Then, while the *trisagion* is being performed in the church, he must present his head to the superior, bowed and uncovered, and, as the superior makes the sign of the precious cross over it, he reverently says approximately the following, "May the grace of the all-Holy Spirit, brother, through the prayers of our fathers, grant you power and strength to complete well and pleasingly to God the beginning which you made for the edification and salvation of your soul." Thereupon let the superior give him the kiss in the Lord and successively likewise all the brothers. Let him, however, make a prostration to the brothers, saying, "Pray for me, fathers and brothers, that God may grant me perseverance," and, after the brothers have answered, [p. 740] "May God grant you, brother, perseverance in every good work," he shall be enrolled in the brotherhood. For in no other way shall anyone be numbered among the brothers of our monastery unless, along with the confession, this ceremony takes place in exactly the same way.

Chapter 23

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [23]]

Exhortation concerning the fact that all those who serve are to apply themselves thoroughly to their services and not to despise them in any way

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I entreat all those who carry out offices in the monastery, from the first down to even the last, to apply themselves to their offices wholeheartedly since they expect no small recompense from them. As regards those among them who are unlettered, the diligence and care they show in their office will be totally sufficient as their defense before God and us, but we exhort those who are educated but are perhaps prevented by the busy nature of their office from carrying out the daily cycle of prayers and from meeting with the brothers in the services not to be neglectful or despairing, as if they had lost the benefit to themselves, but be more cheerful and joyful because the Lord has given them the strength to serve their brothers in imitation of him, who said, "I came not to be served but to serve and to lay down my life as a ransom for many" (Matt. 20:28).

You see, my **friends**, what work you perform, you see whom you imitate. You see that you are putting into practice the greatest of all good, love. Why then do you grieve and are sorrowful when you miss the service? Do you not think that you are laying down your own lives for many like my Master, Christ, so that you may bring comfort to your brothers? So, you should be happy and rejoice because you yourselves are accomplishing each day by your work what could scarcely be achieved by those who devote themselves to prayer. You are blessed in that occupation and to be envied. For prayer is indeed a fine thing, a very fine thing, bringing us into contact with God and raising us from earth to heaven, but love is of course greater and much more important. For the former is a part of virtue and an element and section of the whole body of sanctification that brings perfection, but love is its crown and consummation. For joined to itself it displays humility that exalts (cf. Matt. 23:12), mercy, and love of mankind, because of which God indeed became man and through which man is revealed as God.

So why do you give up the treasure house and culmination of all these good things [and run to what is inferior when thus having reached to the summit] easily you should hold on to it [p. 741] securely and do everything so as not to be thrown down from it? "We are afraid", they say, "because of our failure to carry out the rule;" but do not be afraid, for sincere confession will make up to your failure in this, justly granting you pardon. Fear this, be on your guard against this; but if this is not the case, then rejoice, I beg you attending to your offices eagerly.

Chapter 24

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [24]]

Concerning respect to the superior and deference, that is, bowing [to him]

When one is about (for even these precepts are necessary to those who live in a cenobitic monastery) to go out of the monastery at all either for the sake of some task or because of personal need, let him not go out of the monastery before he receives a blessing from the superior. Likewise let him neither depart to the bath without an obeisance [to the superior], nor, indeed, have his hair cut or his vein opened.¹⁸ Let him also who is about to sound the semantron [for prayers] and those who have been chosen to perform the sacred rites and the chanters and the precentors and simply everyone before [he starts] his work receive a blessing from him. For he who wishes to obey the apostolic regulations must do nothing at all without the knowledge and consent of the superior but in all things follow his orders, nay rather also render to him the honor that befits him, so as never to pass him by without bowing to him, whether one shall meet him on the road or should see him emerging.¹⁹ Whether one is summoned by him or even of one's own accord should go to him for

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the sake of a request regarding some need, let him beforehand make an obeisance and, folding his hands together, let him stand thus.

Chapter 25

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [25]; differences in boldface]

A broader exhortation concerning the fact that those who live the monastic life in the monastery of **my supremely holy Mother of God** must pursue the cenobitic way of life even if it happens that the entire income of the monastery is reduced to the sufficiency of two monks

Although the way of life of the monks and the whole organization of life in the monastery was already discussed above briefly,²⁰ it will be discussed again, compatible with what has been clearly stated and declared by the divine fathers with regard to those who have renounced the world. For they decided and laid it down that [p. 742] those who fled from the very stormy world and took refuge in the calm harbor of monastic life should enter upon a cenobitic way of life, and renouncing their own will give themselves up to a life of submission, seeing that they need a helmsman and guide as they direct the blind eye of their soul this way and that and are not able to help themselves through their ignorance of goodness.

Therefore obeying these men, we wish that the monks **under [our authority] in the venerable monastery of my supremely holy Mother of God** live in a cenobitic constitution and way of life and that the rule of this constitution should always be in force in it unaltered and unbroken, not perverted or altered in any way, nor altered for any reason or pretext whatsoever, neither because of wealth or poverty, neither because of shortage or abundance, nor any other specious reason or pretext whatsoever, but the cenobitic constitution and way of life should be completely preserved in every way unbroken for ever, even if the whole revenue of the monastery should be reduced to being sufficient for two monks—which I pray will not happen.

If one of the superiors wishes the opposite, the monks are to oppose him; but, if the monks wish the opposite, the superior should resist them. If they all were to agree, the protector of the monastery should defend what I have laid down; and if he also were to consort with them, we grant permission to anyone who wishes, to strive for a pious matter and go to court on behalf of goodness itself and the reward for it, and seek to make our instructions effective and drive from the monastery those responsible for the abolition of the cenobitic way of life, and not to think this a small achievement but a very great one that brings salvation.

Chapter 26

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [26]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the fact that there must neither be *kelliotai* nor imposed guests in the monastery

It is my wish that there should be neither *kelliotai* nor imposed guests at all within the original monastery of my supremely holy Mother of God. In fact we forbid this completely. **But it is my wish that even those who are now living as *kelliotai* in its dependency in the imperial city [of Constantinople] also change over to the cenobitic way of life for many reasons.** If, however, anyone who is from a more exalted station in life shall wish to come to the monastery and to cast off his worldly hair in it or perhaps [p. 743] should enter as one who has already been ton-

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sured and if he should be unable to change suddenly from the more luxurious way of life to the more harsh and should perhaps have need of a servant and some small modification and concession so that neither the regimen of the cenobitic monastery may be relaxed completely, nor, indeed, anyone who comes to it be sent away, the superior shall be permitted, if he wishes, to make concessions to the one who enters the [monastery] and to allow the latter even to have a servant, **who is a monk**, and a comfort such as [the superior's] sagacity should determine, especially if the one who enters it benefits the monastery either through his rank or an offering or even both.

They, too, however, ought to maintain the cenobitic way of life; for in no way whatsoever is it our wish that the appellation of "*kelliotēs*" be used in the monastery, whether one should be of a distinguished station in life or should abound in much wealth and in consequence present an offering that is both lavish and prodigious or make a promise with reference to bringing in certain specified provisions from outside the monastery. For this is appalling to the patristic regulations and to our wish.

Who would send an imposed guest to a monastery that is independent and is ruled by the mighty hand alone of the Lord and **his wholly unblemished Mother, who ineffably and beyond reason had conceived him, the holy Virgin and Mother of God, as the inviolate patriarchal memorandum²¹ belonging to it proves?** No one would ever wish this, he would not be so foolish as to violate the promulgated written decrees of [the monastery's] independence, unless he wishes altogether to render God, "who is mighty in wars," (Sir. 46:1) openly hostile to himself.

Chapter 27

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [27]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the fact that women are not to come into the monastery nor laymen dwell within it

This, too, is one of the indispensable things, that the monastery never be entered by women, except perchance rarely for the sake of the burial or commemoration of those who are close relatives by blood to **them**. But they, too, as soon as they will have completed the **funeral or the annual** [p. 744] rites for the deceased, shall depart immediately from the monastery in the course of the same day.

But surely neither during the days of Eastertide, **nor on the other feasts of God, except only of the Dormition** shall entrance in the monastery be permitted to them. Indeed we prefer that not even any laymen at all have their residences within the monastery, but that the area within the monastery be allotted as a kind of God-planted paradise to those alone who practice asceticism, so that any cause for offense may not arise therefrom.

Chapter 28

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [28]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the clothing of the monks and concerning the price of a bath and soap

Concerning, indeed, clothes and footwear and various other bodily cover of the monks it is **my** wish that there be given to each of them anything he needs in accordance with the cenobitic pursuit and regimen which has been traditional from long ago. Inasmuch, however, as contention accompanies, as it often does, the distributions of this sort, and it is one of the most troublesome

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things to satisfy the pleasure and wish of each, **I** considered it better that the items of clothing be supplied to each of the brothers through the use of money, putting an end to contentions and grumblings even in this matter.

Therefore, there shall be given to each of the brothers, from the highest to the lowest, to all of them equally, except for the old men who do not toil, for the latter ought to be subject to the discretion of the superior, **a hyperpyron and a half each in each six-month period for everything except the commemorations**. Beyond these there ought to be given each year one thick outer garment to each of those who carry out offices, in the category of whom ought to be included also those who attend to **farming and fishing**. Every [p. 745] month a sum that is adequate for soap and the price of a bath ought to be given to all **of them** for the sake of one bath.

Chapter 29

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [29]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the confession of the monks, and concerning the fact that all are to have the superior as a spiritual father

Our common enemy and foe, who, according to the great apostle (1 Pet. 5:8; Ps. 21[22]:13), “goes about like a lion seeking whom he should devour,” knowing precisely that confession snatches away from the middle of his throat those who are about to be devoured, sets in motion all his wiles and contrivances so as to strip whomever he can from this great and noble aid, inserting in the practice [of confession] humiliation and shame. But this shame, says the theologian Gregory, is part of the punishment for the sins we confess.²² Let us hasten, therefore, as much as we can, to pull ourselves away from under the punishment in the other world through this salutary and noble aid, I mean, of course, confession. For no one at all should fail to understand how much more painless it is to declare one’s secret to a person, and him a shepherd who is both sympathetic and of like nature, than to be convicted in the presence of the angels and the whole race of mankind and God himself.

It is our wish, therefore, that the whole assembly of brothers disclose to the superior the bruises of the soul they have suffered or the foul thoughts themselves that spring up in them as human beings, and that all have him as a common and spiritual father, even if perhaps he happens to be unordained, because he has assuredly the permission from the most holy and ecumenical patriarch, having been empowered to apply also the remedy that is suitable to each illness. For thoughts are wounds of the soul that are inflicted by the evil demon, who ensnares our life. A wound, however, when it is revealed immediately and receives the medical treatment that is suitable and appropriate, is easily healed; but, when it is kept concealed and becomes chronic, it causes putrefaction and generates a stench and becomes difficult to heal.

It is, therefore, exceedingly helpful to have the physician close by. But, if it is disagreeable to anyone, a thing which seems to me unreasonable, to have one’s own father also as a physician, let him tell his father in secret his own purpose [p. 746] and the latter will take care to send him off to whomever the superior himself wishes or even to one of the priests of the monastery, who is both more devout and more aged. I made a great concession in writing this since the subordinate [monk] has no right at all **as I learn from the** patristic traditions not to have the superior as a spiritual father.

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Chapter 30

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [30]; differences in boldface]

Exhortation regarding the fact that the brothers are to confess unhesitatingly and honestly

It is good to say even to you yourselves what is proper. So then you, my brothers **and fathers**, seeing the superior hurrying off to this good ministry which is very beneficial to your souls, you should run, and running reach with eagerness this **very** calm harbor that is safe for your souls, and reveal completely without any covering up every stirring of your mind and every thought that harms your soul, as though you are making your confession in the presence of God and not a man. But the one who sets out to lie to God will always get his punishment. For the psalmist says “Thou wilt destroy all that speak falsehood” (Ps. 5:6). So then, by confessing without deceit and ridding your minds of all wrangling, all confusion and trouble, you may be happy and rejoice, having gained this good hope namely that you will not fail to gain salvation. But make your confession without accusing each other when perhaps a violent dispute or some other argument occurs. Do not make your confession if you consider yourselves blameless and you are looking really for condemnations, nor should you speak about the bodily needs which afflict you. If you must speak of some violent dispute, be keen to ascribe and assign to yourselves all the blame and reason for the fault, whatever it is. But if you speak about some other passions, reveal these completely so that you can gain double benefit from this, by both attaining sound health of soul and clothing yourself in exalting humility, for possessing this we will actually be like God who says, “Learn from me that I am gentle and lowly in heart” (Matt. 11:29). What else would be a clearer proof of gentleness and humility in heart than clearly to bear all affliction nobly and blame oneself in everything? The true confession without which I do not think anyone gains salvation is the cause of so many good things.

Chapter 31

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [31]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the third and the sixth hour and their office

When the semantron then, is struck at the time [p. 747] that is proper, all must assemble in the narthex and **there** sing together the third and sixth hours. At the beginning, however, of the sixth hour the priest who has priestly duties of the day must make a genuflection to the superior, and enter into the holy sanctuary to prepare this divine oblation. So much about the third and the sixth hour.

Chapter 32

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [32]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the divine mystery and which of the brothers and how and when they ought to partake of the divine elements

It is necessary now also to speak about the divine mystery, which must of necessity be celebrated, if not every day, at least four times weekly without postponement, apart from the feasts of the Lord. But you yourselves must be sure to take care in this, my brothers, because what is

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performed there is divine and fearful, and because there more than in anything else the fearful and very great mystery of our orthodox faith is accomplished; I mean the most divine and most precious sacrifice of the completely undefiled body and blood of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ.

So during it, my brothers, as has been said, you must pay strict attention, and as far as possible chase from you every thought that is sown by the devil, impure, and unworthy of that fearful celebration, and purify yourselves in every way. Then as many as allowed by the superior should partake of the divine elements. For it will not be possible for any of you to partake freely and in a thoughtless manner, nor **during every consecration**.

This we would indeed wish, for to partake often of the divine elements is to share in life, as Christ himself says, "He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him" (John 6:56) and again, "Unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood, you have no life in you" (John 6:53), and as the divine apostle says, "He who is united to the Lord becomes one spirit" (I Cor. 6:17), and as the most gentle David says conversely "They that remove themselves far from thee shall perish" (Ps. 72 [73]: 27).

Therefore we would indeed wish this, [p. 748] as has been said, but because of human weakness and the danger of the action we do not allow it, for "Whoever eats the body and drinks the blood of the Lord unworthily is guilty of his body and blood" (I Cor. 11:27) says Paul, the divine apostle. This statement is frightening, my brothers, and causes not only sinners like me but also those who are very confident in themselves to fear partaking.

So then as many as are sure that they are pure and free from disgraceful thoughts and submission to them, from anger and grumbling, grief and denigration, deceit and disorderly laughter, furthermore, bearing of grudge and irritation, disgraceful talk and such things, should partake of communion once a week. But those who fall prey to the aforementioned passions and hasten to a renunciation of them through confession and repentance should partake of communion once a month or even once in two months at the discretion of the superior of course, for he should be in charge of such matters.

But for someone to consider himself unworthy of communion without his knowledge cannot be approved. For he who does this will be condemned as someone fulfilling his own wish. However, those who should partake of communion must to the best of their ability read more attentively the prayers laid down for the partaking, make a common genuflection together to one another to grant forgiveness, and thus to partake gratefully of the life-giving consecrated elements. So let these things be carried out in this way.

Chapter 33

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [34]; differences in boldface]

Precise instruction concerning the fact that all are to have the same food and drink, with reference also to the care of the sick, and to the fact that the [monks] are not permitted to have servants or domestics

Before God and the **supremely holy Mistress and Mother of God**, we give you this instruction that you should all have the same food and drink and that there should never be any difference

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in anything ever for anyone, but you will all, those who are advanced in age and virtue and celebrity of life and those who are inferior to the latter in these qualities, use for food the same things.

For you should only help and take care as is possible of those who are clearly afflicted with illness, and for this reason perhaps need better food and drink to sustain **their** weak and unfortunate bodies. For I think that this shows discernment and preserves the conscience of everyone else free of offense. [p. 749]

We must, therefore, allow, with the knowledge of the superior, those who are weary because of illness that has fallen upon them, to rest in their own cells and there to partake of nourishment that is suitable and appropriate for their illness, to whom, the one who would be ordered by the superior will render service in all things, both food and drink and the other necessities. But our sick brothers emboldened by this should not cast off self-restraint by seeking for extra things, but they should restrain and control themselves, being satisfied only with those things which the circumstances of the season and the resources of the monastery and superior's lenient judgment provide for them.

If, however, the illness is serious and lasts for many days, let the superior in the face of necessity be free to go to those who share [authority] in the hospitals with the request **that he who needs medical care** be given a bed. Whenever a brother has been given a bed there and is being treated medically, his food must be provided by the monastery in order that he may not defame it because he is distressed in some respect, **because what is** given him in the hospital is not adequate.

It will not be possible for you to have servants nor domestics who render services, but each shall serve himself and, in turn, one another, the young one him who is advanced [in age], and the novice him who entered the arena earlier, and the stronger one him who is weaker, according, of course, to the superior's orders. For thus the Master's commandment will be fulfilled and the law of love will be observed unimpaired.

Chapter 34

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [35]]

Concerning the fact that those who come together in manual labors are not to talk idly and concerning the fact that they are not to have acquisitions and concerning the fact that they are not to steal from the monastery

If any of your number should gather on some manual task or other service and amuse themselves with idle conversations—for this is usual at gatherings—and then turn to disgraceful talk—for “by a multitude [p. 750] of words,” he says, “thou shalt not escape sin” (Prov. 10:19)—they should not reject the admonition of the superior. For we instruct him to do this in love and persuade them to give up topics which harm the soul, and either discuss matters from Holy Scripture or be silent. “For,” the author of the Book of Proverbs says, “If thou refrain thy lips, thou wilt be prudent” (Prov. 10:19) and discreet.

Also those who happen to be on a journey **whether [by land] or sea** and are afflicted in the same way should be cured with the same medicine by the [superior]. Furthermore, they are not to resort to mutual rebuking or verbal sparring. For he who does such a thing will be liable to excom-

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munication, and if he does not repent and beg for forgiveness “with a contrite heart” (Ps. 50 [51]:17) he will be punished—for we prefer that you should always be loving and peaceful towards one another and, instead of anything that provokes quarrels, learn to say “Bless and forgive [me], brother.”

Furthermore, those who form idle gatherings and visit one another with no good reason, without any pressing cause, or the knowledge of the superior, especially after compline, when they are admonished and do not desist, they will be punished.

Those who acquire some possessions contrary to the rule of the monastery, without the knowledge of the superior, will be liable to punishment. But the person who purloins anything from the monastery and does not make amends after a first and second admonition and up to the seventh will be expelled completely.

Chapter 35

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [36]]

Concerning the fact that one is not to seek at all a seat of honor

We refuse even to hear at all that someone of his own accord seeks after a loftier seat or the ensuing honor. For how could this be acceptable, that men who are living according to God’s will should quarrel at all about seating, like those who are keen to show themselves in a worldly way superior to everyone else in this, as those who are excited by glory that is vain and hated by God? For “Everyone that is proud in heart is an abomination to the Lord” (Prov. 16:5), says Holy Scripture, and “The Lord resists the proud, but he gives grace to the humble” (Prov. 3:34).

So this will not happen among you, it will not. But if any of you is found causing annoyance in this matter, putting forward as an excuse perhaps age or sphere of work, and does not abide by the command of the superior nor is satisfied with the place allocated to him, I command to him that he be allocated the last place and be taught [p. 751] to leave to the world the habits of the world.

But those who have been entrusted with these two primary offices, [namely,] the steward and the ecclesiarch, shall sit ahead of all of them on the one side, while on the other [side] the priests according to their rank of seniority and after the latter, in turn, the deacons, unless the superior should prefer some who are advanced in years or old age or even some who are preeminent in the world, worthy of respect and honor, to sit ahead of the latter, the deacons, that is. After they are seated, however, there shall not be a preference in respect to seating but thereafter the seating will be assigned suitably to each at the discretion of the superior.

Chapter 36

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [33]; differences in boldface]

Concerning those who have grown old in the monastery **or have even undergone some harm**

Yet this, too, we both formulate and declare, and I believe not without reason and better purpose, that those who have grown old in the monastery or have otherwise done hard work and undergone some harm or mutilation of the body so as not to be able as a result of this to render service, be they men of learning or, indeed, even illiterate, even if they should be found not to have

lived in the monastery for a long time, it is our wish not only that they not be expelled from the monastery but rather that they be taken care of in their old age and be absolved from work, so far as it is possible, by someone of their fellow brothers in the monastery, whomsoever its superior selects. Their food and drink should be equal to that of those who are young and healthy.

I enjoin, for the sake of such a purpose and such a service, all those who are destined to administer in any way whatsoever the affairs of the monastery, both superiors and others, never to set aside or violate or alter this God-loved regulation, so long as, God granting, the monastery exists and monks live in it, unless he who shall attempt such a thing wishes to provoke against himself the statement “As you did it not to one of the least of these my brothers, you did it not to me” (Matt. 25:45).

Chapter 37

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [37]; differences in boldface]

That all the things that have been registered in the inventory **made by us are to** be inalienable; so must also be the things that **will be** acquired in any way whatsoever at any time whatsoever

Since in fact the monastery **from the beginning had the good fortune to be endowed with** sacred vessels, divine offerings and [p. 752] books for the praise of God and **of the Mother of God and** the illumination of those who practice asceticism in it, all the silver vessels and revered icons and veils and books and bronze items that are seen, an inventory has been made by us, in which are compiled all the things that belong to it from long ago and the things that have been **removed from the sacred sacristy of the Great Church [of Hagia Sophia] by me as a representative of the same monastery and have again been deposited through me for the sake of protection in the venerable monastery . . . and the things that are now in the principal monastery and the things that are in its dependency, this inventory²³ was confirmed by me through my customary signature and sealing-instrument and was deposited with our present *typikon* in the venerable monastery . . . , copies of these [documents] to be produced and remain for ever at the monastery.**

Their originals are not to be taken out of the monastery in which they are deposited, without pressing need. When, however, there is a pressing need, these too shall be taken with a receipt, and, after they have been quickly returned, they shall again be deposited in the [monastery] from which they were taken.

Concerning these (things), furthermore, we command that they be absolutely both inalienable and irremovable. He who shall dare to remove from them anything of whatever kind shall be considered sacrilegious and along with Judas shall be referred to eternal punishments, and before [these punishments] may he also inherit [Judas'] noose.

But may no one, whether potentate or magistrate or protector or anyone of those in the monastery, whether superior or subordinate, even think of removing or alienating any of the divine offerings or of the books in it, either large or small, or any other thing whatsoever. Instead let there be more eagerness to make additions and further dedications for the glory of God and for their own considerable benefit. Let this very [rule] be observed also for the things that will be acquired at any time whatsoever, both movable and immovable. [p. 753]

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Chapter 38

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [38]; differences in boldface]

Sworn exhortation to the protector of the monastery at the time

But really **care for this my monastery of my supremely holy Mother of God and concern also for the monks who live in it**, always lying couched in my soul, persuades me to collect from all quarters the things that are for their benefit. In order, therefore, that they might not be abused by some abusers, as though bereft of human assistance, I adjure by our Lord Jesus Christ the protectors of the monastery at the time, since they can readily help it, that, if, the monks should come to them and present the present simple regulations of the *typikon* and say that they are being unjustly treated by some, that they proceed against the injustice in accordance with their power and check its impetus and rescue the flock of Christ and the **supremely holy Mother of God** from the hand of quite cruel men and not to ignore it but support and defend it in accordance with the dictates of law and justice in order that thus they may procure a reward for themselves and have the divine favor because they graciously received **the monastery and** the monks and deemed them worthy of the proper assistance. For this reason, in fact, we have prescribed that they even be commemorated both while alive and after death.

Chapter 39

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [39]; differences in boldface]

Concerning the monks who depart to the Lord

Since we must take thought for the monks, not only when they are alive but also when they depart to the Lord, it is necessary to prescribe at this time also about matters concerning the latter. Whenever, then, anyone of the monks should depart from this world, let the customary things done for the dead monk be carried out in the exonarthex, I mean both the singing of psalms and all the clothing of the remains. Then it should be transported to the burial place with the bier and let it be buried in the tombs of the monks on the right side, that is, of the church, in which the brothers alone must be buried, no one of those from the outside being buried with them.

The commemorations on the third, ninth, and fortieth days for the one who has died should be sung in the narthex of the church, and *kollyba* prepared on those days on his behalf, [p. 754] and let an offering [of Eucharistic bread] be made for each liturgy on his behalf until the fortieth-day commemoration and let him be commemorated. But he should also be remembered at matins and vespers until the aforesaid fortieth day.

His name also must be written on the diptychs and he, too, must be commemorated [in the future] along with the rest. So that a common commemoration of all the **brothers** may take place, on each Friday after the office of lamp-lighting, unless a feast prevents it, they must sing a canon for the dead in the exonarthex **or at the grave** and an *ektenes* should be made for all those who have already departed. Moreover, we urge both the priests and the deacons to consult the diptychs during every liturgy in order to remember those listed on them, so that they may not bear the responsibility for forgetting and omitting them.

Certainly on the Saturday of Meatfare, the Saturday of Cheese fare, and the Saturday of Pen-

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tecost let *stauria* also be made on their behalf and let four of those who have already passed away be commemorated at each *staurion*. But, if they should be superiors, let individual offerings [of Eucharistic bread] be made and let them, too, be commemorated. Likewise in the commemorations of each one of [the monks] let a liturgy and offering [of Eucharistic bread] be made on his behalf.

Let, however, the commemorations for the superiors be made more generously, especially if some of them should happen to have conducted themselves in a manner worthy of their calling so as to leave behind to their successors certain good advantages. The surviving monks ought to receive on the **three Saturdays that have been indicated, that is**, of Meatfare week, Cheesefare week, and the Saturday before Pentecost, **each one of them** one *staurion* **apiece** for the commemoration of their **own** parents **and relatives**, and, after the *stauria* have been offered, they should be assembled by the gatekeeper and a distribution should take place at the gate.

Chapter 40

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [41]]

Reasons for which the present rule of the *typikon* was set forth, and a prayer concerning the fact that the items in it are to be preserved inviolate, and a most horrible curse against him who shall attempt to proceed towards the annulment of the present rule

The things, then, that I have previously stated have presented quite clearly the circumstances that made necessary the composition of the present *typikon*. For the rule and constitution of the cenobitic monasteries, if they should be left unexamined [p. 755] and not be guided by the proper control of reason, would collapse not before long. May the Triune God keep preserving inviolable up to the end of the present world all the things that have been formulated in order that thus the flock of Christ may be called light, in accordance with the statements of the gospels, (Matt. 5:14) and through it yet others also might be brought to edification.

May it be a truly chosen flock that heeds the voice of him who calls to life and by its examples be able to instruct many souls of men that see its correct way of life as a marvelous example. Let him, however, who shall even attempt to proceed towards the annulment of the present lifesaving rule of the *typikon* in addition to not being listened to, be also alien to the hope of the Christians, because he has wanted to overturn and violently shake this peace-loving rule that has been established for the benefit of my fathers and brothers.

Chapter 41

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [42]; differences in boldface]

Instruction to the superior: how he ought to be disposed towards the brotherhood

You, spiritual father and guide of this holy flock **of my Mother of God**, be moderate and fair with the brothers, and in your concern maintain in everything a fatherly affection for them. And I entreat you, care for them all, have concern for them all, forbear with them all, support them instructing, advising, teaching, comforting, healing the sick, supporting the weak, encouraging the faint-hearted, restoring those who sin, forgiving “seventy times seven” (Matt. 18:22) in accordance with the word of Our Lord. For it is better that we, who are imitating the Lord himself, be

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judged considerate [even though] a little remiss in what we ought to do, than by maintaining utmost righteousness we be condemned as heartless and haters of our brothers. Also, to omit the rest, St. Basil says “And the superior himself, as a father caring for true children, will watch over the needs of each one and will bring them suitable healing as far as he can, and will support with love and fatherly affection the member who is truly weak whether spiritually or physically.”²⁴

Chapter 42

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [43]; differences in boldface]

Sworn order to him from a different [monastery] who is **perhaps** about to hold the office of superior

I adjure, by the Lord God and by **my supremely holy Mistress and Mother of God**, [p. 756] you **who** from a different monastery **are** about to hold the office of superior in accordance with what has been prescribed above in our monastery not to bring into the monastery with **yourself** more than one brother, and him in the role of a disciple, as it were, from either intimates or acquaintances which **you have**. For, if [the new superior] brings over more, many are the improprieties that will spring up from this. For it is inferred from this that those whom he himself will bring in from the outside he considers as genuine sons, while those whom he will find in the monastery he views as illegitimate, which is one of the most improper things. From this, offense and distrust is caused. But those rather he ought to consider as genuine and exceedingly beloved whom he will find in the monastery, who will both receive and honor him. [These brothers] he himself, too, has the obligation to honor and relieve in accordance with his ability, even if perhaps as human beings they have acquired certain small defects such as the length of life is disposed by nature to engender, that is to say, idle chatter, coarse jesting, license of tongue and other such things, in order that in him, too, the statement, “He who brings forth the worthy out of the worthless” (cf. Jer. 15:19) and so forth, will be fulfilled.

Chapter 43

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [44]; differences in boldface]

Exhortation to the monks concerning the fact that they are not to question the superior in the things that he does as he is going to give to God an account of the sins he dared to commit, and that he is to be excommunicated if he does not correct himself

If, then, your superior, brothers, conducts himself thus, as we said above, being both paternally disposed towards you and devoutly and piously tending the flock of **my Mother of God**, you will not question him in any way nor will you demand an account of how he handles the affairs of the monastery. For this is unworthy and harmful, breeding a great deal of mistrust and producing discord, instability and every other cause for sin.

Neither will the superior himself spend the wealth of the monastery in doing favors for his own relations and friends. For by acting in this way, he will not be taking part in the divine mysteries.²⁵ But if we have judged that he should not be subject to the brothers in an examination of his actions, yet he will not really escape the unerring judge and the reproof of his conscience. Therefore, he should take care not to “fall into the hands of the living God” (Heb. 10:31). For even

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though we are not capable of imposing on him a penalty appropriate for making unjustifiable and unnecessary payments and bringing about changes in the affairs and property of the monastery, yet he will not escape the fearful judgment of God, which we confer upon him in writing this. But if he is seen to be so fearless and utterly shameless that he does not even fear the condemnation of God, [p. 757] but spends the wealth of the monastery improperly, he will be excommunicated **in accordance with the divine and patristic decrees** until he refrains from this unlawful action; but, if he corrects himself, he shall be forgiven by God the Ruler of All.

Chapter 44

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [45]; differences in boldface]

Another exhortation to all the brothers and to the protector himself concerning the fact that they are [not] in any blameworthy way to make both the choice and selection of the superiors, including the fact that one is not to spring upon such an office by his personal rashness and audacity

Having, then, sufficiently treated of both the superior and all the other officials, we must turn our discussion to you, oh **my beloved fathers and brothers** in the Lord, and to the protector of **the flock of the Mother of God and of the monastery itself**. I entreat you, therefore, or rather, I instruct you and I call on God **and the supremely holy Mother of God** as witness of my instructions and overseer of its carrying out that when you are selecting and choosing the superiors there should be no strife, there should be no jealousy, there should be no pointless partiality and irrational favoritism, but correct judgment, an accurate aim and the strict yardstick of justice and truth should come together, and, as if he was observing, he the eye “That beholds all things” (Sir. 15:19) and “searches hearts and reins” (Ps. 7:9). Your selection should take place in that way.

For, if suffering some human failing, you were to produce a faulty judgment, you must consider how far the evil would spread and calculate how many harmful effects would follow. If the “righteous” (2 Tim. 4:8) and unerring Judge were to require from you a just account for them, I do not know what defense you would make to secure your escape from condemnation. You, who have, alas, with evil and ruinous judgment selected the unworthy [persons] and brought such great harm not only on them but also on yourselves seeing that you have secured perdition for them as well as yourselves.

So then you will not resort to quarreling and dissension in your selection, but [p. 758] in unanimity and agreement you should choose the persons you select and with the counsel and judgment of the protector you should effect their selection and choice.

If you always live like that, there will be no one who will usurp this office rashly and by one’s own judgment, making a display perhaps of his seniority or knowledge or sphere of work or noble birth or rank or offering of property or money, but that man should be preferred in this [office] who has been selected by you after perfect scrutiny, even if he has been recently tonsured or is unlearned and without experience of worldly things, for no harm will come to the monastery from the latter.

For “God is able even from stones to raise up children to Abraham” (Matt. 3:9) and to give wisdom to the blind and to supply reason to those without reason, he who takes more pleasure in these people than in those who glory in their own wisdom and power, and wealth and nobility. As

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a witness to this the truly divine and great apostle clearly expresses it in the following words, “God chose what is foolish in the world and weak and despised to shame the wise and strong and lofty; and even things which are not to bring to nothing things that are” (I Cor. 1:27).

Chapter 45

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [46]; differences in boldface]

More detailed instruction to the brotherhood on how they ought to conduct themselves

So then all that we wish and is acceptable to God—in my opinion at least—and to **my all-pure Mistress and Mother of God**, and greatly beneficial for your help has been discussed sufficiently; in the future it will be your concern to maintain them unbroken and unchanged always. By this I mean, to carry out completely in all the services the canonical procedure handed on to you, in accordance with the **Studite** *synaxarion* which is in effect today with you, to preserve loyalty and honor which is due to your superiors, to love one another, to be keen each of you to surpass each other in humility, to labor in all kinds of ways with one another in everything as the limbs of one body and “to complete what is lacking” (Col. 1:24) in one another, not to stir up quarrels nor form improper friendships or cause schisms and breakaway services, to refrain from claiming the seat of honor and worldly preferments, but look to one thing only, that is to live and conduct yourselves virtuously and breathe in nothing else, if possible, than the word of salvation and everything that is for the edification and benefit of your soul; furthermore [p. 759] to banish from you the source of all evils, I mean the love of money, and the filching of the monastery’s possessions or in any other way which the superior has not approved nor the rule given to you has allowed, not only that but as a result of carelessness or some other act of disregard to allow something belonging to the monastery to disappear. For that is the same as the former case, even if it seems to be somewhat different, and brings the same liability in the presence of God. You must root out familiarity as much as possible and, that I may be brief, banish everything that does not lead to salvation.

So, my **fathers** and brothers, let us in no way prefer the things that harm, and pass by those that bring salvation; for nothing of what has been handed on to you is impossible or hard to accomplish. But if one of these [instructions] were to be thought of as such perhaps, yet let us strive, let us persevere, let us endure, let us bear it nobly, let us force ourselves a little. For **you** did not abandon the world for indulgence and luxury, but for exertion and to strive as much as **you** could to gain the good things that were promised. Therefore let us force ourselves, let us force ourselves, as has been said; “for the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence, and men of violence take it by force” (Matt. 11:12). No one has ever gained a triumph by being careless, no one has triumphed over his enemy by sleeping and carelessness. Crowns and triumphs belong to those who run well, toil, strive, persevere in the labors of battles. “Through many tribulations,” the Lord says, “we must enter the kingdom of heaven” (Acts 14:22). So then I beseech you all, “lead a life worthy of your calling” (Eph. 4:1), “present your bodies holy to the Lord” (cf. Rom. 12:1), “love one another” (John 15:12), “run well the race that is set before you” (cf. Heb. 12:1). Whatsoever is good, whatsoever is beloved of God, consider these things (cf. Phil. 4:8). Do not fail to do the things “you have heard and learned” (Phil. 4:9). My brothers, “the appointed time has grown very

short” (I Cor. 7:29). Remember your souls; **pray fervently also for the preservation, might, and permanence of my holy masters, *autokratores* and emperors;** and do not forget in your prayers **our wretchedness and** insignificance.

“The God of peace who called us to his eternal glory” (Heb. 13:20–21), through his great and unspeakable goodness confirm and strengthen you in his holy will through his only-begotten Son Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ and the [p. 760] All-holy and Life-giving Spirit, to whom belong all glory, honor, worship, now and always and for ever and ever, Amen.

Chapter 46

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [47]; differences in boldface]

Partial explanation concerning the ecclesiastical order and other conduct

[The brothers] are to be content with all the chapters that have been written above, as they have been written. Now it is necessary to speak briefly also concerning the ecclesiastical order **and office** that ought to be observed, as we have written in many places,²⁶ in accordance with the **Studite *synaxarion***, which is in effect at the present time, without failure and omission.

So now we must turn our attention to the subjects of our discourse and since **I** wish to begin from a preferable place, it is preferable to begin with the hour that brings us light, that is the first hour of the day, and I think it absolutely necessary that those who are going to give a description of the works of light should begin following the light.

So after the worship of matins, the office of the first hour should be sung, as is customary, **along with the customary prayers, and** the customary genuflections, **too**, should be performed by the able-bodied on the bare floor. Three of them should be completed in a more leisurely manner inasmuch as while you are standing you should say three times to yourselves with hands stretched out “God, be merciful to me the sinner” (Luke 18:13), then when you are kneeling down with your heads resting on the ground, you should say once “I have sinned against thee, Lord, forgive me.” But the remaining twelve should be carried out more quickly so as to utter the aforementioned supplicatory phrases once at each genuflection and each time you stand, but yet in unison and with fitting good order, not with some getting ahead and others falling behind, but all following the lead of the ecclesiarch.

That should take place when “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is not sung during matins; but if it is, the performing of these genuflections should be omitted but three deep bows should be performed **and say while doing them the customary prayers**. If, however, the superior should wish, let also the short *catechesis* from the words of the fathers be presented and let it be read by [p. 761] him, that is, after the completion of the *troparion*.

When the first hour has been completed, as we said, and the priest has spoken his customary prayer, all of you should immediately fall on your faces and hearing the superior asking for your prayers like this, “Brothers, pray for me in the Lord that I may be delivered from passions and the snares of the Evil One,” you should answer, “May God save you, honored father, and you pray for us, holy father, that we may be delivered from passions and the snares of the Evil One.” Then again the superior should say, “May God through the prayers of our fathers save you all.” Then rising, some must depart to **your** tasks, while others [will go] to **your** own cells, avoiding all meeting together and foolish distraction, idle chatter, and disorderly laughter.

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Let each go away to his cell in a sober frame of mind and at the same time most vigilant, doing what is pleasing to God. But if some are discovered to be conducting themselves in a disorderly manner, whether they are young or old and advanced in the monastic life, they are to be admonished with the laws of love by the more devout or even by the superior himself. But, if they do not mend their ways they are to be punished. Going away to your cells you should carry out the whole canonical procedure. For genuflections should not be carried out in the church when “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is sung, as we have said.

In your cells, however, you should always kneel down when you pray, but we will avoid this also in our cells whenever there is a vigil because of the weariness that comes from that, also during the twelve days of Christmas, during Easter week, or even the entire Pentecost. Let, however, those who so choose genuflect after the Easter [week]. So the ritual of the first hour should be like that on the days of the year that are free of fasting.

The details concerning the third [hour] and sixth [hour] have been described earlier in the chapter concerning the divine mystery [of the Eucharist]. Consequently, we must speak also concerning the ninth [hour] and the lamp-lighting office. The ninth [hour], must be sung in the narthex in the same way as the preceding hours, the small semantron being struck for this [hour] and calling us, as is usual.

The regulation in the *synaxarion* sets out very clearly how the office of vespers [p. 762] should be carried out, as well as compline after the supper. When compline has been sung and the priest has said his customary prayer also, you should fall on your knees just as at the end of the first hour and incline your ear to the superior as he says, “Forgive me in the Lord, brothers, for I have sinned in deed, word and in thought.” You should grant him forgiveness, saying, “May God forgive you, father. Forgive us also yourself, honored father, for we have sinned in deed, word, and in thought,” then again he should pray for you and say, “May God through the prayers of our fathers forgive you all.”

Then standing up and according him the required obeisance, you should go away to your cells and carry out your night office in accordance with the regulation, and then full of gratitude and spiritual joy you should turn to sleep until the one who is in charge of **matins** learns from [the clock] the appropriate hour and goes to the superior, receiving from him the required blessing, and then striking the small semantron in the customary way, he will rouse you to sing the midnight office in the narthex. And then when he has sounded the great semantron and the bronze one also, he will call all for the dawn worship, the preliminary part of which must be carried out in this way.

Praise should be ascribed to God by the priest who has the duty for the day, and as he praises God he should at once make the sign of the venerable cross with the censer in front of the holy table; [p. 763] and you replying “Amen,” should immediately [sing] a *trisagion* together with the **nineteenth** psalm and the twentieth, **then the trisagion, and the troparion “Save, Lord, thy people,” “Glory,” “Thou who wert lifted on the cross,” “Both now,” “Let [thy mercies] quickly go before us,”** and the *Kyrie eleison* **fifteen times.**

The priest himself should go round all the divine church and cense everyone, and then, standing before the holy screen, when he has once more made the sign of the venerable cross with the censer, with the censuring he should offer up praise to the all-holy Trinity, speaking as follows,

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“Glory to the holy and consubstantial and life-giving Trinity always, now and always and for ever and ever.” After replying “Amen” the ecclesiarch should at once begin the six psalms, saying the words of the psalms in a low voice slowly, quietly, and carefully, then after its completion, the whole office of matins should be celebrated as the *synaxarion* describes.

Such, then, is our pattern for your daily office, **in the form of summary, as it were**. The hours of the great Lent, however, ought to be sung melodiously within the church, with the customary “Alleluia” and the readings.

Chapter 47

[Borrowed from (32) *Mamas* [48]; differences in boldface]

Advice and soul-beneficial counsel to the superior at the time

Our spiritual father and brother in the Lord. The Word of God the Father, in addition to the other things with which he has benefited us, granted us this, too, [namely,] to be near the living even after death, and, though mortal by nature, to be almost immortal by the power of the spirit. In this respect writing certainly works wonders. Accordingly, I myself, too, **being mortal and being about to undergo the death** which is in accord with nature, I am with you through this piece of writing and I use this as a mouthpiece and I offer it as the voice which I owe you. For I am not even left alone by [p. 764] the scripturally celebrated moth of the bones (Job 4:19; Is. 50:9; Matt. 6:19; Luke 12:33) that continuously stirs and incites me so as to write in brotherly manner once more in fuller detail and to suggest to you sincerely and affectionately some of the things that help [us] to please God.

I, am nudged to write not because I know more than you, whoever, in fact, you may be, but because I have been **assigned to this by the patriarchal and divine majesty**.²⁷

Beloved one, truly great is the dignity of the guidance of souls and difficult to bear is the weight of the leadership of the brothers. For this reason it is necessary for him who has shouldered this to be continually sober and vigilant that he may not, having dozed a little while, be weighed down with the burden itself and be cast quickly to the very pit of destruction. For narrow and precipitous (cf. Matt. 7:14) is the road of life and the slight deviation from the center produces a destruction that is pitiable. For, according to one of the wise men, vices are annexed to virtues and are somehow very near.

It is necessary, therefore, inasmuch as the divine grace **chose you for** this greatest and awesome and very rewarding ministry and rightly and fittingly has appointed you to the leadership of the brothers of our monastery, **or rather of my wholly undefiled, holy Virgin and Mother of God, who is mistress in it**, for you to arise and earnestly to entreat the Divinity by night and day to grant you pastoral skill and freedom from passions of soul and body and to clothe you with the breastplate of righteousness and truth in order that you may neither say nor, in fact, do anything in the state of passion.

For you must be angry without anger and dissemble the passions dispassionately for the amelioration and benefaction of souls that are ill, and take up unto yourself the wars that invisibly come against the brothers from the Evil One, and have patience with their small-mindedness and weakness, and endure nobly their aberrations and their grumblings, and urge them with love and

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tender-heartedness to abstain from the soul-destroying deeds and the irregular and coarse habits, and most of all to live together with devoutness and discretion.

Even if, however, you see that some are disobedient to your words and choose to live indifferently, do not be discouraged or become remiss, but reprove [p. 765] and exhort and teach them the things that contribute to salvation. With genuine understanding do not give up admonishing some privately, while others even openly. Do not think lightly of the things over which they perhaps demur and become angry whenever you give counsel; for double is the crown that you will receive in return, for teaching and advising the things that are proper and certainly also for not being distressed and irascibly disturbed over the things that they complain about loudly and are displeased. But if ever it will be necessary to be harsh, dispassionately you shall discipline and use astringent remedies, sometimes through punishments, sometimes through rather severe words, and sometimes by pretending to turn away and overlook.

For according to the variety of **character** and the degree of fault you ought to apply also the correction, knowing this clearly that neither are all the ages equal, nor, indeed, the minds, and not the same bodily constitutions or habits or dispositions exist in all of them in the same manner. But neither are all the wars equal, but of those who practice asceticism one is tempted in this way while another in another way by the desires or the demons, **as I at least precisely have heard from many ascetics**. Your good understanding must display paternal compassion equally to all and show mercy to all with an ardent and compassionate heart.

Let the lamp of discretion precede every injunction and order of yours to the brothers, and let everything that you ought to manage and accomplish and prescribe publicly or privately and recommend be adorned with discretion, and work at the thoughts of your soul which are for the general benefit with unerring scrutiny and thoughtful study and considerate judgment, not following your own will but rather in every way seeking after the common good. For, if you consider yourself entirely sagacious and abhor the advice of prudent men, you will easily be deceived and by the successive conflicting winds of the travails of self-reliance you will be like a reed being swung about here and there by violent winds.

Your piety must not make with your own hand the more particular payments, that is to say, disbursements, for the financial administration of the monastery and the brothers, for this is unworthy of a director of monks and a spiritual leader of souls.²⁸ It befits us, according to the apostolic exhortation (I Cor. 10:32), to “give no offense” to those on the outside and to remove, as it is possible, all excuse from which fault-seekers are able to find occasions for the calumination of our way of life, [p. 766] whom let us endeavor in all kinds of ways to ward off through our own irreproachable behavior. For from the latter we shall prove that we fulfill the Lord’s statement in the gospels, for he says, “Let your light shine before men” (that is to say, the shepherds and superiors) “that they may see your good works and glorify your Father who is in heaven” (Matt. 5:16).

For it is not possible, it is not possible for the superior’s reputation to be preserved unsullied in any other way unless he sees to it that all income and disbursement and payment be made openly and with the consent of the community and through the hands of others in accordance with his [own] instruction. For this reason, in fact, we suggest to you that the disbursements of the monastery no longer be made through yourself but that you count the sum of *nomismata* and give

them to someone of the more devout brothers in order that all disbursement might be made by him with both your knowledge and order, as we have shown with fuller detail in the chapter concerning the treasurer of *nomismata*.²⁹

These things, as the time permitted, we have suggested to your piety, projecting our love to you in brotherly manner and in every way working at both your irreproachability and the brothers' peaceful way of life and progress towards virtue. As for you, most honorable father, having received a small reminder from us, proceed to add from your part **as a wise and sensible man** the things that are lacking, but [do so] appropriately as well as continuously. For "Give to a wise man an opportunity and he will be wiser" (Prov. 9:9); and I, for my part, call wise one who **carries** in his heart the fear of God, since, in fact, "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord" (Prov. 1:7).

These things are enough for your piety. Pray, however, for the sake of the Lord, **I implore [you], first for my holy masters and emperors, for the army and the entire world, but also for my wretchedness in your fervent supplications to God. May you, the small flock of the Mother of God, be saved for me, and may we all be saved by her entreaties to God which cannot be put to shame.** May the grace of our mankind-loving God and Savior, Jesus Christ, be with you and with us. Amen.[p. 767]

Chapter 48

Concerning the feast of the Dormition of our supremely holy Mistress and Mother of God

In distinction from all the other feasts of my supremely holy Mother of God, the feast of her holy Dormition surely ought to be celebrated very radiantly and lavishly and with all kinds of adornment of her divine church, that is to say, sacred vessels, silk cloths, extraordinary illumination, and all other splendor, with an all-night vigil and sweet-voiced chanters. The fare of the table, too, ought to be more elegant with both fresh and preserved fish up to four dishes, or even more, as the superior at the time is able and chooses [to provide], and a treat [of two extra servings of wine],³⁰ also, ought to be given for the glory and honor of my supremely holy Mother of God.

At this commemoration of the Mother of God as many visitors as the superior wishes, if not all, will be guests at the table. But let also the nearby women enter on the day of the feast proper, and that alone, for the sake of worship, and let them depart immediately.

This feast, namely, of the Dormition of my supremely holy Mother of God, shall be celebrated radiantly not only in the monastery but also in the dependency itself, as the superior is able and chooses to do. I believe, however, that he will not wish to pass over any of the things that are possible and fitting for the honor of my supremely holy Mother of God. But let also the annual commemoration of Saint Basianos³¹ be celebrated in the dependency without failure, as the superior is both able and willing to do in order that he himself might not bear the guilt.

Chapter 49

Concerning the commemoration of my master and emperor

Let the commemoration of my master and emperor, Lord Manuel [Komnenos], Born-in-

the-Purple, be performed, so long as, God approving, he is among the living, in accordance with the traditional custom, but after his departure to the Lord, in the following manner. In the evening the lights must be lit in the church just as on the feasts, and a prolonged night office is to be held, and the “*Kyrie eleison*” must be said a hundred times. While on the morrow a special liturgy is to be celebrated with *kollyba*, and a refreshment [provided] for the monks with fresh fish up to three dishes and the customary extra [serving of wine] that is, the [so-called] blessing. At the gate, the following must be distributed: three maritime *modioi* of bread, three like measures of wine, and *tetartera* to the value of two *trikephala nomismata*. He is also to be commemorated every day at [p. 768] matins, the liturgy, and vespers. The “*Kyrie eleison*” is to be said in sets of six.

Chapter 50

Concerning how I am to be commemorated both now and after my departure to the Lord

The things then that I procured and achieved by my personal labors and relentless efforts for the support of the frequently mentioned monastery of my supremely holy Mother of God have been stated quite clearly in the prefatory account of my present *typikon*. Since, however, according to the divine statement in the gospels, “The laborer deserves his wages” (Luke 10:7; cf. I Tim. 5:18), and those who toil over good deeds must be treated kindly with fitting repayments, I, too, supplicate and beseech both you who are found in the monastery today and those after you to grant me repayment for the deeds over which, in accordance with my ability, I have toiled and zealously pursued the things pertaining to your sustenance and the things pertaining to the support of the monastery, by observing the following [instructions] intact and inviolate.

At the present time, so long as I am among the living, my commemoration ought to be done in such a way that in every canonical office of the day and night an *ektenes* may be made on my behalf, and the “*Kyrie eleison*” be said six times at a time, at vespers as well as during matins and the liturgy. During matins, after the completion of the sixth ode, let also a supplicatory *trisagion* be performed with the *troparia*: “Have mercy on us, Lord, have mercy on us,” “Glory,” “Lord, have mercy on us, for in you we trust,” “Both now,” [and] “The gate of compassion.” Next an *ektenes* [is to be made] by the priest, and the “*Kyrie eleison*” must be said fifteen times. At vespers every Sunday, after the dismissal of the lamp-lighting office, let the canon of supplication to the supremely holy Mother of God be sung, and on the morrow a very special liturgy. In all the liturgies that are performed in the church, one offering [of eucharistic bread] ought to be offered in my name.

Let the same things, however, be done also after my departure to the Lord, that is to say, at the end of the sixth ode on each [Sunday], [you must sing] the *trisagion* and the [following] customary funerary *troparia*, “Thou who with the depth of wisdom and love of mankind,” “Glory,” “With the saints give rest,” “Both now,” “Thou who art both rampart and harbor,” and the *ektenes*. In the same manner also after the dismissal of vespers each Sunday the funeral canon is to be sung and on the morrow the liturgy.

At the time of my annual commemoration, however, [p. 769] the lights in the church must be lit just as on the feasts, and a prolonged night office [must take place] with two

candelabra with twelve candleholders and four tapers, and [on] the morrow most specially a liturgy. At the table three dishes of fresh fish must be served and the customary treat [of an extra serving of wine] [must] be given with a very fine wine. As soon as the liturgy is dismissed, to each of the brothers is given without delay for the sake of a small consolation a *trikephalon*, . . . one to all of them equally. Let there also be a distribution at the gate to my brothers in Christ, the poor, of four maritime *modioi* of bread, four like measures of wine, and *tetartera* to the value of two *trikephala*. The same procedure ought to be followed in exactly the same way also in the dependency which is within the imperial city [of Constantinople], both in my lifetime and at my departure to the Lord without the distribution at the gate.

Chapter 51

Concerning the commemorations of the original founders

Let also the commemorations of those original and blessed founders be performed without failure and without any excuse whatsoever both in the principal monastery and in its dependency with both a night office and a liturgy. They [must] be mentioned in every office, the *trisagion* [must] also be sung every day on their behalf, and they [must] be commemorated.

The *doulos* of our mighty and holy emperor the *mystikos* Nikephoros.

Notes on the Translation

1. See [37] below.
2. Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 1044.
3. (27) *Kecharitomene* [11] has “with only the names changed,” which makes better sense.
4. In [1] above.
5. See Prologue above and [26], [37] below.
6. For this foundation, see [5], [26], [37], [48], and [50] below, with Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 60–61.
7. Perhaps (4) *Stoudios* or a contemporary version of same; see also [18], [45], [46] below.
8. Reading *ichthyas* (fish), as in (32) *Mamas* [18], for the edition’s *ischadas* (dry figs).
9. Feast of the Discovery of the Head of St. John the Forerunner, February 24; feast of the Annunciation, March 25.
10. Feast of the Forty Martyrs, March 9.
11. Fast of the Holy Apostles, from Monday after the feast of All Saints (Sunday after Pentecost) through the vigil of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 28.
12. Fast of the Holy Nativity, from November 15 until Christmas.
13. For the Artzibourians, see (20) *Black Mountain* [55] with note.
14. The heresy of the *Tetraditai*; cf. (20) *Black Mountain* [55], n. 68.
15. Feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God, August 15.
16. Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, September 14.
17. See also (34) *Machairas* [132] and the Pachomian *Praecepta* [73], [75], ed. A. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina* (Louvain, 1932), pp. 34–35.
18. (34) *Machairas* [133] is similar; see also the Pachomian *Praecepta* [97], ed. Boon, p. 40.
19. (28) *Pantokrator* [14] is similar.

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20. In [5] above.
21. See Prologue and [4] above.
22. *Thesaurus Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni*, ed. J. Mossay (Turnhout, 1990–91), p. 11.
23. See Prologue above.
24. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 28, PG 31, col. 1417C.
25. (22) *Evergetis* [18] adds here “in the Holy Spirit,” completing a scriptural quotation from Rom. 9:1. This is important to the understanding of the text, which does not refer to excommunication but to the superior’s sinful participation in the liturgy. The subsequent statement (ed. p. 756, lines 35 ff.) supports this interpretation.
26. In [8], [18], and [45] above.
27. Cf. Prologue above.
28. See also (3) *Theodore Studites* [22] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [32].
29. In [10] above.
30. *Eulogiai*: the reference is to extra servings of wine. See chapters [49] and [50].
31. October 10.

Document Notes

- [1] Choice of the superior. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [1]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [13] and related documents. Our author adds “the more eminent” monks to the officials as preferred candidates for the superiorship; the protector is told to find additional candidates, if necessary, from among the monks of Mount Olympos, the Hellespont, or Constantinople.
- [2] Removal of the superior. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [2]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [88], [89]. [90]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14] and related documents.
- [3] Role of the protector. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [3]. See also earlier treatment in (27) *Kecharitomene* [3].
- [4] Independent and self-governing status. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [4]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [21]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [12] and related documents.
- [5] Number of monks; voluntary entrance gifts inalienable. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [5]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [59]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [23], [37] and related documents.
- [6] Installation ceremony for officials. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [6]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [92]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [29] and related documents.
- [7] Installation of the steward. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [7]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [81]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [13] and related documents.
- [8] Duties of the ecclesiarch. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [8]; shared later with (58) *Menoikeion* [4]. See also earlier treatment in (27) *Kecharitomene* [20]. Our author substitutes the Studite *synxarion* for that of *Evergetis* here and in [45], [46] below.
- [9] Duties of the sacristan and archivist. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [9]; shared later with (58) *Menoikeion* [5]. See also earlier treatment in (27) *Kecharitomene* [19].
- [10] Duties of the treasurer. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [10]. See also earlier treatment in (27) *Kecharitomene* [24].
- [11] Duties of the cellarer. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [11] with an abridgement; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [96]. Our author omits the reference to the cook and the instruction to serve only one dish at a time found in (32) *Mamas* [11]. See also earlier treatment in (27) *Kecharitomene* [23].
- [12] Duties of the gatekeeper. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [12]; shared later with (58) *Menoikeion* [7]. See also earlier treatment in (27) *Kecharitomene* [29].
- [13] Charity for poor monks and laymen. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [13]; shared later with (58) *Menoikeion* [7].
- [14] Superior may appoint other officials. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [14]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [39] and related documents.
- [15] Preservation of the *typikon*. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [15].

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- [16] Reading of the *typikon*. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [16]; shared later with (58) *Menoikeion* [9]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [43] and related documents. Note the clear distinction our author makes between “monks” and “brothers” here and elsewhere in this document.
- [17] Diet for non-fast days. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [17]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [61], [62], and (58) *Menoikeion* [8]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [9].
- [18] Diet during fasts. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [18]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [67], [68], [69], [70], [71], [72], [73], [76]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [10] and related documents.
- [19] Diet to spite the Artzibourians; fellow-brethren to eat with other monks; blessing of the grapes. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [19]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [78], [79] (except for the blessing). See other treatments of this diet in (20) *Black Mountain* [55], [90]; (28) *Pantokrator* [12]; (30) *Phoberos* [19]; and (36) *Blemmydes* [11]. Our author adds farmers and fishermen to the list of the fellow-brethren found in (32) *Mamas* [19].
- [20] No secret eating; superior’s inspection of cells. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [20]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [22], [27] and related documents.
- [21] No absences from the office. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [21]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [49]. See similar provision in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [80].
- [22] Length of the novitiate. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [22]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [55], [56], [57], [58], [60]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [37] and related documents.
- [23] Exhortation to the officials. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [23]; shared later with (58) *Menoikeion* [10]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [33].
- [24] Demonstration of respect for the superior. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [24], with an abridgement. Our author omits the requirement in his model that the monks show respect for one another. (28) *Pantokrator* [14] is very similar to this chapter; see different treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [16] and related documents.
- [25] Maintenance of cenobitic life. See also [5] above. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [25]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [11]; earlier treatment in (27) *Kecharitomene* [55].
- [26] No kelliotic monks or imposed guests. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [26]; shared later with (58) *Menoikeion* [11]. See also earlier treatment in (27) *Kecharitomene* [53]. Note our author’s intense hostility to kelliotic monasticism.
- [27] No access for women or resident laymen. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [27], with abridgements. Our author omits the partial exception for noblewomen found in his model. See different treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [39] and related documents and in (28) *Pantokrator* [18].
- [28] Clothing and bathing allowances. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [28], with an abridgement. Our author omits the more complicated schedule of payments in his model. See different treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [25], [28] and related documents; (28) *Pantokrator* [15], [22]; and (31) *Areia* [T3], [T4].
- [29] Confession to the superior; exception. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [29]; shared later with (58) *Menoikeion* [13]. See different treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [7], [15] and related documents, and in (28) *Pantokrator* [20].
- [30] Exhortation to confession. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [30]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [51]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [7] and related documents.
- [31] Offices of the third and sixth hours. See also [46] below. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [31]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [35].
- [32] Reception of communion. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [32]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [36], [37], [38], [39] and (58) *Menoikeion* [16]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [5] and related documents.
- [33] Equality in food and drink; care of the sick; ban on servants. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [34]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [87], [106], [107], [108]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [24], [26], [41] and related documents. Our author assigns the superior (rather than just any monk) the responsibility of seeking admission for a sick monk at a hospice.

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- [34] No idle talking; no private possessions. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [35]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [87], [113] and (58) *Menoikeion* [17]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [21], [22] and related documents.
- [35] No arguments over precedence. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [36]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [64]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [9] and related documents.
- [36] Maintenance of elderly monks. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [33]. See also the subsequent treatment of this issue in (55) *Athanasios I* [7].
- [37] Purpose of the inventory. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [37]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [94]. Note important information on the return of sacred vessels, books, etc. from Hagia Sophia; cf. the books discussed in (24) *Christodoulos* [C6], [C7].
- [38] Exhortation to the protector. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [38]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [161].
- [39] Commemoration of deceased monks. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [39]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [157]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [36] and related documents. Our author provides an alternative location for the commemoration “at the grave.”
- [40] Why the *typikon* was composed. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [41]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [162].
- [41] Instructions to the superior. See also [47] below. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [42]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [144] and (58) *Menoikeion* [19]; earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [17] and related documents.
- [42] Instructions for a superior from another monastery. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [43]. See also the later treatment in (37) *Auxentios* [3].
- [43] Monks not to question superior; superior not to spend the monastery’s wealth for friends or relatives. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [44]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [145], [146]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [18] and related documents.
- [44] No partiality in elections; hostility to privilege. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [45]; shared later with (58) *Menoikeion* [18]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [14], [17] and related documents.
- [45] Final exhortation. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [46]; shared later with (34) *Machairas* [163], [166], [168]. See also earlier treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [42], [43] and related documents, and in (31) *Areia* [T13].
- [46] Summary of the canonical hours. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [47], with an abridgement; shared later by (34) *Machairas* [30], [31], [32], [33], [34], [48]. Our author shortens the discussion of the night and the midnight offices in his model.
- [47] Message to the superior. See also [41] above. Copied from (32) *Mamas* [48].
- [48] Feast of the Dormition. See other provisions for this feast in (10) *Eleousa* [13]; (22) *Evergetis* [11]; (23) *Pakourianos* [11]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [10], [29], [65]; and (34) *Machairas* [27], cf. [29].
- [49] Commemoration of the emperor. See also earlier requests for prayers for the emperors in [45], [47] above, and comparable provisions in (25) *Fragala* [C3], [C5]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [34], [71]; (28) *Pantokrator* [3]; and (34) *Machairas* [24].
- [50] Founder’s commemoration. See other provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [35], Appendix; (23) *Pakourianos* [12]; (28) *Pantokrator* [8], [44], [72]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [7], [11], [64], [72], [91]; (32) *Mamas* [40]; and (37) *Auxentios* [13].
- [51] Commemoration of the original founders. See also the provision in (40) *Anargyroi* [6].

CHAPTER SEVEN

Independent and Self-Governing Monasteries of the Thirteenth Century

“Monasteries that are self-governing are more flourishing and self-sufficient than those that are subject to various individuals. For these enjoy what they possess without any diminution, whereas the others receive little or nothing of their revenues.” (37) *Auxentios* [2]

“This is my wish, and I bid you as a mother, so to speak, or rather I command it as your mistress. For I am permitted to decree my wishes in my own affairs, especially since I happen to be a *despoina* by the mercy of my all-powerful God.” (39) *Lips* [11]

“As an overall principle there should never be any investigation or correction of the spiritual failings here by an outsider, but I ordain that all the care for this brotherhood should be borne solely by their leader.” (34) *Blemmydes* [1]

This chapter includes seven thirteenth-century documents composed by their authors for independent monasteries. The documents represent a broad spectrum of authorship: (34) *Machairas* was authored by a bishop, (35) *Skoteine* by a monk of very modest social origin, (36) *Blemmydes* by a monk from a middle-class background, and (37) *Auxentios*, (38) *Kellibara I*, (39) *Lips*, and (40) *Anargyroi* by members of the imperial family. The last two were composed for convents, while all the rest were written for men’s monasteries.

Chronologically, the documents are spread throughout the century, with (34) *Machairas* coming near the beginning in 1210, followed by (35) *Skoteine* and (36) *Blemmydes* at mid-century in 1247 and 1248, respectively, then with (37) *Auxentios* and (38) *Kellibara I* towards the end of the reign of their author, Michael VIII Palaiologos, in 1280/81 and 1282 respectively. Theodora Palaiologina’s (39) *Lips* and (40) *Anargyroi* date from the last few years of the thirteenth century or, just possibly, the early years of the next.

A. Typology of the Documents

One of the documents, (35) *Skoteine*, is described by its author as a testament, while the rest are founders’ *typika*. Of the latter, the texts of (36) *Blemmydes* and (38) *Kellibara I* are substantially incomplete. (34) *Machairas* reflects a complex textual background rooted in the twelfth-century milieu of reform monasteries. None of the other documents shows evidence of the direct textual dependence on *typika* of the reform tradition as it does, although the author of (39) *Lips* apparently utilized (27) *Kecharitomene* or some similar text as a structural model. The other documents

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in this chapter are essentially original compositions, like those *typika* and testaments drawn up before (22) *Evergetis* began to serve as a model for reform-minded founders in the twelfth century. After (34) *Machairas*, the determination to break out of the mold of Evergetian textual dependency became general, even though most of the later documents continue to reflect a considerable number of Evergetian institutions and customs that had been assimilated into the mainstream of Byzantine monasticism.

Although aside from (34) *Machairas*, textual fidelity to documents of the reform tradition was not a concern for the authors of the documents in this chapter, many were written nevertheless with other documents in mind. The authors of (35) *Skoteine* [12], [24], (37) *Auxentios* [8], [10], and (39) *Lips* [30] are able to omit detailed regulation of liturgical matters by acknowledging external *typika*, usually the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas, as being authoritative for their own foundations. The author of (40) *Anargyroi* [5] was able to dispense almost entirely with the writing of a new *typikon* by incorporating (39) *Lips* by reference. (40) *Anargyroi* [6] also acknowledges the validity of an earlier *typikon* written for this foundation. Finally, in addition to utilizing the Evergetian textual tradition, the author of (34) *Machairas* [12], also refers [12], [18] to the testament of his predecessor Ignatios and incorporates ([121] through [131]), some pseudo-Basilian disciplinary canons.

Reflecting the continued concern for the security of their foundations' assets that the founders in this chapter inherited from their twelfth-century predecessors, the majority of their foundation documents incorporated inventories of property. The most detailed are (35) *Skoteine* [22] ff. and (39) *Lips* [43] ff. The inventory once in (37) *Auxentios* [17] is now lost, while the one in (40) *Anargyroi* [4] is incomplete due to a gap in the text. It is reasonable to suppose that the now incomplete texts of (36) *Blemmydes* and (38) *Kellibara I* also once included inventories.

B. Relation of the Documents to the Monastic Reform Tradition

Among these documents, arguably only (34) *Machairas*, on the strength of its textual links to (22) *Evergetis*, can be considered a tentative member of the Evergetian family of reform monasteries. Although its author certainly utilized a version of (32) *Mamas* as well, he made a conspicuous return to several Evergetian institutions and usages absent from the Maman recension.¹ Among other results, these Evergetian revivals strengthened the cenobitic character of his foundation. The other authors were not oblivious to the influence of the monastic reform tradition, however. The author of (35) *Skoteine* was especially keen to strengthen cenobitic institutions, and to this end endorsed practices dear (though not exclusive) to most reform founders such as eating in common, sharing the same food, and banning personal possessions. The fragments of (36) *Blemmydes* show some evidence of influence both from the early Evergetian tradition, including the rejection of episcopal oversight and a use of canon law and patristic precedent, as well as from later developments in the reform tradition such as the institutionalization of monastic ranks.² On the whole, however, (36) *Blemmydes* must be considered a strongly idiosyncratic document, at least in the form in which it has come down to us.

¹ (34) *Machairas* [50], [51], [52], [54], [87A], [102], [103], [109], [118], [141].

² (36) *Blemmydes* [1], [9], [11].

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More specifically Evergetian influence is apparent in most of the documents of imperial authorship. (37) *Auxentios* shares many institutions and even some use of diction with (22) *Evergetis*.³ Evergetian usages are even more obvious and numerous in (39) *Lips*, whose author may have used (directly or indirectly) the strongly Evergetian (27) *Kecharitomene*.⁴ Both by virtue of its authoritative citation [5] of (39) *Lips* and on its own, e.g., the requirement [5] of keeping a register of accounts, (40) *Anargyroi* likewise shows the influence of the monastic reform tradition in the twelfth century.

Finally, despite the diversity of background among them, all of the authors of these documents endorse (at least nominally) for their foundations the institutional independence which is itself one of the most important legacies of the reform movement.⁵

C. Other Concerns of the Authors

1. Fixed Assignments to Liturgical and Service Duties

The division of the authors' monastic communities into monks assigned to liturgical duties and those with service functions, which is anticipated in the twelfth century by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3], is still ambiguous in the semi-Evergetian (34) *Machairas* [165]. Thereafter, our authors recognize a formal division, as in (35) *Skoteine* [14], with the possible exception of the fragmentary (36) *Blemmydes*.

The imperial founders were very careful to specify the precise numbers of monks or nuns that could be supported in their respective foundations; they also specified how the positions available should be allocated between liturgical and service assignments.⁶ In her foundations, Empress Theodora Palaiologina preferred to allocate a larger percentage (60%) of her nuns to hymnody than her husband Emperor Michael VIII did (40%) in his monasteries, possibly because his monks handled more administrative responsibilities directly than her nuns did. Our other founders either relied on gifts from benefactors and postulants, like the author of (35) *Skoteine*,⁷ or mandated a one-to-one replacement of existing monks, like the author of (34) *Machairas* [164]. Overall, the total numbers of monks ranged from the twenty reported at one time to have been at the ascetic Maximos' foundation in (35) *Skoteine* [8] to the fifty nuns provided for in (39) *Lips* [4].

2. Revival of Manual Labor

The development of a separate class of monks formally freed of liturgical responsibilities signals the revival of the practice of manual labor by these monks. As (32) *Mamas* [19] and (33) *Heliou*

³ See (37) *Auxentios* Analysis, A-2.

⁴ See (39) *Lips* Analysis, A.

⁵ (34) *Machairas* [21], (35) *Skoteine* [20], (36) *Blemmydes* [1], (37) *Auxentios* [2], (38) *Kellibara I* [15], (39) *Lips* [1], and (40) *Anargyroi* [3]. Epigraphic evidence confirms the diversity of benefactors; see Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece* (Vienna, 1992), esp. pp. 28–46.

⁶ (37) *Auxentios* [6]: not more than 40 monks (split 16/24); (38) *Kellibara I* [17]: 36 monks (split 15/21); (39) *Lips* [4]: 50 nuns (split 30/20); and (40) *Anargyroi* [6]: 30 nuns (split 18/12).

⁷ (35) *Skoteine* [9], [10], [36], [41], [45] (benefactors' gifts), [33], [38], [39] (postulants' gifts, i.e., *prosenexeis*).

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Bomon [19] show, a start had been made in the second half of the twelfth century. There are incidental references to manual labor in (34) *Machairas*.⁸ In (35) *Skoteine*, some monks practiced [41] viticulture while others manufactured [23] clothing. In (37) *Auxentios* [6] some of the monks worked in the fields, while postulants were rotated [7] through all of the service functions of the monastery. In both (39) *Lips* [4] and (40) *Anargyroi* [6] nuns were assigned to household duties.

3. Importance of Liturgical Responsibilities

There can be no question that for founders the performance of hymnody and the liturgy remained of paramount importance, reflected in the allocations of monastic personnel to these tasks and the careful provisions for stationing clergy at each church where commemorations were to take place.⁹ In the previous century, founders had quickly lapsed from the standard of a daily celebration of the liturgy provided in (22) *Evergetis* [5], and celebrations became less frequent. In the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [36] returns to the daily liturgy, while (39) *Lips* [30] provides for it five times and (40) *Anargyroi* [5] four times during the week. (34) *Machairas* [40], [41] and (36) *Blemmydes* [4] add a new concern for the purity of the ingredients of the eucharistic bread.

4. More Lenient Requirements for Tonsure

Twelfth-century founders in the reform tradition had generally followed (22) *Evergetis* [37] in allowing an accelerated novitiate of six months for notables while holding all others to a longer term of a year that subsequent founders sought to lengthen to two or three years. Alone among the documents in this chapter, (34) *Machairas* [55], [56] upholds the double-tracked novitiate with the original Evergetian terms of service. The attempt by the author of (36) *Blemmydes* [9] to make all adult candidates serve a three-year novitiate did not find favor among the rest of our authors. Generally they preferred shorter novitiates: six months in (37) *Auxentios* [12], one year in (39) *Lips* [18] (six months for “mature” women) and (presumably) (40) *Anargyroi*. Our authors shared their twelfth-century counterparts’ increasingly relaxed attitudes towards the admission of monks tonsured elsewhere. (34) *Machairas* [60], (35) *Skoteine* [17], and (39) *Lips* [20] welcome worthy ascetics (though in (34) *Machairas* [148] not as superior), while a *xenokourites* became the first superior of the *Skoteine* monastery.

5. Increasing Tolerance for Alternative Forms of Monasticism

Some of our thirteenth-century founders subscribed to a more tolerant view of alternative forms of monastic life than was typical in some twelfth-century documents such as (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26]. (34) *Machairas*, for instance, generally endorses the principles of Evergetian cenobiticism, but [152] provides for the settlement of solitaries as well. So does its contemporary, (45) *Neophytos* [17], written for a private foundation (see below, Chapter Eight). Towards the end of the century, (37) *Auxentios* [11] permits the coexistence of solitary and hesychastic forms of monasticism. Yet earlier, (35) *Skoteine* [13] is strongly pro-cenobitic, rejecting solitary and kelliotic alternatives. (38) *Kellibara I* [17] might also be interpreted as being anti-kelliotic in so far as it provides for the extension of the main monastery’s cenobitic rule in the foundation’s small dependencies. For the

⁸ (34) *Machairas* [32], [33], [86], [120].

⁹ Cf. (34) *Machairas* [49], (35) *Skoteine* [14], (36) *Blemmydes* [13], (37) *Auxentios* [6], (38) *Kellibara I* [17], (39) *Lips* [30], [52], and (40) *Anargyroi* [6].

cloistered nunneries, alternatives to cenobiticism were usually not at issue. The regulations for the common life in (39) *Lips* [25] are lost in a gap in text, but the [29] refectory procedures are Evergetian. (40) *Anargyroi* [5] was ordered to follow *Lips* in the practice of cenobiticism.

6. Attenuation of the Concept of Institutional Independence

Institutional independence, one of the more enduring features of the monastic reform, is contrasted favorably to private ownership of religious foundations in (37) *Auxentios* [2] on the practical grounds that “monasteries which are self-governing are more flourishing and self-sufficient than those which are subject to various individuals.” Nevertheless, some founders chose to impose protectorates on their foundations as their predecessors had done to many reform monasteries in the twelfth century:¹⁰ (34) *Machairas* [147] alludes to a protector, and appeals [161] to local Frankish magistrates on the island of Cyprus to help uphold the *typikon*; in (38) *Kellibara I* [16] the emperor designates himself as the foundation’s guardian, while in (37) *Auxentios* [3], [5] he functions like one without holding the actual title; in (39) *Lips* [3] the emperor and his successors are designated to serve as the foundation’s protectors and guardians. As we have seen, a protectorate, if carefully and strictly limited, was not thought to be incompatible with a degree of institutional independence.

Although all the authors in this chapter assert the independence of their foundations, the precise meaning of independence must have varied from institution to institution. The blood relationships of many of the monks in (35) *Skoteine* [4] as well as the extensive network of supportive local patronage must have made the institution for which that document was written more like a private or communal monastery. We know from the historian Pachymeres that the institutional independence claimed by the author of (36) *Blemmydes* [1] was not successfully maintained since his monastery was confiscated after his death and subordinated instead to the Galesios monastery.¹¹ Then there is the unique relationship between the institutions represented by (39) *Lips* and (40) *Anargyroi*, which are described by their author as being “separate in unity.” Although the institutions for which they were written were nominally independent, their founder saw no incompatibility in asserting ownership over both of them: see (40) *Anargyroi* [3], “[Lips is] considered mine no less than this one [*Anargyroi*]” (cf. (39) *Lips* [11]). Indeed, not only in the case of these two institutions but also in those represented by (37) *Auxentios* and (38) *Kellibara I* we find that institutional independence in reality may have been no more than a thin overlay of ideological rectitude placed upon the bedrock of traditional institutions of imperial patronage.

7. Contemporary Threats to Institutional Independence

In the case of all these thirteenth-century foundations, the critical question is “independent of what?” The catalogue of perceived threats to independence is instructive. (34) *Machairas* [21] follows the original but vague formulation of (22) *Evergetis* [12] closely and warns off both ecclesiastical and imperial authorities as well as private individuals. The author of (35) *Skoteine* [20] was worried about ecclesiastical officials and (appropriately for a foundation of private origins) private individuals. The author of (36) *Blemmydes* [1] was concerned exclusively about the eccle-

¹⁰ (27) *Kecharitomene* [3], (28) *Pantokrator* [70], (32) *Mamas* [3], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [3].

¹¹ Pachymeres, *De Michaele Palaeologo* 5.2, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB*, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1835), p. 342.

siastical hierarchy and their representatives. The Emperor Michael VIII was not particularly concerned that any private individual would dare to seize an imperial foundation. In (37) *Auxentios* [2] he adds to the traditional twelfth-century prohibitions on the establishment of an (external) protectorate or donation under *epidosis* to another monastery a proviso that his monastery should not be united (through *henosis*) to another ecclesiastical foundation either. Similarly, in (38) *Kellibara I* [15], he provides that the foundation for which this document was written should not be added or joined to any monastery, church or philanthropic institution. The fact that the emperor himself used *henosis* in a good cause in (38) *Kellibara I* [14] suggests that he was aware of the potential for its misuse by others.

Michael VIII was even more worried that one of his successors might be tempted to reclaim the assets he had consecrated to the support of the imperial monastery described in (37) *Auxentios*. To forestall this, the emperor advances a novel argument in (37) *Auxentios* [15] that his successors should feel bound to confirm his benefactions to ecclesiastical institutions just as he himself has felt obliged to confirm the dispositions of his predecessors to religious foundations and other beneficiaries of imperial largess. Empress Theodora Palaiologina makes her own argument for the sanctity of testamentary provisions in (40) *Anargyroi* [1]. Clearly we are moving into the final phase of Byzantine history during which the hard-pressed public authorities, both lay and ecclesiastical, were once again losing their scruples about disregarding the wishes of private benefactors, either out of concern for the interests of state or alleged “solicitude” (*kedemonia*) for the welfare of the institutions in question.

Therefore, it appears that in their essentially reactive conceptualization of the term, “independence” for our thirteenth century founders meant immunity for their religious foundations from subordination to external authority or, *in extremis*, secularization. The original reform notion that “independence” meant also institutional self-governance, that is, independence also from arbitrary rule by the founder and his heirs, was less self-evident to the founders of this era, though (37) *Auxentios* [2] admits with amazing candor that foundations subject to individuals were liable to see their supposed benefactors dispose of institutional assets as if they were personal property.

8. Institutional Self-Governance

The key to institutional independence in the positive sense of the term, i.e., genuine self-governance, was a superior permitted to be elected and then to govern his foundation without routine interference by founders, patrons, or public officials. All of our authors who address the issue provide for internal selection of the superior by the monks themselves,¹² though for a time at the foundation for which (34) *Machairas* [12], [140] was written, the superior chose his own successor. The extent of the superior’s authority and the style of rule recommended to him varied from institution to institution. In (34) *Machairas* [91] the superior apparently appointed all the monastery’s officials, was intimately involved [82] in its financial administration, and generally ruled with an iron hand. In (35) *Skoteine*, the author indicates [15] his preference that the superior consider himself “of equal station” with the rest of the monks, who were obliged [16] to report

¹² (34) *Machairas* [17]; (37) *Auxentios* [3]; (38) *Kellibara I* [18]; (39) *Lips* [5]; (40) *Anargyroi* [5].

their superior to the local metropolitan if he neglected the foundation's financial affairs. In (36) *Blemmydes* [1] the superior could be indicted for heresy by the monastery's educated monks and removed from office if condemned by the (patriarchal) synod. In (37) *Auxentios* [2] Michael VIII also prefers that the superior rule jointly with the "leading monks," especially where financial matters were concerned [7]. In a more general way in (38) *Kellibara I* [15] he affirms the competence of the superior and rest of the community to administer all material and spiritual matters in the foundation for which that document was written. In (39) *Lips* Theodora Palaiologina obliges the superior to consult with the foundation's spiritual father as well as the leading nuns on a number of important administrative and procedural matters.¹³ Upon being reported to the spiritual father by the leading nuns, she might also be removed [10] by him. Although the superior was to rule by consensus [27], her stance towards ordinary nuns tended to be authoritarian [9].

9. Continued Restriction of Patronal Privileges

The curtailment of patronal rights was another area in which the Byzantine monastic reform movement had an impact that endured throughout the thirteenth century. In (34) *Machairas*, the twelfth-century practice [12], [140] of the superior designating his own successor evidently was abandoned in the thirteenth century for a community-wide election [17]. In (37) *Auxentios* [3] Michael VIII reserves for himself the right to choose a new superior, but only if the monks cannot reach a unanimous decision on their own; he also claims [3] the right to install the new superior in office and to mediate [5] disputes between the superior and the leading monks. In (38) *Kellibara I* [16], however, he limits himself and his successors as protectors to the reward of assistance from the Almighty and the patron St. Demetrios. Also, in what is probably the most expansive claim for patronal privilege seen in this chapter's documents, (39) *Lips* [40], [41] decrees extensive preferential admission privileges for Theodora Palaiologina's family, relatives, and other noble ladies. Otherwise, the patronal privileges claimed by our authors fall well within the restricted parameters permitted by the reform movement since the late eleventh century: principally, prayers and liturgical commemorations,¹⁴ and (occasionally) burial within the foundation's church.¹⁵

10. Financial Management

Insofar as can be determined, the foundations represented by these documents generally supported themselves with the revenues derived from their landed endowments, with the possible exception of one of Michael VIII's two foundations (see (37) *Auxentios* [1]). In (34) *Machairas* [85] property managers were responsible for the cultivation of these lands, and, contrary to the reform tradition, alienation of distant properties was permitted [111] if their management posed a threat of spiritual harm to the monks. In (35) *Skoteine* [10] monks administered and may have even worked on lands attached to the foundation's dependencies. Both (40) *Anargyroi* [2] and (39) *Lips* [44] ff. were supported by endowed properties, in these cases worked by dependent peasants. (39) *Lips* [43] bans the alienation of landed properties but permits the pawning of sacred vessels in fiscal emergencies.

¹³ (39) *Lips* [10], [12], [23], [32], [38], [39].

¹⁴ (34) *Machairas* [31], [44], [150], [154]; (35) *Skoteine* [10], [19]; (39) *Lips* [30], [42], [52]; and (40) *Anargyroi* [6].

¹⁵ (35) *Skoteine* [9] and (39) *Lips* [42].

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The treatment of entrance gifts suggests a slight softening of the position advocated previously by the reform tradition. (34) *Machairas* [57] typically endorses the Evergetian position that postulants should not be required to pay entrance gifts, though voluntary donations were acceptable [58]. There is no discussion of the issue in either of the documents associated with Michael VIII's foundations, nor does (35) *Skoteine* address the issue, perhaps, in that case, for the very good reason that entrance gifts (voluntary or not) were an important source of revenue there. The author of (39) *Lips* [14] returns to the classic Evergetian position on entrance gifts; a presumably voluntary gift of this sort is recorded in [49].

Perhaps increasing criticism of the wealth of the empire's most successful independent religious foundations made some thirteenth-century founders leery of imitating the practice of building up a reserve fund as some monasteries did in the twelfth century.¹⁶ In (37) *Auxentios* [9] Michael VIII orders that his monastery should not store up unneeded revenue but instead donate it to various charitable causes, yet in (39) *Lips* [23] Theodora Palaiologina takes for granted the existence of a reserve fund at her convent.

11. Provisions for Financial Oversight

Thanks in part to the success of reform monasteries in the previous century, none of our authors doubted the importance of honest, competent financial administration for a religious foundation's well-being. Our authors did differ in their approaches for achieving it, however. In (34) *Machairas* [87], Neilos of Tamasia has the steward work under the superior's close supervision; the latter even accompanies [82] him on his inspections of the monastery's properties so that it was necessary to appoint [86] a second steward to substitute for the superior during his absences from the monastery. Maximos, the author of (35) *Skoteine* [21], also prefers that the superior should be involved in even the small details of the monastery's administration. In (37) *Auxentios* [7] Michael VIII seems to disagree as he orders the superior to rely on officials "of proven competence," since otherwise there would be "too much for one man to handle." Then, for the cloistered nuns in her two foundations, Theodora Palaiologina felt constrained to resort to salaried, non-resident laymen as stewards, who reported on a regular basis to the superiors of these convents.¹⁷

The procedural safeguards devised by the reform monasteries of the twelfth century also found favor with our authors. (34) *Machairas* [101] provides for a reconciliation of the monastery's financial accounts every other month while (37) *Auxentios* [9] orders that this should be done monthly. (40) *Anargyroi* [5] also requires the maintenance of a register of accounts while (39) *Lips* [22] mentions written records of property turned over for administration to the sacristan and treasurer.

12. Ambivalent Attitudes towards Aristocratic Privilege

Where it can be detected and analyzed, our authors' attitude towards aristocratic privilege shows a further move away from the egalitarian tendencies of Evergetian monasticism that had already begun in the twelfth century. This is true even for (34) *Machairas*, the only document textually linked to (22) *Evergetis*, where the relevant surviving Evergetian passages are toned down even

¹⁶ Cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [24] and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [94].

¹⁷ (39) *Lips* [25], [26] and (40) *Anargyroi* [5].

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when they are incorporated into the new document. This document's explicit acceptance [148] of ranks within the monastic community is its greatest concession to privilege.

Surprisingly, both Michael VIII and his wife Theodora Palaiologina are ambivalent about aristocratic privilege. In (37) *Auxentios* the emperor rationalizes [4] the superior's preferential treatment for some monks as a "certain wonderful equality that comes from inequality," but he also requires [12] that novices gain experience in all servile duties regardless of their former dignity or position. Similarly, the empress balances her extraordinary privileges [40], [41] for family members and noble ladies with a refusal [29] to tolerate demands for better food or more prestigious seating from nobly born nuns. Instead of defending or attacking privilege, she advocates [14] the novel notion of "equality of privilege."

13. Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

Although our authors' relations with the ecclesiastical hierarchy were generally better than those of their counterparts in the twelfth century, the rights to which the local bishops were entitled remained a matter of controversy. Neilos, author of (34) *Machairas*, was perhaps the most accommodating. As bishop of Tamasia he was himself the local prelate at the time and, moreover, he was obliged [17], cf. [9] by the terms of the monastery's original grant of independence by Manuel Komnenos to concede to his episcopal successors commemoration (*anaphora*) in the liturgy and the right to install each new superior (cf. [140]). Neilos had also obtained [16] an episcopal *stauropegion* upon the erection of his foundation's church—a canonical requirement, to be sure, but one more honored in the breach than in the observance by Byzantium's patrons of religious institutions.

Maximos, the author of (35) *Skoteine*, enjoyed friendly relations with the local metropolitan of Philadelphia. Perhaps this led him to concede the latter's rights to grant [17] both blessing (*sphragis*) and installation (*cheirotonia*) to the foundation's newly chosen superiors as well as [20] commemoration in the liturgy and the rarely conceded right of spiritual correction. On the other hand, the author of (36) *Blemmydes* forbids [1] agents of the ecclesiastical hierarchy entry to his foundation, and orders [2] that there shall be no concessions of the rights to conduct investigations or spiritual corrections.

Michael VIII demonstrates that even an individual founder might not necessarily follow a consistent policy with regard to concessions of episcopal rights. In (37) *Auxentios* [2], [3] he concedes to the metropolitan of Chalcedon the rights of liturgical commemoration, blessing (*sphragis*) of a newly elected and installed superior, various honoraria, and (possibly) spiritual correction. As noted above, the emperor himself performed [3] the installation of the new superior in this foundation. In (38) *Kellibara I*, however, the emperor explicitly denies [15] any rights of overlordship, entry, or spiritual correction to the patriarch of Constantinople; the prelate is to content himself with the intangible rights of liturgical commemoration and proclamation. The emperor's wife also failed to provide any role for the patriarch in the installation of the superior in (39) *Lips* [1], though she does concede liturgical commemoration and the right to conduct spiritual correction of the convent's nuns.

14. Limited Provisions for Institutional Philanthropy

Only three of the seven foundations represented by the documents in this chapter made a signifi-

cant provision for institutional philanthropy: (34) *Machairas* [118] mentions the maintenance of a hospice, (39) *Lips* [50] provides for a small hospital, and, most unusual of all, (37) *Auxentios* [9] orders the foundation's surplus revenues donated at the end of each year in order to ransom prisoners, support orphans, and provide dowries for destitute maidens.

D. Historical Context

1. Imperial Support for the Rights of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

Since the foundation for which (34) *Machairas* was written was regulated, in part, by concessions and privileges awarded to it by Manuel I Komnenos, it is necessary to go back to his reign to set the historical context. Just as the patriarchs who granted memoranda to the foundations represented by (30) *Phoberos* [35], (32) *Mamas* [1], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1] reserved certain rights for themselves such as obliging the monks to bring their newly elected superiors to the capital for patriarchal installation, as we have seen, Manuel I Komnenos also reserved some important rights for the local bishop as a condition of his own recognition of independence for *Machairas*. Thus (34) *Machairas* [9], [17] can rightly be seen as evidence of the delayed effect of a collaboration between the Komnenian emperors and the patriarchs intended to compel private patrons of independent monasteries to recognize the hierarchy's canonical rights.

2. The Controversy over the Award of Patriarchal *Stauropegia*

The willingness of Neilos, author of (34) *Machairas*, to apply for an episcopal *stauropegion* or "foundation charter" when he erected his monastery's church towards the end of the twelfth century is also noteworthy in the broader historical context of resistance by most benefactors to acknowledging the canonical rights of the local ecclesiastical hierarchy.¹⁸ In 1176, Patriarch Michael III (1170–78) had sided with Constantine Spanopoulos, bishop of Pyrgion, in overturning the concessions of patriarchal *stauropegia* that benefactors had obtained for churches they were rebuilding in the bishop's diocese on the grounds that these concessions unfairly diminished traditional episcopal rights in these facilities.¹⁹ By the 1180s, independent monasteries were also contributing to the problem thanks to their ambitious programs of building or restoring chapels located on their extensive properties. In 1191, Patriarch George II Xiphilinos (1191–98) was asked to decide if monasteries holding patriarchal *stauropegia* could extend their own rights to exemption from local episcopal control to their dependencies. Like his predecessor Michael III, this patriarch also supported the episcopal side of the argument against the interests of his own office, and he awarded the bishops liturgical commemoration, ordination of clergy, and the *kanonikon*, an ecclesiastical tax.²⁰ The patriarchate continued its disinterested policy of siding with the bishops

¹⁸ See my *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987), pp. 238–43.

¹⁹ Venance Grumel, *Les registes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1: *Les registes de 381 à 715* (Chalcedon, 1932); 2nd ed. (Paris, 1972), no. 1131, quoted by Demetrios Chomatianos, *De monasteriis et stauropegiiis*, ed. J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, vol. 7 (Paris-Rome, 1891), pp. 348, 349.

²⁰ Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 1179; cf. 1180 (= *Synodike apophasis*, ed. Jean Oudot, *Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani acta selecta* [Vatican City, 1941], no. 8).

against unscrupulous holders of its own *stauropugia* up until the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204.

3. Growing Awareness of the Implications of Canon Law

The renewal of interest in canon law was itself one of the products of the reform movement that began in the eleventh century, and as we have seen, earlier documents in our collection (above all, (20) *Black Mountain*) show the impact of contemporary work in this field. Despite the early and continued selective use of canonical citations by our authors, during the course of the twelfth century it became as clear to Byzantine patrons as it is to us now that the canonical tradition, shaped as it was by the very different social conditions of late antiquity, generally favored the public authorities (i.e., the ecclesiastical hierarchy) over private interests in the resolution of most conflicts. Conversely, activist, reform-minded bishops like Constantine Spanopoulos realized that in canon law they had an effective weapon that, with patriarchal and imperial support, they could utilize in their conflicts with local private benefactors and, increasingly, the great independent monasteries. The Latin conquest, however, appears to have cut short the vigorous development of canonical studies that had been taking place in the twelfth century under patriarchal auspices.

4. Fracturing of the Reform Alliance

Thus the alliance between reform-minded private benefactors and like-minded members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy that dated back to the Synod of Blachernai in 1094 appears to have fallen apart well before the end of the twelfth century, perhaps as early as the reign of Manuel I Komnenos. The scathing critique of contemporary monastic foundations by Eustathios, metropolitan of Thessalonike († 1198), shows how far the formerly friendly relations had deteriorated.²¹ Eustathios' contemporary, the patriarchal archivist Theodore Balsamon, who himself was a moderate-to-conservative canonist, provides a discussion of the debate in ecclesiastical circles in the 1180s over the fundamental validity of founders' *typika*.²² This is additional evidence of deep hostility towards private benefactors, but that this basic question should have come up for discussion is not entirely surprising given that the canonical tradition did not even mention these documents. According to Balsamon, the most radical of his contemporaries wanted to declare all *typika* invalid, even if they contained no uncanonical provisions. To this party's way of thinking, all ecclesiastical property in a given diocese belonged by right to the local bishop, and therefore their patrons had no residual right to legislate for their foundations after dedication. Other, more moderate contemporaries were willing to accept the validity of founders' *typika* (cf. (54) *Neilos Damilas* [8]), provided that their contents were in accord with all the requirements of imperial and canon law. Another group accepted these requirements but added to them the obligation that the founder obtain specific imperial ratification of his *typonon*.

The remarkable fact is that, with the possible exception of (34) *Machairas*, none of the documents in this or previous chapters comes even close to meeting the requirements of any of the groups cited by Balsamon in his discussion, principally because since the beginning of the reform era their authors had routinely incorporated provisions restricting the rights of the ecclesiastical

²¹ Eustathios of Thessalonike, *De emendanda vita monachica*, PG 135, cols. 729–910.

²² Balsamon, *Comm. ad C. Const. I et II*, c. 1 (R&P 2.651).

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hierarchy. Therefore a vast ideological gap had opened up between the expectations of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, influenced by canon law, and the fundamental preconceptions of Byzantium's traditionally strong-willed and independent-minded private benefactors.

5. Impact of the Latin Conquest of Constantinople

It is too early in the present state of scholarly research to present more than a few generalizations about the impact of the Latin Conquest on the ecclesiastical foundations of the Byzantine Empire.²³ Initially, many, if not most, fell prey to secularization, particularly in Constantinople and its vicinity, but also in Thessalonike. Eventually, under pressure from popes Innocent III (1198-1216) and Honorius III (1216-27), the various Latin rulers who had divided up the conquests among themselves agreed to make restitutions or pay compensation, not to the previous owners, but to the new Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople and its dependencies. In the process of reconstituting a stable financing scheme for the patriarchate the complicated Byzantine system of mixed private, independent, and public ownership of ecclesiastical foundations disappeared as all the surviving monasteries became in effect diocesan institutions.

In Constantinople, at any rate, some twenty churches and fourteen monasteries continued to operate during the period of Latin rule (1204–61).²⁴ Among the latter was *Pantokrator*, although it is not known whether Greek monks remained there or whether they were replaced by Latins. In 1206, a papal legate donated the *Evergetis* monastery to the chief Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino on the condition that the Greek monks resident there not be expelled. The Greek monks at *Studios* abandoned that famous monastery; there is no record that the facility was used during the Latin occupation. Many other religious facilities were abandoned and eventually fell into ruins. Some of these were restored in Palaiologan times after the Byzantines recovered the city: those represented by documents in this chapter are George Palaiologos' church of St. Demetrios (see (38) *Kellibara I* [12]), the convent of Constantine Lips (see (39) *Lips*), and the convent of Sts. Kosmas and Damian (see (40) *Anargyroi* [2]).

As for Byzantine foundations located on Latin territory outside Constantinople, the picture is less clear. On Cyprus, Neilos of Tamasia, author of (34) *Machairas*, managed to maintain the independence of his foundation and prevent its properties from being confiscated, perhaps through the expedients of designating [147] a protector (perhaps the Frankish King Hugh) for the monastery and appealing [161] to local magistrates for assistance in upholding the *typikon*.

6. Fortunes of Ecclesiastical Foundations in the Greek Successor States

Not much more is known at present about those foundations fortunate enough to have been located on territory that remained under Greek control in the various successor states of Nicaea,

²³ For the interim, see the studies of Robert Lee Wolff, "Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261," *DOP* 8 (1954), 225–94, "The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261: Social and Administrative Consequences of the Latin Conquest," *Traditio* 6 (1948), 33–60, and "The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans," *Traditio* 2 (1944), 213–37, all reprinted in *Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople* (London, 1976); my *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 244–48, presents a summary of the salient points.

²⁴ R. Janin, "Les sanctuaires de Byzance sous la domination latine (1204–1261)," *REB* 2 (1944), 134–84.

Epiros, and Trebizond. As part of his own scheme to promote himself as the foremost claimant to the lost empire, the despot Theodore I Laskaris (1204–22) secured the appointment of Michael IV Autoreianos (1206–12) as patriarch-in-exile at Nicaea. The new patriarch then anointed his benefactor as emperor in 1208, but neither was able to secure his authority throughout the other Greek successor states. More than seventy years later, Michael VIII reminds Patriarch John XI Bekkos (1275–82) in (37) *Auxentios* [17] of this difficult period in the history of the patriarchate when the latter’s predecessors at Nicaea were belittled with the titles of “Patriarch of Nicaea” or “Patriarch of the province of Bithynia,” while the Nicaean emperors themselves were mocked as “alleged rulers of Romania.”

There was considerably greater institutional continuity for the Byzantine church in Epiros and Nicaea than in the lands that fell under Latin rule after 1204. The patriarchate’s weakened claim to authority in those Greek lands not ruled by the Nicaean emperors may have led first Manuel I Sarantenos (1217–22) and then Germanos II (1222–40) to abandon the policy of restraint in issuing patriarchal *stauropagia* that had been practiced in the late twelfth century by their predecessors back in Constantinople.²⁵ Indeed, the early patriarchs may have been especially keen to issue charters to private benefactors and independent monasteries in locations in Epiros, beyond the boundaries of the Nicaean Empire, but Patriarch Manuel II (1243–54) returned to the traditional policy of restraint when he chose to support an appeal by Demetrios, bishop of Domokos near Larissa, in a dispute with some private patrons of a local monastery.²⁶ In this case, the patrons had sought to transfer ancestral donations made to a monastery with an episcopal *stauropegion* to a new monastery for which they had previously secured a patriarchal *stauropegion*, thus hoping to escape Bishop Demetrios’ control.

Another feature of the religious history of the Nicaean state was the revival of churches and monasteries founded by individual clerics and monks.²⁷ Perhaps the legislation of Manuel I Komnenos awarding special tax exemptions to members of the clergy, which we know by Balsamon’s time had succeeded in reversing the traditional shortage of clergymen in the countryside, played some part in gradually promoting the conditions that made small-scale patronage of religious foundations like that seen in (35) *Skoteine* [2ff.] possible.²⁸ The Nicaean hierarchy may have encouraged such foundations as a useful counterweight to larger independent monasteries prone to the hostility evident in (36) *Blemmydes* [1].

²⁵ See Chomatianos, *De monasteriis*, ed. Pitra, pp. 339–44, and V. Laurent, “Deux fondations patriarcales en Epire aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles,” *REB* 12 (1954), 100–113, at 108, with Donald Nicol, “Ecclesiastical Relations between the Despotate of Epirus and the Kingdom of Nicaea in the Years 1215–1239,” *Byzantion* 22 (1952), 207–28.

²⁶ Manuel II, *Peri ktetorikou dikaiou* (R&P 5.119–20) = Vitalien Laurent, *Les registes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1: *Les actes des patriarches* (Paris, 1971), no. 1314.

²⁷ For this phenomenon, see (35) *Skoteine* as well as the cartulary of the *Lembiotissa* monastery, F. Miklosich and F. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profane*, vol. 4 (Vienna, 1871), nos. 15 (MM 4.56–57), 16 (MM 4.58–60), 40 (MM 4.97–99), and 118 (MM 4.203–05).

²⁸ Franz Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, 5 vols. (Munich-Berlin, 1924–65), nos. 1334 (= *JGR* 3.432), 1335, 1336; Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 1082; Balsamon, *Comm. ad C. Nicaen. II*, c. 15 (R&P 2.261).

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7. The Palaiologan Institutional Reconstruction Program

After the recovery of Constantinople in 1261, Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–82) faced a colossal task of rebuilding the many religious institutions that had fallen into decay and ruins in territories formerly controlled by the Latins. In the absence of their usual sources of funding, he also found it necessary to meet the expenses of the patriarch and the other members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy out of the imperial treasury.²⁹ The emperor's reconstitution of a venerable monastery of St. Michael led to the composition of (37) *Auxentios* late in his reign. Earlier, he had been working on the rebuilding of a church first erected in Komnenian times by his distant ancestor George Palaiologos. When refugee monks from the famous *Kellibara* monastery in Asia Minor sought his assistance, he decided to unite their remaining assets in and around Constantinople with his own project, leading to the foundation described in (38) *Kellibara I*. The foundation for which (36) *Blemmydes* was written in 1248 under the Nicaean Empire suffered confiscation after its founder's death and, as noted above, was subordinated to the *Galesios* monastery. During the reign of his son Andronikos II (1282–1328), Michael VIII's wife Theodora Palaiologina continued work on the restoration of ecclesiastical foundations, leading to the composition of (39) *Lips* and (40) *Anargyroi*.

²⁹ Pachymeres, *De Michaele Palaeologo* 26, ed. I Bekker, *CSHB*, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1835), p. 73.

34. *Machairas*: Rule of Neilos, Bishop of Tamasia, for the Monastery of the Mother of God of *Machairas* in Cyprus

Date: 1210

Translator: Anastasius Bandy

Edition employed: I. Tsiknopoullos, *Kypriaka Typika* (Nicosia, 1969), pp. 3–68, with corrections by K. A. Manaphes, “Paratereseis eis ta ‘Kypriaka Typika,’” *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Philosophikes Scholes tou Panepistemiou Athenon* 20 (1969–70), 155–68.

Manuscript: Autograph in the monastery *hegoumeneion*

Other translations: None

Institutional History

A. Foundation of the Monastery

The foundation traces its origin to the Palestinian monk Neophytos who, according to the *typikon* translated below, left [7] the Holy Land because of “the invasion of the godless Agarenes,” an event that has not been identified, and settled on Cyprus with his disciple Ignatios. Their extremely modest settlement was on Mount Aôos, about 20 miles southwest of Leukosia (modern Nicosia). How the attribute *Machairas* or “Sword” was acquired is unknown.¹ After Neophytos’ death, an elderly monk, Prokopios, joined [8] Ignatios. Hoping to pull themselves out of poverty by securing imperial patronage, they journeyed to Constantinople (probably some time in the 1160s), where they succeeded [9] in gaining from Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) title to the mountain, an annual subsidy, a grant of institutional independence, and an edict restricting the rights of the local bishop of Tamasia (Tamasos) to liturgical commemoration. With this assistance, the two monks built [10] an oratory dedicated to the Mother of God and a few cells. By the time of Prokopios’ death, a modest community of five or six monks had developed.

Our author Neilos joined [11] the community in 1172, having arrived on Cyprus from an undisclosed point of origin with the intent of continuing on to the Holy Land on pilgrimage. He rendered signal service by traveling to Cilicia to obtain food for the brothers to relieve the effects of a famine and drought. Ignatios then drew up [12] a “written Rule” designating Neilos as his successor. Neilos’ own superiorship began [14] with a three-year drought, but the foundation’s fortunes eventually improved. Local benefactors donated land and movable property, and Neilos was able to erect [15] a church, a refectory, and cells. Niketas Hagiostephanites, the bishop of neighboring Tamasia, granted [16] a *stauropolegion* or “charter of foundation” for the church. Earlier, Neilos’ predecessor Ignatios had recognized [17] the local bishop’s right to install the monastery’s superior, a concession Neilos was eager to minimize [18], and happily he found Niketas to be accommodating. Eventually Neilos himself became bishop of Tamasia.² Perhaps this was when he founded [169] a nunnery at Tamasia, for whose support he earmarked [170] one-eighth of *Machairas*’ revenues.

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B. Subsequent History of the Monastery

Despite Isaac Komnenos' successful usurpation (1184–91) of imperial authority on Cyprus, Neilos maintained [22] relations with the legitimate emperor Isaac II Angelos (1185–95), securing from him a confirmation of Manuel Komnenos' concessions, the gift of a garden in Leukosia, and a small cash donation. The conquest of the island by the crusader Richard the Lionheart in 1191 did not dim Neilos' enthusiasm for the imperial cause, for he secured [23] from Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203) a complete tax exemption for the monastery's properties and a grant of twenty-four dependent peasants. Whether Neilos actually secured any real benefits from these emperors in the absence of any effective control of Cyprus by the imperial government at this time is doubtful, yet Neilos clearly hoped for an eventual restoration of Byzantine rule. There is a conspicuous gap in the *typikon* where Neilos hoped [160] to indicate the name of a reigning emperor in order to designate him as the monastery's trustee.

The chances for a reassertion of Byzantine authority over Cyprus became even more remote when Constantinople itself fell to the Latin Crusaders in 1204. Meanwhile, the rule of the Lusignan dynasty became ever more firmly established on the island. At the time that the *typikon* was drawn up in 1210, the Lusignan king Hugh I (1205–18) had just reached his majority at age fifteen, enabling him to dispense with the regency of Walter de Montbéliard, Constable of Jerusalem and husband of the young king's elder sister Bourgogne.³ There are allusions [147], [161] in the *typikon* to the local authorities, but no direct recognition of foreign rule over Cyprus.

Although Pope Celestine III (1191–98) initiated the establishment of a Latin ecclesiastical hierarchy for Cyprus, the harsher consequences of Latin rule for the island's Greek orthodox religious establishments were likely delayed until after Neilos' death. The order for the expulsion of the Greek bishops came only in 1222 under Pope Honorius III (1216–27).⁴ Eventually the monastery lost most of its property and was reduced to destitution. The Ottoman Turks conquered Cyprus in 1571 and ruled it for over three hundred years. *Machairas'* fortunes revived in the eighteenth century under Parthenios, who served as the monastery's steward for nearly fifty years.⁵ He was a patron of Ephraim, who published the first edition of the monastery's *typikon* at Venice in 1756. At this time, *Machairas* was one of seventy-eight orthodox monasteries on Cyprus and, along with the *Enkleistra* of Neophytos (for which see (45) *Neophytos* below) and the Kykko monastery, one of only three stauropegial foundations independent of the regular diocesan authorities.⁶

The British occupation of Cyprus in 1878 brought an end to Ottoman rule. There were forty-six monks at the foundation in 1891 shortly before a devastating fire struck on September 5, 1892.⁷ The monastery was rebuilt, however, and continues in operation on its traditional site.

Analysis

Although this document dates from 1210 at a time when Cyprus no longer was part of the Byzantine Empire, it largely reflects conditions and institutions of a generation or two earlier. Textually related to earlier *typika* in the reform tradition, it testifies to the continued importance of the monastic reform movement in the early thirteenth century, though admittedly in rather attenuated form.

A. Sources for the Typikon

Aside from the eighty-one chapters (classified here as Group A) of apparently original materials,⁸ this *typikon* readily betrays its Evergetian heritage in its extensive quotations from (22) *Evergetis* and (32) *Mamas* even though the use of neither document is acknowledged. Forty-nine chapters (Group B) have textual links to both of these prior documents.⁹ Sixteen chapters (Group C) are shared with (22) *Evergetis* but not with (32) *Mamas*,¹⁰ while only ten (Group D) are shared with (32) *Mamas* but not with (22) *Evergetis*.¹¹ As usual with *typika* that are textually dependent on earlier documents, there are some original materials and reworkings to be found even in many of the transcribed chapters. Finally, there are fourteen chapters (Group E) that the author attributes to Basil of Caesarea;¹² most of these can be traced to the pseudo-Basilian *Penitential*, some to the Pachomian *Precepts*, and a few have no readily identifiable source.

The present document appears to draw on the Maman textual tradition (for the ten chapters in Group D) while also utilizing (22) *Evergetis* or some later version thereof (for the sixteen chapters in Group C). The bulk of the other borrowed materials (the 49 chapters of Group B), while shared with (22) *Evergetis* and (32) *Mamas*, probably were drawn from the former document except perhaps in two cases.¹³ By way of contrast, Nikephoros the *mystikos*, the author of (33) *Heliou Bomon*, obtained the considerable amount of Evergetian content in his *typikon* only through the intermediary of (32) *Mamas*. Here in (34) *Machairas*, either the author himself, or more probably, a direct non-Maman intermediary (for which see below) utilized (22) *Evergetis* extensively, turning to (32) *Mamas* only occasionally (mostly for the chapters in Group D).

An analysis of the content of the exclusively Maman-derived chapters suggests a carefully considered use of (32) *Mamas* to supplement or alter the tradition embodied in (22) *Evergetis*. For example, (34) *Machairas* utilizes the Maman tradition to emphasize [49] the importance of attending the office, to modify [65] the Evergetian treatment of quarrels over seating at meals, to include [78] the dietary observances intended to spite the Artzibourians, to incorporate [94] the stronger, post-Evergetian formula on the inalienability of sacred offerings, to emphasize [158] the unalterability of the cenobitic constitution, and to establish [161] a mechanism for outside support for the maintenance of the *typikon*. This document's textual preference for (22) *Evergetis* does not preclude its being an ideological descendant of the Maman tradition as well, for of the 75 Machairan chapters derived in whole or part from other *typika*, only 16 (Group C) come exclusively from (22) *Evergetis*.

References within the document to "the ancient regulation" [4], possibly an earlier *typikon*, but more likely the monastery's oral tradition, as well as to the rule (*diataxis*) [12], [18] of the author's predecessor Ignatios suggest some candidates for the source of the composite Evergetian/Maman tradition. The rule would have to date from some time after 1172, when Neilos arrived at *Machairas* to become Ignatios' disciple. The ancient regulation, however, whether oral or written, could have dated back to the monastery's foundation during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) (cf. [9]). The substantial similarity in content among (32) *Mamas*, (33) *Heliou Bomon*, and (34) *Machairas*, all written for foundations dating back to this emperor's reign and benefiting from his patronage, suggests that our document's source (oral or written) itself dates to some time after (32) *Mamas* was composed in 1158, probably in the 1160s.

The posited direct dependence on an earlier Machairan document or the institution's oral tradition can explain the Maman content in the present *typikon*, for (32) *Mamas* seems to have been the favored vehicle for the governance of imperially sponsored foundations in Manuel's reign. The reason for the Evergetian textual preference, even for matters covered in essentially the same way in (32) *Mamas* (see most of Group B), is harder to explain. To be sure, the Evergetian content in (34) *Machairas* has been considerably compressed into the latter's generally short chapters, and in the process, stripped of what must have seemed to our author's contemporaries and their immediate predecessors its rhetorical excesses (e.g., (22) *Evergetis* [13]'s octopus analogy for ambitious officials, missing from [88]) and, incidentally, of much of its reformist fervor. What our author implicitly endorses in his own *typikon* is the administrative rather than the ideological legacy of *Evergetis*.

Incidentally, this *typikon*'s close dependence on the Evergetian tradition is helpful for overcoming some of its textual defects, enabling us to resolve some of the gaps in certain chapters and to surmise the content of others that are missing completely.¹⁴

B. Utility for the History of the Reform Movement

This *typikon* can be utilized for the fate of the monastic reform in the Byzantine world in the generation or two after the composition of (32) *Mamas* and (33) *Heliou Bomon*. The document's original chapters (Group A) are most important for this purpose. The author betrays little of the ideological fervor that had once distinguished the Evergetian reformers. He was not even committed to upholding an exclusively cenobitic approach to monastic life. Drawing instead on sentiments and reflecting concerns that were current a century after the composition of (22) *Evergetis*, our author seems most interested in taking an efficient, businesslike approach to running all the financial aspects of the monastery.

For this purpose, our author, like the first generation of post-Evergetian reformers, had a seemingly unbounded faith in the value of documentary evidence for establishing title to property (cf. [58]) and deterring (or at least detecting) theft. He intensifies the latter's earlier precautions designed to prevent internal theft by the monastery's own officials, but now the focus was not just on protecting monetary assets, but also movable property [95], commodities [99], and revenues in kind [83] as well as agricultural implements and other work tools [85] (cf. (35) *Skoteine* [44]). The precautionary record-keeping was taken down to the level of the monastery's individual tenant farmers and herdsmen, all under the direct personal supervision of the superior, which obliged the author to provide [86] for a second steward who would substitute for the superior in performing the latter's more traditional responsibilities vis-à-vis the monks.

Also useful for the fate of the reform movement are the *typikon*'s chapters shared only with (22) *Evergetis* (those of Group C), which show (34) *Machairas* returning to certain Evergetian usages and institutions that had been abandoned by the Maman foundations. These include the institution of exclusive confession to the superior or his designee [50], [52] ff., [141], communal provision of garments [102], [103], reliance on monks as property managers [109], and the exclusion of women from daily charitable distributions [118]. *Machairas*' return to these more conservative (or radical, depending on one's point of view) Evergetian principles and practices shows that from an early thirteenth-century perspective, there was no one linear path of development from the sources of the reform tradition.

C. Lives of the Monks

1. Number of Monks

In the text as we have it today there is no numerical limit set on the number of monks although one is alluded to in [164], which envisions a one-to-one replacement of monks with no increase permitted. At the beginning of the superiorship of the author's predecessor Ignatios, there were [10] only "five or six" monks; but by the date of this document there were, in addition to the superior, no fewer than twelve officials, including two stewards [84], [86], the ecclesiarch [91], [93], the cellarer [91], [96], two treasurers [91], [100], [102], [104], the provisioner [91], [105], the storekeeper [105], the guestmaster [105], property managers [85], [105], [109], and a disciplinary official [114]. This suggests a foundation of twenty-five to thirty monks in all.

2. Liturgical Duties

Some of the monks were ordained clerics [165], cf. [164]. A priest, a deacon and a lamplighter were responsible [35] for the liturgical services. There are prescriptions for the performance of the canonical hours [31], [35], [42] through [46] that are textually independent of the parallel provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [6]. There are references [29], [30], [48], [73] to a liturgical *typikon*, apparently, judging from [75], a version of the Jerusalemite *typikon* of St. Sabas. The disciplinary official was responsible [114] for rousing the monks and for arraying them in choir. As in (22) *Evergetis* [4], the monks were also to celebrate [33] the office privately in their cells. As in (32) *Mamas* [21], monks were not to be excused [49] from performance of the office except for the sick.

In addition to the office, the monks celebrated the patronal feasts of the Mother of God [27], [29], above all that of the Presentation, which was to be celebrated "especially," while that of the Dormition was to be concelebrated by twelve priests. There are also prescriptions [26] for the regular illumination of the church. Departed monks were to be commemorated [157] in memorial services.

3. Manual Labor

There are incidental references to the practice of manual labor [32], [33], [86], [120]. Yet monks who pursued private crafts without the permission of the superior were liable [120] to having their handiwork confiscated or destroyed. The *typikon* specifically mentions a gatekeeper [116], a baker and his assistants [112], and also a carpenter, a cobbler and coppersmiths [104], [113]. Certain of the brothers also accompanied [83] the steward to the monastery's dependencies to help him gather the crops and witness the quantities collected.

4. Length of the Novitiate

Following (22) *Evergetis* [37], the novitiate was shorter [55] for notables (six months) than for others [56]. The latter were to serve in "appropriate tasks" for three years, continuing the trend towards a lengthening of the novitiate, exceeding even the two years required in (32) *Mamas* [22]. A monk from another monastery (a *xenokourites*) was eligible [60] for acceptance into the community after a probation of six months (cf. (32) *Mamas* [22]'s requirement of only eight days) and assent to the provisions of the *typikon*. Like the contemporary (45) *Neophytos* [9], the monastery was not to take in [115] lay youths for study of the scripture, but novices old enough to grow beards were to be admitted to learn the psalter.

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5. Sacramental Life

The author follows (22) *Evergetis* [5] in providing [36] for the daily celebration of the liturgy. Although this frequency was a departure from more recent twelfth-century practice, the author does follow the trend of restricting his monks' access to communion. Those monks without sin were to partake once a week (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [5]: three times a week), while others were to partake twice a month (cf. *Evergetis*: once a week) or not at all. Additional provisions [40], [41] in this *typikon* reflect a new concern with the quality of the ingredients of the eucharistic bread (cf. (36) *Blemmydes* [4] ff.).

The author also follows (22) *Evergetis* [7] closely in imposing confession to the superior as a requirement on his monks. But here the superior was to hear [50] confession only once a day (cf. (22) *Evergetis*: twice a day). He could delegate the responsibility not only to the "more reverent brothers" (as in (22) *Evergetis*) but also to the "wearers of the great habit." At this monastery the superior was allowed to delegate [53] even the newcomer's first confession to "some of the more devout priests." However, the author took [54] a stronger line than (32) *Mamas* [29], supporting (22) *Evergetis* [15] in the latter's refusal to allow monks to have any other confessor than the superior or his designees.

6. Cenobitic Lifestyle

The author generally endorses the principles and language of (22) *Evergetis* [9], [25], [26] in support of the cenobitic lifestyle. All monks were to eat [79] in the refectory. The same food and drink (but not clothing) were to be provided [106] to all the monks, even officials. Clothing was to be provided [102] communally though the items distributed varied according to each recipient's rank in the community. Other personal possessions were forbidden [87], as in (22) *Evergetis* [13]. Our author did not share the antagonism of some of his twelfth-century predecessors (e.g., the author of (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26]) towards alternative forms of monastic life. Instead, he, like the author of (24) *Christodoulos* [A24], provides [152] for certain of the monks to live as solitaries in individual cells during the week, returning to the cenobitic community on weekends to eat with the brotherhood, turn over their completed handiwork, and receive new supplies and provisions.

7. Diet

The author provides ([67] through [78]) fairly elaborate regulation of the diet of his monks. There are indications [68], [70] that he, along with some of his twelfth-century predecessors (e.g., the author of (29) *Kosmosoteira* [6]), favored a more abundant diet, i.e., three cooked dishes instead of two, in certain situations in which (22) *Evergetis* [10]'s prescriptions were more austere. For Lenten Tuesdays and Thursdays, he introduces [69] a double dietary regime, austere for the strong and more lenient for the weak. He follows (22) *Evergetis* [10] in allowing [73] the superior discretion to alter the diet of the sick during the Lenten fast. Later, he allows both the superior and the steward to alter [99] diets to match the constitutions of individual monks. The eating of meat is explicitly forbidden [115], although in fact meat is absent from the dietary provisions of other Byzantine monastic foundation documents as well. In addition to seasonal times of fasting, the monks were also to fast [77] on three days of the week, Mondays as well as Wednesdays and Fridays, which is said to be a Palestinian observance. The author also adopts [78] the dietary provisions first seen in (20) *Black Mountain* [55] designed to refute the Artzibourian sectaries.

8. Servants and Agricultural Dependents

Monks were not permitted [87] to have personal servants. The author adds [115] that the bearded novices admitted for study of the psalter were not to be used as water carriers or for the performance of other personal services for the monks. The monastery's landed properties, however, were staffed [110] at least in part by lay farmers and herdsmen who were apparently hired laborers [82] paid a salary by the monastery, though the foundation also had twenty-four dependent peasants [23] as the result of an imperial benefaction.

9. Relations with Family

The author provides [136] for the reception of visiting relatives, though they needed to be announced to and meet with the superior first. Women were banned [115] from the monastery, however. They could not enter even for worship, such as on patronal feasts or for memorial services for their relatives, as the authors of (28) *Pantokrator* [18], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [84], (32) *Mamas* [27], and other documents were willing to allow.

D. Constitutional Matters

1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

The author adopts [21] the original formulation of (22) *Evergetis* [12] in declaring the independence of his foundation, that is to say, with no special provisions against the protectorate, *epidosis*, and other exploitation schemes such as in (32) *Mamas* [4]. An edict of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) had established [9] the institution's independence before the monastery had been built. The foundation also included [149] a chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist that the author had erected east of the monastery. The author intended to draw up an inventory [150] of the consecrated movable property he had donated to this chapel. The author had also erected [169] a convent for nuns in Tamasia for which he had devised a "precise rule" and made donations of movable property. This convent was to be administered by the superior of *Machairas* and the ordained monk Neophytos as trustees (*epitropoi*).

2. Leadership

Citing common usage, the author designated trustees for his *typikon*, in the first instance God himself and his Mother [159], and also the emperor (unnamed) [160]. Since there was no universally acknowledged claimant to the Byzantine throne after 1204 and none at all who exercised control over Cyprus in 1210, it seems that the author preferred not to name anyone else as trustee who, like the trustees of the convent at Tamasis, might be in any position to interfere with the governance of his foundation.

There is a stray allusion [147] to a protector (i.e., an *ephoros*) to whom the leaders of the brotherhood were to resort if the superior should chance to refuse to stop spending the monastery's wealth improperly, yet there is no general treatment of this official's responsibilities or even an identification of who he might have been. In a subsequent chapter the author appeals [161] to "those who at the time are distinguished by the magistracies of the island," a circumlocution for Cyprus' Latin rulers, to uphold the integrity of the *typikon*. The ultimate source of this chapter is (32) *Mamas* [38], originally meant to describe the role assigned in that document to that foundation's protector (*antilambanomenos*). So perhaps the monastery originally had a formal protector whose

role our author has reconsidered and incompletely edited out of the *typikon* as it now stands.

As usual, the effective supremacy of the superior in the monastery under the rule of the *typikon* is not explicitly acknowledged. The author evidently envisioned that each superior would designate his own successor, as he does [140] here in this document, and as he was himself chosen [12] superior by his predecessor Ignatios. Indeed, the author identifies [3] the need to prevent the appointment of the next superior from becoming “an accessory to seizure [of the monastery] and anarchy” as his immediate motivation for issuing this *typikon*. In the future, the actual choice would be made [17] by a vote of the brothers, subject to automatic ratification by the local bishop of Tamasia (cf. [18]). Unlike (32) *Mamas* [43], monks tonsured at other monasteries were not eligible [148] to become superior “for any reason whatever.” Monks tonsured within the monastery holding the rank of *apostolikai* or those entitled to wear the great habit (*megaloschemoi*) were to be preferred instead.

Despite the traditional reluctance to acknowledge the centrality of his position, the superior was the beneficiary of a trend to centralize the monastery’s administration in his hands. The superior was to appoint [100] the monastery’s treasurers. The implication, not explicitly stated, is that the superior should appoint [91] the rest of the monastery’s officials. He was intimately involved [82], [84], [85] in the financial administration of the foundation as well as in the oversight [97], [98] of the monastery’s supplies that were under the care of the cellarer. Moreover, the author allows [92] the superior to remove lesser officials (those installed without keys) whenever he saw fit rather than allowing them the traditional lifetime tenure conditioned on competent performance as in (22) *Evergetis* [32].

3. Authoritarian Style of Rule

The author combines the divergent Evergetian and the older Basilian traditions in prescribing the nature of the relations between the superior and the monks. Perhaps it is significant that, in a chapter commanding [142] the monks to obey their superior that is derived ultimately from (22) *Evergetis* [16], he drops “affection” from the list of attributes his monks should show towards their leader. Yet he adopts [144] the benevolent, paternalistic language of (22) *Evergetis* [17] in his guidance to the superior without making any significant changes. In reproducing [146], cf. [147] the provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [18], he even drops the latter’s command that the monks should not hold the superior accountable for his administration.

To these Evergetian provisions the author has added a series of canons ([122] through [134]), mostly from the *Penitential* traditionally attributed to Basil of Caesarea, that espouse (esp. [123], [131], [133]) a sterner view of authoritarian rule and monastic discipline that had already inspired similar provisions in (32) *Mamas* [24] and even in one instance in (22) *Evergetis* [22] itself.

4. Patronal Privileges

The author exercises [140] his patronal privilege of designating his successor, the ordained monk Joachim, as superior. Earlier, the author’s predecessor had done [12] the same for him through issuance of a written Rule (*diataxis*). The only other privileges noted in the document are prayers and liturgical commemorations: a “customary” *trisagion* [31] on behalf of the “holy fathers and founders” during the recitation of the canon of the first hour; prayers [44] for the emperor, the holy father (the patriarch?), the founders, the monks and their lay relatives during

compline; psalmody and prayers [150] for the author at the chapel of St. John; and a joint annual memorial commemoration [154] for Neophytos, Ignatios and Prokopios, the author's predecessors.

5. Reading of the *Typikon*

The author utilizes the language of (22) *Evergetis* [43] in providing [167] for the reading of the *typikon* at mealtimes. This was to occur three times a year, rather than monthly as in (22) *Evergetis*. Monks from another monastery who sought admission were to have the *typikon* read [60] to them in order that they should give their personal assent to its provisions.

E. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

The steward was the chief financial officer of the foundation, but as the agent of the superior, without whose informed consent he was [84], cf. [87] to do nothing. His personal qualifications [80] and the procedures for his installation [81] both come from (22) *Evergetis* [13]. Our author adds [81] his preference that the steward, as well as the monastery's other officials [165], should be an ordained monk. The superior and steward were jointly to inspect [82] and take notes on the monastery's dependent properties. No one's accounts were to be examined [85], not even a shepherd's, except in the presence of the superior. Thus the author carries the obsession of his twelfth-century predecessors with preventing peculation down to the level of individual agricultural dependents' accounts.

As an apparent afterthought, the author adds [86] a provision for a second steward who was to look after visitors and the sick, provide necessary supplies for the brotherhood, examine revenues, and help maintain discipline in the absence of the superior. Perhaps the author thought such an official would be necessary for the periods when both the superior and the other steward were absent during their tours (cf. [82]) of the monastery's properties.

The author establishes grounds [90] for the deposition [88] of either steward that are based closely on parallel provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [14], [13]. Unlike that *typikon*, which allows a deposed steward to stay in the monastery, our author orders [90] his expulsion.

In addition to the two stewards, the monastery was also to have two treasurers. One would be responsible [100] for recording the monastery's revenues and expenditures as well as for making monthly withdrawals at the superior's command from the money box in the treasury (cf. the even more stringent security provisions in (32) *Mamas* [10]). The other treasurer would be responsible [104] for the storage and security of agricultural and other work equipment, apparently reflecting a realization that these also were valuable properties that required prudent management.

The typical twelfth-century post-Evergetian concern with preventing theft by a monastery's own officials is more than matched here by the author's provisions [101] for a reconciliation of accounts every two months by the first treasurer in the presence of the superior and the "leading monks." The stringent procedures outlined were designed so that "there will be no cause for scandal against him [the first treasurer] who has been entrusted with this office or anyone else." Neither the superior nor the steward were to take anything for himself out of the money box since "everything ought to be openly collected and spent."

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The property managers (*metochiaroi*) were directly responsible [85], cf. [82], with assistance from others, for the cultivation of the monastery's landed properties. For this they received allowances in kind from the steward, who kept a written record of these payments. For the qualifications of these property managers, the author follows [109] the specifications of (22) *Evergetis* [34], with a change to preclude the use of laymen in this position (cf. [110]). Farmers and herders were to be recruited [110] from the ranks of the laity, however.

Overall, the author expected [29], cf. [170] the monastery's accounts to stay in balance, since he had "made the acquisitions of the monastery more abundant than its expenditures." One-eighth of the forthcoming revenues of the foundation were earmarked [170] for the support of the convent at Tamasia, including a stipend of twenty-four *nomismata* for the priests stationed there. According to Mango (*Byzantium*, p. 121), this suggests a total income for the foundation of twelve hundred *nomismata*.

2. Alienability of Landed Property

In a major break with one of the principles of the reform tradition, the author permits [111] the alienation of distant estates whose administration involved risk of spiritual harm. Given his insistence [110] that the monastery's properties be administered if not actually worked by monks rather than laymen, such a concession was probably inevitable. Such properties were to be traded for ones closer to the monastery. Proximate properties, however, were to remain absolutely inalienable on pain of sacrilege, which is in accord with the traditional reform principle.

3. Other Provisions against Misconduct

The ecclesiarch was to receive [93] a list of the church property entrusted to him, for which he was held accountable [95] in an annual check of movable property conducted by reference to an inventory.

The installation ceremonies for the rest of the monastery's officials are similar [91] to those set out for the steward and include the kissing of icons and reception of keys from the Mother of God.

4. Imperial Donations and Exemptions

In addition to recognizing the foundation's independence, Emperor Manuel I Komnenos provided [9] it with an annual grant (i.e., an imperial *solemnion*) of fifty *nomismata*. Subsequently, at the prompting of the author's emissaries, Isaac Angelos (1185–95) confirmed [22] his predecessor's benefactions and added the gift of a garden and a grant of twelve *nomismata*. Later, Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203) outdid both of his predecessors by issuing [23] a chrysobull that extended "complete immunity from taxation for eternity" to the monastery and all its immovable properties. The desire of founders to have endowments free of tax obligations was evident already in the twelfth century in (31) *Areia* [M10], [T6]. Alexios III also made a gift of twenty-four dependent peasants. The monks are instructed [23], [24], [47] to perform daily *trisagia* and commemorative services in exchange for these benefactions, though it is hard to see how they could have been of actual value to Neilos' monastery since neither Isaac II nor Alexios III exercised any political authority over Cyprus during their respective reigns.

5. Entrance Gifts Not Mandatory

The author endorses [57] the by now traditional principle of (22) *Evergetis* [37] that postulants should not be required to pay mandatory entrance gifts “as if [they were] legal.” He crystallized the core of the objection as follows: “For the so-called renunciation (*apotage*) destroys blessed submission.” Like (22) *Evergetis*, however, he welcomes [58] voluntary offerings, but includes additional precautions in an attempt to strengthen the foundation’s title to these donations should those who offered them seek to reclaim them on leaving the monastery. Donors of movable property were to make a deposition on the altar; those offering immovable property were to draw up a formal document of grant and dedication to God and place this too on the altar.

6. Other Sources of Income

In the early days of the foundation, the monks lived [7] off the charity of various benefactors. Later, our author solicited [15] donations of both movable and immovable property from various benefactors, which enabled him to erect the foundation’s church, refectory, cells, and palisade. He intended to list the immovable properties donated in a separate document (*graphe*), akin to an inventory. In gratitude, the author provides [156] for an annual commemoration of the monastery’s benefactors, following the example of (22) *Evergetis* [36] and (32) *Mamas* [40]. Yet in what he terms a “shuddering injunction,” the author announces [153] his unwillingness to allow the sale of *siteresia*, to be understood as living allowances, either to laymen or to monks, regardless of the benefits promised or amount of money offered in exchange. There is a rare and obscure allusion to tithes in [170] in the discussion of the financial support of the associated convent at Tamasia.

F. Overall Philosophy

The old Evergetian hostility to the existence of privilege is hardly evident in this document. As long ago in (9) *Galesios* [130], the monastic community here was divided into ranks, with the wearers of the great habit being the most honored, followed by the *apostolikai*. These orders were distinguished [102] not only by honor but also by dress, requiring an abandonment (cf. [106]) of the principal of equality in clothing advocated by (22) *Evergetis* [26]. Of course even (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14] reserved special rights for its “preeminent monks,” and more recently in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3] we have seen a community divided into senior monks and servants. Here at *Machairas* the superior was to rely [50] on the wearers of the great habit for assistance in hearing the confessions of the other monks, and, along with the *apostolikai*, these ranking monks were to be [148] the preferred candidates for election to the superiorship.

Even where there are survivals of the traditional Evergetian hostility to privilege, they are generally toned down. The punishment for a monk who quarrels about seating precedence is reduced [64] from the expulsion provided for in (22) *Evergetis* (9) to being made to stand up and perform some service. The author turns to (32) *Mamas* [36] for a way to preserve [65], cf. [63] the superior’s prerogatives in arranging preferential seating while nominally endorsing the Evergetian observance. In [106], the Evergetian affirmation that the requirement of equal food and drink for all applies to officials drops out of our author’s own regulation. Moreover, the superior was to sit [117] with visiting officials at mealtimes during fasts and entertain them “differently” without criticism from the rest of the community.

G. External Relations

1. Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

At the monastery's foundation, Manuel I Komnenos issued [9] an edict that prevented the local bishop from having "any authority over the monastery" except for the privilege of liturgical commemoration (*anaphora*). Subsequently, the superior Ignatios acknowledged [17] the prelate's right of installation (*procheirisis*) of future superiors, which said to have been granted by an imperial decree, though our author asserts that this was in practice to mean nothing more than an automatic ratification of the independent choice of the community. After our author built the monastery's church, he claims [16] to have followed "canonical procedure" in obtaining an episcopal *stauropegion* (a charter of foundation) from Niketas Hagiostephanites, the incumbent bishop of Tamasia, even though this was not specifically required by Manuel I Komnenos' original decree. Even though subsequently our author had himself become bishop of Tamasia, he warns [19] future bishops not to use the *stauropegion* and the right to liturgical commemoration as a pretext to interfere in the monastery's affairs. Should this occur anyway, the monks were to appeal to a representative of the emperor by presenting him with this *typikon*—a provision that obviously dates back to the era of Byzantine control over the island. The author obliges [140] his own successor as superior to obtain the *sphragis* from the new bishop of Tamasia. Bishops who were respectful of the monastery's rights were to receive [20] liturgical commemoration twice daily.

2. Institutional Philanthropy

The monastery, which lay on one of the pilgrimage routes to the Holy Land, emphasized hospitality, said [116] to be "a most royal gate to virtue," as its philanthropic contribution. Visiting monks were to be fed like residents; noble visitors were to be lodged—probably in the monastery's hospice or guest house (*xenodocheion*)—for three days.

No one was to be turned away [118] hungry from the monastery's gate, except, as usual, women, whose exclusion is justified [119] in the language of (22) *Evergetis* [38]. All others would be fed by the guestmaster (*xenodochos*) with bread from the table in the guest house. As in other institutions, the feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God, was the occasion [29] for an extra donation to the poor in accord with the monastery's resources. There is also a reference [170] to an allocation of a quarter of the foundation's revenues for "those who are struggling against the sacred disease" (leprosy), "and the other poor."

Notes on the Introduction

1. See the discussion in Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 346.
2. See his signature at the end of the *typikon*.
3. Hill, *Cyprus*, vol. 2, pp. 73–77.
4. Hill, *Cyprus*, vol. 2, pp. 46–47, with n. 3.
5. Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, pp. 346, 348.
6. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, vol. 2, p. 25.
7. Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 348.
8. Group A: Chapters (81) new to (34) *Machairas*: [1], [2], [3], [4], [5], [6], [7], [8], [9], [10], [11], [12], [13], [14], [15], [16], [17], [18], [19], [20], [22], [23], [24], [25], [26], [27], [28], [29], [40], [41], [42], [43], [44], [45], [46], [47], [74], [75], [77], [82], [83], [84], [85], [86], [91], [93], [95], [97] [98], [99], [100], [101], [104], [105], [110], [111], [112], [114], [115], [116], [117], [120], [135], [136], [137],

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- [138], [139], [140], [149], [150], [151], [152], [153], [154], [155], [159], [160], [164], [165], [169], [170].
9. Group B: Chapters (49) shared with (22) *Evergetis* and (32) *Mamas*: [21] = (22) *Evergetis* [12] and (32) *Mamas* [4]; [30] = (22) *Evergetis* [3] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; [31] = (22) *Evergetis* [4] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; [32], missing, but cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; [33] = (22) *Evergetis* [4] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; [34], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; [36] = (22) *Evergetis* [4], [5] and (32) *Mamas* [32]; [37], [38], [39] = (22) *Evergetis* [5], cf. (32) *Mamas* [32]; [48] = (22) *Evergetis* [6] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; [51] = (22) *Evergetis* [7] and (32) *Mamas* [30]; [55], [56], [57], [58] = (22) *Evergetis* [37] and (32) *Mamas* [22]; [59] = (22) *Evergetis* [37] and (32) *Mamas* [9]; [60] = (32) *Mamas* [22] and (22) *Evergetis* [37]; [61] = (22) *Evergetis* [9] and (32) *Mamas* [17]; [62], missing, but cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9] and (32) *Mamas* [17]; [64] = (22) *Evergetis* [9] and (32) *Mamas* [36]; [67], [68], [69], [70], [71], [72], [73], [76] = (22) *Evergetis* [10] and (32) *Mamas* [18]; [81] = (22) *Evergetis* [13] and (32) *Mamas* [7]; [87] = (22) *Evergetis* [22], [24] and (32) *Mamas* [34], [35]; [88] = (22) *Evergetis* [13] and (32) *Mamas* [2]; [89], [90] = (22) *Evergetis* [14], and (32) *Mamas* [2]; [92] = (22) *Evergetis* [29], [32] and (32) *Mamas* [6]; [106], [107] = (22) *Evergetis* [26] and (32) *Mamas* [34]; [108] = (22) *Evergetis* [41] and (32) *Mamas* [34]; [113] = (22) *Evergetis* [21] and (32) *Mamas* [35]; [144] = (22) *Evergetis* [17] and (32) *Mamas* [42]; [145] = (32) *Mamas* [44] and (22) *Evergetis* [18]; [146] = (22) *Evergetis* [18] and (32) *Mamas* [44]; [147] = (22) *Evergetis* [13] and (32) *Mamas* [44]; [148], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [17] and (32) *Mamas* [45]; [156] = (22) *Evergetis* [36] and (32) *Mamas* [40]; [157] = (22) *Evergetis* [36] and (32) *Mamas* [39]; [163], [166] = (22) *Evergetis* [42] and (32) *Mamas* [46]; [168] = (22) *Evergetis* [43] and (32) *Mamas* [46].
10. Group C: Chapters (16) shared with (22) *Evergetis* but not with (32) *Mamas*: [50] = (22) *Evergetis* [7]; [52] = (22) *Evergetis* [7]; [53] = (22) *Evergetis* [7]; [54] = (22) *Evergetis* [15]; [63] = (22) *Evergetis* [19]; [66] = (22) *Evergetis* [9]; [80] = (22) *Evergetis* [13]; [102] = (22) *Evergetis* [25]; [103] = (22) *Evergetis* [25]; [109] = (22) *Evergetis* [34]; [118], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [38]; [119] = (22) *Evergetis* [38]; [141] = (22) *Evergetis* [15]; [142] = (22) *Evergetis* [16]; [143] = (22) *Evergetis* [16]; [167] = (22) *Evergetis* [43].
11. Group D: Chapters (10) shared with (32) *Mamas* but not with (22) *Evergetis*: [35] = (32) *Mamas* [31]; [49] = (32) *Mamas* [21]; [65] = (32) *Mamas* [36]; [78] = (32) *Mamas* [19]; [79] = (32) *Mamas* [19]; [94] = (32) *Mamas* [37]; [96], missing; cf. (32) *Mamas* [11]; [158] = (32) *Mamas* [41]; [161] = (32) *Mamas* [38]; [162] = (32) *Mamas* [41]. These Machairan chapters also have analogues in (32) *Mamas*' close copy, (33) *Heliou Bomon*, which are not significant for our analysis here.
12. Group E: Chapters (14) derived from the Pseudo-Basilian *Penitential* or other late antique ascetic sources: [121], [122], [123], [124], [125], [126], [127], [128], [129], [130], [131], [132], [133], [134].
13. (34) *Machairas* [60], [145].
14. Missing chapters: [32], [62], [96], [155]; defective chapters: [31], [33], [63], [66], [67], [95], [97].

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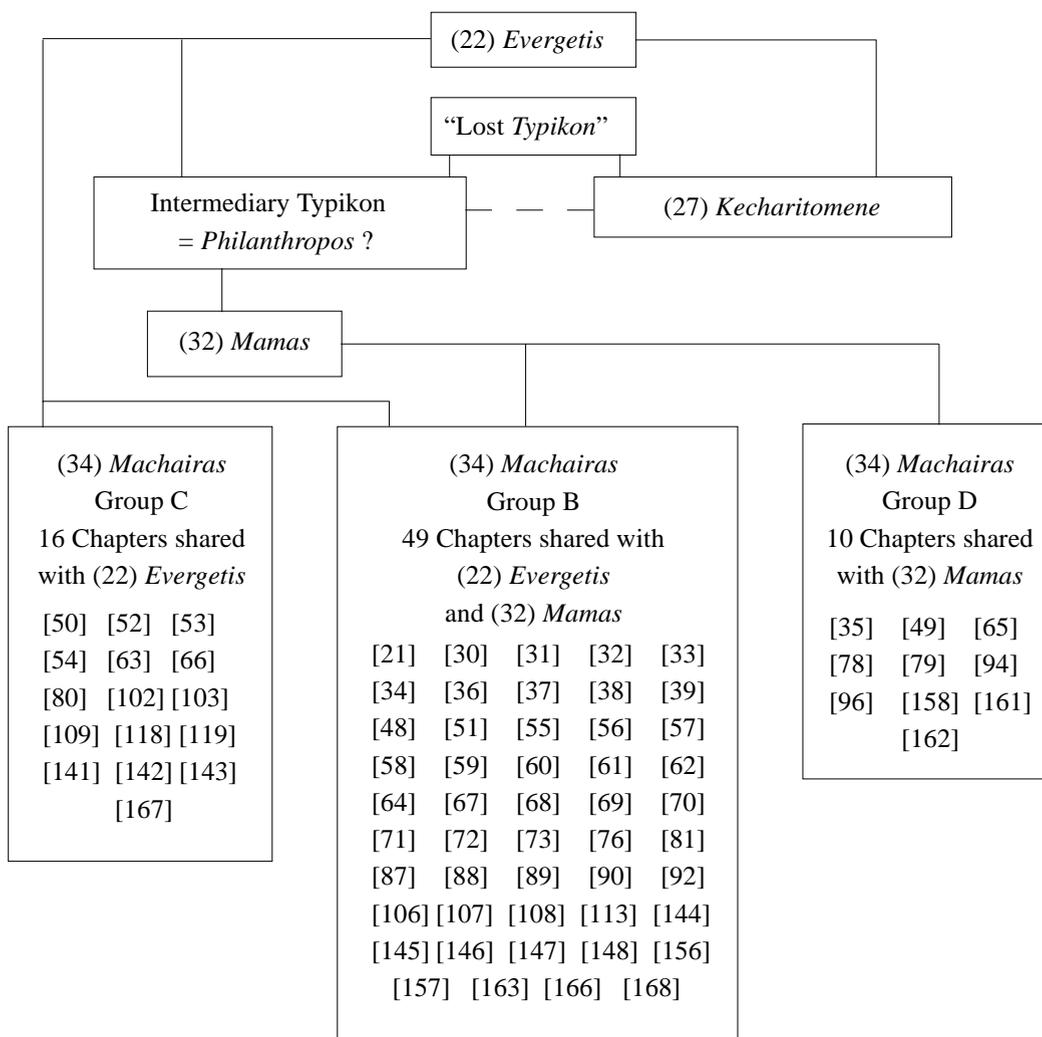
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Chart Three: Analytic Chapter Groups of (34) *Machairas*



(34) *Machairas*
Group A
81 New Chapters

[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]
[11]	[12]	[13]	[14]	[15]
[16]	[17]	[18]	[19]	[20]
[21]	[22]	[23]	[24]	[25]
[26]	[27]	[28]	[29]	[30]
[31]	[32]	[33]	[34]	[35]
[36]	[37]	[38]	[39]	[40]
[41]	[42]	[43]	[44]	[45]
[46]	[47]	[48]	[49]	[50]
[51]	[52]	[53]	[54]	[55]
[56]	[57]	[58]	[59]	[60]
[61]	[62]	[63]	[64]	[65]
[66]	[67]	[68]	[69]	[70]
[71]	[72]	[73]	[74]	[75]
[76]	[77]	[78]	[79]	[80]
[81]	[82]	[83]	[84]	[85]
[86]	[87]	[88]	[89]	[90]
[91]	[92]	[93]	[94]	[95]
[96]	[97]	[98]	[99]	[100]
[101]	[102]	[103]	[104]	[105]
[106]	[107]	[108]	[109]	[110]
[111]	[112]	[113]	[114]	[115]
[116]	[117]	[118]	[119]	[120]
[121]	[122]	[123]	[124]	[125]
[126]	[127]	[128]	[129]	[130]
[131]	[132]	[133]	[134]	[135]
[136]	[137]	[138]	[139]	[140]
[141]	[142]	[143]	[144]	[145]
[146]	[147]	[148]	[149]	[150]
[151]	[152]	[153]	[154]	[155]
[156]	[157]	[158]	[159]	[160]
[161]	[162]	[163]	[164]	[165]
[166]	[167]	[168]	[169]	[170]

(34) *Machairas*
Group E
14 Chapters from the *Basilian Penetential* and other ascetic sources

[121]	[122]	[123]
[124]	[125]	[126]
[127]	[128]	[129]
[130]	[131]	[132]
[133]	[134]	

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As noted above, this document shares, probably through intermediaries, substantial portions of the texts of (22) *Evergetis*, (27) *Kecharitomene*, and (32) *Mamas*. In our translation, the borrowings are indicated in boldface type.

Translation

++ Index to the *Rule* of the monastery of Machairas +

1. Preface to the *Rule*
2. Concerning myself and the desire that is in my mind
3. Distinct reason for the *Rule*
4. Concerning the ancient regulation
5. Concerning the regulations that are going to be written
6. Concerning the beginning of the place
7. Concerning the monk lord Neophytos and the monk lord Ignatios
8. Concerning the monk Prokopios and his objective
9. Concerning the gift of the pious emperor
10. Concerning the building of the oratory
11. Concerning myself and my coming to the monastery
12. Concerning the rule of the old man
13. Concerning myself and the office [of superior]
14. Concerning the dormition of the old man
15. Concerning God's ineffable compassion and [about] the construction [of the buildings]
16. Concerning the *stauropegion* and the [right of] commemoration alone
17. Concerning the written injunction of the old man
18. Concerning the most holy bishop and the installation [of the superior]
19. Concerning those who will attempt to touch the things that are not to be touched
20. Concerning the fact that there is to be a commemoration of those who respect [this rule]
21. Shuddering curses against those who will make any attempt [to violate these injunctions]
22. Concerning the pious emperor, Lord Isaac Angelos
23. Concerning the pious emperor, Lord Alexios, and his gifts
24. Concerning the *trisaqion* of the emperor
25. Concerning the Christ-loving men and the immovable property
26. Concerning the illumination of the church
27. Concerning the feast day of feast days, the Holy of Holies
28. Concerning the rest of the feast days
29. Concerning the Dormition of the holy Mother of God [p. 4]
30. Concerning the [liturgical] *typikon* and precise canon of the church
31. Concerning the first hour
32. Concerning those who do not go on to their cells or to their handiwork
33. Concerning the [celebration of the] office in the cell

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34. Concerning the twelve days after Christmas and Pentecost
35. Concerning the third hour
36. Concerning the divine liturgy
37. Concerning the holy communion
38. Concerning those who do not receive communion
39. Concerning the prayers of holy communion
40. Concerning the [eucharistic] bread and wine
41. Injunction and additional emphasis
42. Concerning the ninth hour
43. Concerning vespers
44. Concerning the compline and the [begging for] forgiveness
45. Concerning the heavy semantra of the midnight office
46. Concerning the midnight office, how it ought to be sung
47. Concerning the big semantron and the *trisaqion* of the emperor
48. Concerning the beginning of the six psalms
49. Exhortation to the brothers concerning the office
50. Concerning the soul-saving confession
51. Concerning the fact that the brothers are to hasten to confession
52. Penalty for those who do not confess
53. Concerning the first confession
54. Concerning the confession to the superior
55. Concerning those who come to be tonsured
56. Concerning the change of clothing of the novices and their clothes
57. Concerning not seeking offerings from those who renounce [the world]
58. Concerning the voluntary offering
59. Concerning those who will attempt to seek the return of the dedication
60. Concerning the monks who come from another monastery
61. Concerning the table and food
62. Concerning the brothers who are absent from the thanksgiving
63. Concerning the reading at the refectory
64. Concerning those who seek seats of honor
65. Concerning those who ought to be preferentially seated
66. Concerning supper and missing the prayers
67. Concerning the regimen of the holy Lent [p. 5]
68. Concerning the Saturdays and Sundays of the holy Lent and [the appropriate] food
69. Concerning the Wednesday of the Great Canon
70. Concerning the [feasts of St. John the] Forerunner and [of] the holy Forty [Martyrs]
71. Concerning Palm Sunday and the [feast of] the Annunciation
72. Concerning the [feast of the] Annunciation, if it occurs during Holy Week
73. Concerning the Great Sunday [of Easter]
74. Concerning the week of Renovation
75. Concerning the week of St. Thomas

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76. Concerning the fasts of the Holy Apostles and the Nativity of Christ
77. Concerning the three fast days of the week and their breaking
78. Concerning Artzibourios and the week of Cheesefare
79. Concerning the fact that all are to come to the refectory
80. Concerning the steward and his selection
81. Concerning the installation of the steward
82. Concerning the superior and the steward
83. Concerning the harvest and the brothers sent [to gather the crops]
84. Concerning the steward, that he is not to do anything without the knowledge of the superior
85. Concerning the superintendents of the dependencies
86. Concerning the steward who is on duty in the monastery
87. Concerning those who have some acquisitions in the monastery
88. Concerning the two stewards and if they are removed from their office
89. Concerning the stewards and the serious pursuit [of their duties]
90. Concerning those who administer the office of steward deceitfully
91. Concerning the installations of the officials
92. Concerning the offices that do not have keys
93. Concerning the installation of the ecclesiarch
94. Concerning the sacred offerings and the divine vessels
95. Concerning the superior, that he is to inspect the things of the church during the holy week
of Renovation
96. Concerning the cellarer and his appointment
97. Concerning the superior, that he is to go into the storehouse and make an inspection
98. Concerning the fact that the cellarer is not to do anything without the knowledge of the
superior
99. Concerning him who operates the storeroom treacherously and deceitfully
100. Concerning the treasurer and the things in the treasury [p. 6]
101. Concerning the rendering of account after the passage of two months
102. Concerning the garments and every giving and taking by the monks
103. Concerning the giving [back] of old [garments] and receiving new ones
104. Concerning the other treasurer
105. Concerning the superintendent of provisions and the superintendent of the storehouse
and the travelers
106. Concerning [the fact that] food is to be the same [for all]
107. Concerning the ill and their diet
108. Concerning the fact that the ill are not to grumble for excessive food
109. Concerning those who are going to be superintendents of the dependencies
110. Concerning the fact that a layman is not to be made superintendent of the dependencies
111. Concerning the estates that involve [the risk of] spiritual harm
112. Concerning the baker and the brothers [who assist him]
113. Concerning the cobbler, the carpenter, and the rest of the manual workers
114. Concerning the disciplinary official

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115. Concerning the fact that the monastery is to be altogether inaccessible to women
116. Concerning hospitality to guests [who are] monks
117. Concerning the magistrates who visit
118. Concerning the poor who visit
119. Concerning the fact that alms should not be given to women who approach [the gate of the monastery]
120. An added remark to the superior
121. Canons of Basil the Great: 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134
135. Concerning all the officials
136. Concerning the relatives of the brothers who visit
137. Concerning the canons of St. Basil
138. Concerning the above canons and decrees
139. Concerning the reasons for which these things were written
140. Concerning him who receives the leadership [of the monastery]
141. Concerning the brothers, that they are to confess to the superior
142. Concerning the fact that the brothers must have all goodwill and honor for the superior
143. Concerning the fact that they are to have love for one another and concord
144. Instruction to him who will be the superior
145. Exhortation to the brothers
146. Frightful penalties to the superior
147. To the superior who has disregarded the penalties [p. 7]
148. Concerning the fact that one who has been tonsured in another monastery should not receive the office of superior
149. Concerning [St. John] the Forerunner and his feast days
150. And [concerning] the holy icons [of the chapel of St. John]
151. Concerning the fact that another cell is not to be built
152. Concerning solitaries and their regimen
153. A shuddering injunction
154. Concerning the commemorations of our holy fathers
155. Concerning those who have dedicated properties to the monastery
156. [Concerning the commemorations of others worthy of remembrance]
157. Concerning the commemorations of all the brothers
158. Concerning my own judgment and the rule
159. Concerning the fact that following common usage a trustee is to be elected
160. Concerning the trustees: [they are to be] God and she who gave birth to him, and the emperor
161. A sworn appeal to the magistrates of the island at the time
162. Most shuddering curses against him who shall attempt to proceed towards the annulment [of the rule]
163. Instruction to the brothers
164. Instruction to the superior and regulation regarding [the number of] brothers

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- 165. Regulation concerning clerics
- 166. Entreaty and appeal of the sinner Neilos to all
- 167. Concerning the fact that the present *typikon* is to be read three times a year
- 168. A brief and concluding prayer
- 169. Concerning the holy monastery for women in Tamasia
- 170. Concerning what this holy monastery must receive yearly [p.9]

Rule of Neilos, the ordained monk, superior and founder of the venerable monastery of the supremely holy Mother of God of Machairas. Father, bless.

I, the lowly monk Neilos, primate, signed with my own hand.

1. (Preface to the *Rule*)

The divine scripture teaches us that our present life is short-lived and flows away, calling our transient days “the flower of the grass” (James, 1:10), because man during his life blooms, as it were, but quickly passes away, cut down by death. Experience itself teaches this even more. Accordingly, we see our race every day being mowed down as an ear of corn and being summoned to the other world. Providence ordains it this way, that evil may be cut short and that we may thereby be transformed to a more divine life and undergo a really divine change and thus gain that which is good.

There is also another more divine and lofty thing for our benefit. What is that? It is the uncertain and indeterminate limit of each person’s life in order that we may thus always be prepared for our migration from this world and dispose well of our affairs so that even after death our opinions may be of benefit and become veritable pillars to those who come afterwards and of whom we took thought while alive.

2. (Concerning myself and the desire that is in my mind)

I, too, therefore, unfolding this objective in my mind and having come in my own thoughts to my inevitable debt, I now proceed [to write] my present *Rule*, while I am alive and have my faculties in good health and my mind sound by the grace of the omnipotent God. I am disposing of matters that certainly do not belong to myself. What [p. 10], in fact, do I have that is my own except that which is from the ordinance of the sacred canons and the injunction that supports them—even if through me God’s ineffable love for mankind has caused the fortunes of the monastery under my jurisdiction to rise to a greater and higher prosperity and condition, as will be shown below more clearly? But, indeed, I delineate matters that pertain to my other most devout brothers and set forth as living images the very things that are advantageous to my spiritual flock both physically and spiritually since there is, in fact, much need of both [physical and spiritual] care for these sheep.

3. (Distinct reason for the *Rule*)

Such then is the objective of the present *Rule*. However, there is another very good reason: that after my departure to the Lord the appointment of the superior may not become an accessory

to seizure and anarchy, which very thing the love of power and contentious opposition that gradually emerges therefrom are accustomed to produce. By making this [opposition] the starting point for inciting trouble and by assuming its shape, the Evil One brings on a “turbid subversion” (Hab. 2:15) and a disturbance of the dignified life and the most noble conduct.

4. (Concerning the ancient regulation)

Moreover, [there is another reason]: that, having been laid down in my present *Rule*, the ancient regulation, which has been observed from the beginning, may be preserved up to the end unadulterated and altogether unmutilated, just as it has been preserved hitherto by God’s providence.

5. (Concerning the regulations that are going to be written)

The regulations of our holy monastery and the appointment of him who after me will hold the office of superior, the reasons as well as the times when the regulations of our cenobitic community are to be observed according to custom, will be written in separate chapters in the present manual with the approval of God and the pure Mother of God who conceived him without [human] seed.

6. (Concerning the beginning of the place)

It was necessary for me to mention in a condensed, general account and to present [p. 11] beforehand what sort of place it was in which our most holy monastery existed originally and what kind of change it underwent for the better with the approval of the all-benevolent God.

7. (Concerning the monk lord Neophytos and the monk lord Ignatios)

There was a certain old man, a bearer of the Spirit, Neophytos by name, who was leading the ascetic life, practicing asceticism in the deserts beside the [river] Jordan, and had become a consummate ascetic, celebrated for his moral excellence. The old man abandoned the places there because of the invasion by the godless Agarenes and came to the island. Because he had found the mountain impassable and harsh and away from all human disturbance, quiet and suitable for ascetic struggles, he chose to dwell there, having also as a companion his own disciple, namely the monk lord Ignatios. As soon as they built themselves a hut, they proceeded to inhabit the wilderness like a city and to procure their daily nourishment at the hands of some Christ-loving people. While they were living in such an angelic manner, the most honorable old man departed to the Lord and left behind his hut and his “mantle” to the new “Elisha.” (III Ki. 19:20) While the latter was toiling and being oppressed by poverty, he took the initiative to beautify the harshness of the uneven place as much as he could.

8. (Concerning the monk Prokopios and his objective)

He accepted an aged ascetic, Prokopios by name, having the latter as a consolation in place of his departed father. Whereas his eagerness was vigorous as regards the beautification of the place, his hand began to slacken because it was oppressed by poverty.

The thought came upon them to go off to the great city [of Constantinople] and to petition the

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pious emperor and to have him respond generously by his godly might to the poverty that was gripping them.

9. (Concerning the gift of the pious emperor)

He, the emperor Lord Manuel [I] Komnenos [(1143–1180)], Born-in-the-Purple, who was really a lover and imitator of Christ, not only listened to their petition and provided for [p. 12] them through an imperial and venerable decree to receive yearly fifty *trikephala nomismata* but also made a present to them of the mountain and the area around it. Furthermore, he made the monastery that was going to be built independent of every person, and through another edict prevented the prelate in the district from having any authority over the monastery and the monks who practice asceticism in it except merely [the privilege of] commemoration.

10. (Concerning the building of the oratory)

With God coming to their aid, they built the oratory which was named in honor of the supremely holy Mother of God, and they acquired only a few cells. [Then], the aforesaid old man [Prokopios] also departed to the Lord.

When he had been left behind, the monk lord Ignatios along with some brothers, no more than five or six, kept doing the things that were pleasing to God. For, in fact, the true man of God was striving not so much for his own advantage but for that of the men who were being shepherded by him. For the man was wholly spiritual [and] at all times he kept strengthening those under him so that they might nobly bear the toils of asceticism. Thus the man's fame spread and all ran to him as towards "the fragrance of ointment" (Song of Solomon 1:3), I mean his virtues.

11. (Concerning myself and my coming to the monastery)

I myself, the least [of men], was also moved in this way in the year 6680 from the creation of the world [= 1172 A.D.], and a strong desire came upon me to see the holy places and to do reverence to them and spend my whole life in submission to the fathers there.

In fact, rather quickly the desire became deed. When I had embarked on a sea voyage and had arrived at the island and had met with virtue-loving men, who praised both the tranquility of the island and the fact that this quite deserted place was suitable to those who wanted it for the purpose of asceticism, I chose to believe the words of the admirable men. I besought and earnestly entreated the latter to point out to me a tranquil place, and they yielded to my lowly request and indicated both the place and the old man [lord Ignatios]. [p. 13]

I, for my part, having made the obeisance that is customarily made to monks and having made known to him all the details of my objective, remained with him and was reckoned among his spiritual sheep. I had him as a spiritual father and guide of my deeds and salutary teacher of all things that are good and an unerring leader toward the road of the monastic life. I always submitted to his God-pleasing wishes. For having altogether denied my own will, I became in all things his own hand, foot, and staff of old age, coming to his aid and toiling together with him for the acquisition and establishment of the monastery. Also, when the island was being oppressed with famine and drought, I was sent by him to Cilicia for the purpose of ministering to the procurement of provisions for my brothers who are practicing asceticism with me. During his whole life I

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rendered every service to the monastery, for, in fact, I was doing everything pursuant to his judgment and wish.

Since he found me, by the grace of God, thinking and doing everything to serve him, what did he do?

12. (Concerning the rule of the old man)

He set forth a written Rule and chose me for the leadership of the brothers and laid upon me the ministry of leadership and the office of superior. Yet, I—even if that which I am about to say should perhaps seem to be in bad taste, although certainly not to those who know me—put off the leadership.

13. (Concerning myself and the office [of superior])

I was all in tears, and, by pressing my face to the ground, I kept seeking to cast away from myself the burden of leadership. He, however, with some gentle and mellifluous instructions won me over. “It is not right, child,” he said, “to resist or to dispute God’s unavoidable judgments; for ‘what God has purposed, who shall frustrate?’ (Is. 14:27). For, as his ineffable compassion allows, so he will manage the matters that pertain to you that this harsh and dry place may be both bright and beaming and that you may become a cause of salvation to many souls and lead this obscure and small flock to expansion, with the approval of God and the pure Mother of God, and that you may set forth for them regulations and standards that lead to the monastic life and safety. May you always have the grace of the Holy Spirit giving you its approval as well as the prayers of our holy fathers.”

I, for my part, after I had made the customary obeisance, proceeded to ask for forgiveness and I left the whole thing up to God. [p. 14] He, his eyes filled with tears and looking up to him who watches over the universe, granted forgiveness and prayed that “power from on high” (Luke 1:35) be given to me. I, in fact, clung to his admonition and judgment; and neither did he fail utterly in his hopes for me, nor indeed did I fail, as I trust in God, to win his holy prayers, through which until now I am being preserved. I became quite anxious that the venerable monastery under me make progress with the good will of God.

14. (Concerning the dormition of the old man)

But it is, indeed, necessary to add to the narrative the events after the dormition of my father, and how the fortunes of the monastery were again reduced to a critical state and what way out of our great straits God granted us. For his is that truthful voice which says, “I will never fail you nor forsake you” (Heb. 13:5). Trusting in this [saying], we passed into relief from the great discouragement and storm which the multitude of our sins caused us, because the island was held in the grip of drought for three years and all were crushed and destroyed.

15. (Concerning God’s ineffable compassion and [about] the construction [of the buildings])

His ineffable love for mankind, however, helped us and lavishly granted us supplies in the following way: some of the Christ-loving and faithful men worked together with us for the purpose of assisting us and dedicated to the monastery revenues from their personal possessions, both

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immovable and movable, over which, in fact, we exercise ownership. We erected the church and adorned it splendidly, such as it is seen today, and in like manner the refectory, too, as seen at the present time, and we made a palisade around the monastery and built cells in such condition as seen at the present time, and that impassable and rugged place was converted with much toil to level ground and we turned it into a cenobitic community by the grace of Christ, the pure Mother of God working together with us in all things. She will grant us supplies also for the future, as I both trust and pray. [p. 15]

16. (Concerning the *stauropegion* and the [right of] commemoration alone)

Since in accordance with canonical procedure it was appropriate for us to receive also a *stauropegion* upon the erection and dedication of the holy church, this indeed we have done. We received a *stauropegion* from the most holy bishop of Tamasia, lord Niketas Hagiostephanites, and in accordance with the imperial and venerable decree of the pious emperor, lord Manuel Komnenos, the bishop has the right of commemoration and that alone.

17. (Concerning the written injunction of the old man)

But that father of ours of blessed memory, the monk lord Ignatios, also prescribed before his departure to the Lord that the prelate in the region have the right of commemoration and that alone, in accordance with the imperial and venerable decree, and [the right] of the installation of him who will hold the office of superior at the time. The very one whom the brothers shall have selected beforehand and approved by vote, him he shall install for them without having examined in any way him who has been voted.

18. (Concerning the most holy bishop and the installation [of the superior])

This very thing, in fact, the most holy lord Niketas Hagiostephanites of blessed memory did. He gave me the appointment and confirmed the prescription of my father with his own hands and he bound fast his successors with the most shuddering penalties.

19. (Concerning those who will attempt to touch things that are not to be touched)

If, however, any of those who will undertake the helm of the most holy bishopric at the time attempts to touch [this regulation] under the pretext of the *stauropegion* and his commemoration, he is not to be obeyed. Instead, the brothers shall petition him who at the time acts as the representative of our holy emperor and shall point out to him the present *typikon* and shall check the impetuosity of him who attempts to move things that are immovable. [p. 16]

20. (Concerning the fact that there is to be a commemoration of those who respect [this rule])

I prescribe that those who respect and abide by this custom which has been observed from the beginning are to be commemorated in all the evening and morning doxologies and services while they are alive and after death.

21. (Shuddering curses against those who will make any attempt [to violate these injunctions])

[= (22) *Evergetis* [12], ed. lines 538–53]: **We instruct all in the name of our Lord God the**

Ruler of All that this holy monastery, which has been erected by me from its foundations, is to be kept **independent** and unenslaved, **free of everyone’s control, and self-governing, and not subject to any rights, be they imperial or ecclesiastic or of a private person, but it should be watched over, steered, governed and directed only by God and his undefiled Mother, and by the one acting at the time as superior.**

If anyone ever in any way or at any time wishes to gain control over this monastery or put it in subjection or place it under someone’s power, let him who has dared this, whoever he may be, **“be held responsible for the divine body and blood of our Lord”** (I Cor. 11:27) **and God and Savior Jesus Christ.** He shall have the pure **Mother of God** as an opponent and enemy on the Day of Judgment. Let, then, this monastery remain independent of all human authority.

22. (Concerning the pious emperor Lord Isaac Angelos)

It is necessary for the train and sequence of the narrative to add to what I said above some things that have been left out. For, in fact, certain brothers were dispatched by me to the pious emperor, Lord Isaac [II] Angelos [(1185–95)], and after they had besought his imperial majesty, the chrysobulls of the celebrated emperor, Lord Manuel Komnenos, were confirmed by his divine hand. Not only did he do this but he also made a present of a garden to our monastery from the imperial properties in Leukosia and the minting of twelve *hyperpyra nomismata*.¹

23. (Concerning the pious emperor Lord Alexios and his gifts)

Also the emperor Lord [p. 17] Alexios [III] Angelos [(1195–1203)], the true lover and imitator of Christ, through an imperial and venerable chrysobull, extended to our holy monastery and to all the immovable properties that have come to the monastery from any source whatsoever complete exemption from taxation and freedom for eternity. He also made a gift of twenty-four dependent peasants.² I also prescribe that these emperors be commemorated not by saying, as is the custom, “Again we pray for the most pious . . .,” but particularly in all the supplications of the vigil.

24. (Concerning the *trisagion* of the emperor)

After saying, “Save, O God, thy people . . .,” we are to say the following prayer, “Again we pray for our most pious and Christ-loving emperor Lord Alexios. *Kyrie eleison!*” twenty times. [We must repeat this prayer] after the midnight office, as will be discussed further down.³

25. (Concerning the Christ-loving men and the immovable property)

Besides, some other immovable possessions were dedicated to the monastery by faithful and Christ-loving men, which will be listed in a separate document⁴ according to their kind.

26. (Concerning the illumination of the church)

Before all other things I am going to speak of the most beautiful and loftiest topic, I mean, of course, the holy church. I shall prescribe a brilliant illumination, and further down I shall explain more clearly about the singing of psalms and the rest of the order.

At the daily doxologies and all services, the church shall be illuminated, as usual, with four

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tapers. Not only this, but they shall light an equal number of lamps which burn continually, night and day, at each of the two holy altars and at the sacred and divine icons which are to be venerated, as well as the twelve lamps of the *choros* and the two of the narthex. They shall have sufficient oil for these lamps, as is the custom.

27. (Concerning the feast day of feast days, the Holy of Holies)

We must certainly celebrate brilliantly the renowned and brilliant feast days and especially that of the Entry [of the Virgin into the Temple].⁵ For we shall open the gate and receive with joy all those who enter [p. 18] and refresh them kindly, and they shall be lavishly feasted. For if you do this, you will have the Divinity lavishly granting you his blessing “a hundred fold” (Mark 10:30; Luke 18:30), according to his undeceiving and divine statement.

28. (Concerning the rest of the feast days)

The other divine feast days of our holy Mistress, the Mother of God, that is the birth, the commemoration, the Purification, and that of the Annunciation,⁶ as I have indicated above, the brothers together will celebrate and be refreshed. They will be provided with fish by the monastery and a treat [of an extra serving of wine] shall be given, in accordance with custom, and they shall be lavishly feasted.

29. (Concerning the Dormition of the holy Mother of God)

But you must celebrate brilliantly the universally [celebrated] Dormition.⁷ Not as you do the Holy of Holies, but you must invite only twelve priests, and you must celebrate the departure [from life] of Our Lady, and you must care for the poor in accordance with your ability and not use as a pretext poverty, the scarcity of revenue, that is. For I have made the acquisitions of the monastery more abundant than its expenditures, and they were dedicated through the intercessions of the supremely holy Mother of God. On this feast day we eat grapes, as the [liturgical] *typikon* of the church expounds.⁸

30. (Concerning the [liturgical] *typikon* and precise canon of the church)

Since it was necessary for this holy monastery, after it had been auspiciously established, to have also a [liturgical] *typikon* and an accurately described canon of ecclesiastical order and of the rest of the way of life of the cenobitic community, I recorded particularly the matters of ecclesiastical rite and order. But it is necessary to consign to writing also all the things that have been omitted in that volume but by tradition have been handed down to us, so that partly they may be easily taken in at a glance and partly that nothing may be corrupted by anyone.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [3], ed. lines 66–70]: **We must, therefore, pay heed most precisely to the things that will be stated, which I shall begin from a preferable place. It is preferable to begin with the hour that brings us the light, that is the first hour of the day, and I think it absolutely necessary that those who are going to give a description of the works of light should begin following the light.** [p. 19]

31. (Concerning the first hour)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 75–76]: **So after the worship of matins, the office of the**

first hour should be sung by you following on immediately, as is customary and at the end of this while the customary *trisagion* is being performed at the narthex, the priest says: “Pray for our holy fathers and founders.”

[= (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 116–19]: After its completion, **you must depart to your cells, avoiding all meeting together and foolish distraction, idle chatter, and disorderly laughter. For what comes of such things? Clearly, the lapsing into disgraceful talk, abuse, and condemnations because . . .** [Gap in text, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4], lines 119–26]: **[your mind is relaxed by this and you forget what is really good, and reaching your cells in a dilatory and lazy frame of mind you sink at once into a sleep of *akedia* and pass almost all the day in idleness without engaging in any beneficial activity whatever, as the great Basil also says, “To lapse from a fitting spiritual state is easy when the soul indulges in unrestrained laughter, and it is easier for a concern for goodness to be dissipated and lapse into disgraceful talk.”]**⁹

32. (Concerning those who do not go on to their cells or to their handiwork)

[Missing chapter; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 127–35]

33. (Concerning the [celebration of the] office in the cell)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 139–42]: . . . and the care of handiwork or reading, and besides **the genuflections** according to one’s ability, inasmuch as he has received from the father an order **to avoid [genuflections] only in the church when the psalm, “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]: 27) is sung. So when you pray in your cells you should always kneel down,** except Saturday and Sunday, but **whenever there is a vigil, we will avoid genuflections in the cells.**

34. (Concerning the twelve days after Christmas and Pentecost)

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. line 142]: **Besides,** we must avoid genuflections **during the twelve days after Christmas and the** entire Pentecost, and during all the feasts of the Lord and those of the twelve apostles and the commemorations of all the great saints on which we are accustomed to hold vigils. In like manner, we shall observe also the singing of the *mesoria* in our cells during the entire Pentecost, during both its first week and the last [week], I mean both the **week of Easter** and that of the Holy Spirit.

35. (Concerning the third hour)

[= (32) *Mamas* [31], ed. lines 25–31]: **When the semantron then is struck at the time that is proper, all must assemble in the narthex and there sing together the third and the sixth hours** [p. 20] **along with *mesoria*. At the beginning, however, of the sixth hour, both the priest and the deacon who have the priestly duties for the day and the lighter of the lamps along with them must make a genuflection to the superior, and, while the former must enter into the holy sanctuary to prepare this divine oblation, the latter must go off to strike the large semantron.**

36. (Concerning the divine liturgy)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 145–47]: **So the ritual of the third and sixth hours should**

be like that on the days of the year that are free from fasting. [= (22) *Evergetis* [5], ed. lines 151–57]: **It is necessary now also to speak about the divine mystery, which must of necessity be celebrated in the church each day, but you yourselves must be sure to take care in this, my brothers, because what is performed there is divine and fearful, and because there more than in anything else the fearful and very great mystery of our orthodox and divine faith is accomplished, I mean the most divine and most precious sacrifice of the completely undefiled blood of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ.**

37. (Concerning the holy communion)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [5], ed. lines 157–84]: **So during it, as has been said, you must pay strict attention, and as far as possible chase from you every thought that is impure, sown by the devil, and unworthy of that fearful consecration, and purify yourselves in every way. Then as many as have been allowed by the superior to partake of communion should partake of the divine elements. For it will not be possible for any of you to partake freely and in a thoughtless manner, nor each day. This we would indeed wish, for to partake continuously of the divine elements is continuously to share in life, as Christ himself says, “He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him” (John 6:56), and again, “Unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood, you have no life in you” (John 6:53), and as the divine apostle says, “He who is united to the Lord becomes one spirit” (I Cor. 6:17), and as the most gentle David says conversely, “Those who distance themselves from you will perish” (Ps. 72 [73]:27).**

Therefore we would indeed wish this, as has been said, but because of human weakness and the danger of the action we do not allow it, for “Whoever eats the body and drinks the blood of the Lord unworthily is guilty of his body and blood” (I Cor. 11:27) says Paul, the divine and inspired speaker and leader of the apostles. [p. 21] This statement is frightening, my brothers, and causes not only sinners like me but also those who are very confident in themselves to fear partaking. So then as many as are sure that they are pure and free from disgraceful thoughts and submission to them, from anger and grumbling, grief and denigration, deceit and disorderly laughter, furthermore and more especially the bearing of a grudge and irritation, disgraceful talk and such things, should partake of communion once a week. But those who fall prey to the aforementioned passions and hasten to a renunciation of them through confession and repentance should partake of communion twice a month or not at all, at the discretion of the superior of course, for he should be in charge of such matters.

38. (Concerning those who do not receive communion)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [5], ed. lines 185–86]: **But for someone to consider himself unworthy of communion without his knowledge cannot be approved. For he who does this will be condemned as someone fulfilling his own wish.**

39. (Concerning the prayers of holy communion)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [5], ed. lines 187–91]: **However it is permitted that those who should partake of communion read more attentively the prayers laid down for the partaking, make a common genuflection together to one another to grant forgiveness, and thus joyfully partake of the life-giving elements. So let these things be carried out in this way.**

40. (Concerning the [eucharistic] bread and wine)

But since I have come to this point of the discussion, I must speak also about the [eucharistic] bread and wine that are brought to the holy altar for a “living sacrifice” (Rom. 12:1), which is holy, pure and bloodless, lest, because some carelessness or disregard has crept in with regard to these matters, we err unawares with respect to the greatest and loftiest [sacrament]. For, if Cain was condemned because of this very thing, for not offering to God, that is, the best things, but keeping them and storing them up for himself (cf. Gen. 4:2–5), I fear lest we, too, should be found to be liable to such a condemnation, if we do not offer the best to the Giver and Bestower of all things. [p. 22]

41. (Injunction and additional emphasis)

This surely I also enjoin: that the offerings of [eucharistic] bread not be made from the common dough from which the loaves of bread for the [refectory] table are made, but that the flour be separately sifted and kneaded and that from this [dough] be made the offerings of [eucharistic bread] that are altogether pure. Also that the [eucharistic] wine be given from the best wine produced in the monastery. If the superior should set aside some of this [bread and wine] for himself or even for those whom he himself knows not to be healthy in body to eat and drink at table, he shall not at all be condemned.

42. (Concerning the ninth hour)

The ninth hour and its *mesoria* must be sung as follows. After we have risen from our eating at the common table, the brotherhood sings the psalm, “The Lord is merciful and compassionate. He has given food to them that fear him” (Ps. 110 [111]:5), three times and together with it the *trisagion*, as is customary. Then the priest adds this prayer, “Blessed is God who nurtures us from our youth by his grace and love of mankind, always” and forthwith we begin the hundred and twenty-first psalm, “I was glad when they said to me, ‘Let us go into the house of the Lord’” (Ps. 121 [122]:1), and as we sing this [psalm], we come out of the refectory with the proper decorum and order and go to the narthex of the church and there, finishing off this psalm, we begin the *trisagion* and sing the ninth [hour]. After its completion, while the priest is offering the usual prayer, the aforementioned mutual forgiveness by the superior and the brotherhood again takes place, and we are dismissed to our cells.

43. (Concerning vespers)

The regulation of the church’s *typikon* shows quite clearly how the office of vespers ought to be performed. At the completion of [this office], after the *trisagion*, which is customarily said in the narthex, it is proper for the aforementioned mutual genuflections and forgiveness to take place.

44. (Concerning the compline and the [begging for] forgiveness)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 199–205]: **After supper we ought to sing the compline, during which we must also genuflect whenever we are not celebrating a feast, and we call a feast the day when the psalm, “God [p. 23] is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is sung during the morning office. When the compline, too, has been sung and the superior has said the customary prayer, it is good for all the brothers, while they are standing up, to incline their ear to him**

when he kneels and says, **“Forgive me, fathers and brothers, for I have sinned in deed and in word and in thought,”** and granting him their forgiveness, to say, **“May God forgive you, honorable father.”** Then, each one of you must prostrate himself on the ground and ask a common forgiveness from the whole brotherhood, saying thus: “Forgive me, fathers and brothers, for I have sinned in deed, in word and in thought.” You must all pray for him who is lying prostrate and say, “May God save and forgive you.”

After all have asked for themselves this forgiveness and received it, it is appropriate for the ecclesiarch to say, “Pray, fathers, for our mighty and holy emperor, for our holy father, for those who enjoined us to pray for them, for our fathers and brothers who are absent, for those who sail the sea, for those who are being held in prisons, for those who are lying in sickness. Pray for and bless the founders; bless our fathers and brothers; bless our parents.” Then all together must answer, saying, “May God forgive and save them.” After this, having genuflected, all together must say to the superior, “Bless [us], pray [for us] and forgive us, holy father.” He says over you the customary prayer, “May God forgive and save you all.” As soon as he says this, all respond, “Amen,” and rise to accompany the father to the superior’s cell and, having received his counsel, they depart to their cells to **carry out the night office, in accordance with the given regulation, and then full of gratitude and spiritual joy you should turn to sleep.**

45. (Concerning the heavy semantra of the midnight office)

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 213–21]: When both the lighter of the lamps and the disciplinary official have ascertained from the ecclesiarch the proper hour, they should go to the superior and, having received the customary blessing from him, the lighter of the lamps should depart in order to strike the heavy [semantron], while the disciplinary official, having said in a soft and gentle voice, “Bless [me], holy father, it is time for the midnight office,” should pass by the cells of the brothers and, saying in like manner at each [cell], “Bless [me], father, it is time for the midnight office,” [p. 24] he should awaken you for the service of the midnight office, while the lighter of the lamps strikes the heavy [semantron], in accordance with custom. Both [the disciplinary official] and the lighter of the lamps will [also], certainly, sing [the midnight office]. Thus, at the sound of the iron semantron, all will assemble in the church.

46. (Concerning the midnight office, how it ought to be sung)

When the priest has given the blessing, the midnight office is sung. After its completion, the superior cries out, “Pray for and bless our holy fathers; pray for me, too, the sinner, in order that I may be delivered from my passions and the snares of the evil one.” You, falling on your knees, answer, “God bless our holy fathers and may he forgive you, too, You yourself, too, pray for us, honorable father, in order that we may be delivered from our passions and the snares of the evil one.” The superior answers, “God forgive you all through the prayers of our holy fathers,” and you arise, answering, “Amen.”

47. (Concerning the big semantron and the *trisagion* of the emperor)

Having made an obeisance to the superior, the lighter of the lamps departs and sounds the big semantron, and thus we begin the *trisagion* for our mighty and holy emperor with *troparia* and an

ektenes by the priest, [saying]: “Again we pray for our most pious and God-guarded emperors, their sovereign power, victory, permanence, peace, health and salvation, and that the Lord our God may further cooperate with them and make them prosper in all things and subject under their feet every enemy and foe.” [We say] twelve times, “*Kyrie eleison*.” Thus we begin the doxology of the morning office, which we must do in the following manner.

48. (Concerning the beginning of the six psalms)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [6], ed. lines 222–40]: **After the striking of the big semantron praise should be ascribed to God by the priest who has the duty for the day, and he should at once make with the censer the sign of the venerable cross in front of the holy table and call out as follows, “Glory to the holy and consubstantial, indivisible, life-giving and unconfused Trinity always, now and always and for ever and ever.” After this, both the superior and the ecclesiarch reply “Amen” and should at once begin [to recite] “Glory be to God in the highest” [p. 25] followed by the six psalms, saying the words of the psalms in a low voice slowly and quietly so that all may then be able to recite them without error or stumbling. Then after the completion of the six psalms, the whole office of matins should next be celebrated just as the church’s [liturgical] *typikon* describes.** This we must do whenever we sing the psalm, “God is the Lord,” (Ps. 117 [118:27] for if the day calls for the [singing of] “Alleluia,” we begin from the *trisagion*. **Thus, then, will remain without alteration for all time the pattern of your daily office.**

49. (Exhortation to the brothers concerning the office)

[= (32) *Mamas* [21], ed. lines 20–31]: **But above all I entreat you, my spiritual fathers and brothers, that no one be absent from the ecclesiastical office either during the daytime and night time doxologies or during the vigils that are usually performed. For, if, in fact, anyone should be absent in consequence of sloth and negligence and not because of illness, which, of course can attract forgiveness, let such a person know that, if after a first and second and third admonition he abides in his sloth, he shall have in consequence as his just penalty the eating of dry food and the drinking of water only on the day on which this offense should be committed by him. Those, however, who perhaps are occupied with certain tasks or wrestle with bodily illnesses, as I have stated, shall not be subjected to the censure of this sort. For it is necessary to show consideration for the illnesses and the labors of men.**

50. (Concerning the soul-saving confession).

[= (22) *Evergetis* [7], ed. lines 241–60]: **We must also speak about soul-saving confession. Well then, the superior must enter the sacristy at each vigil at the time which he himself chooses for this, and leaving aside all work whatsoever and all the trouble of managing and directing, must take most diligent care to hear those who wish to make confession and set for each one the appropriate remedy. He is to be allowed, if perhaps he cannot act in person since the brotherhood [p. 26] is numerous, to authorize whichever of the priests he wishes, or even some of the more reverent brothers, (wearers of the great habit), to hear the thoughts of the more uneducated majority, the thoughts that trouble us day by day and hour by hour those which must always be easy to absolve and not have caused more deep-seated trouble, and to**

remit them and grant forgiveness. But the thoughts that require some healing and care must be referred to the superior by those who hear them, and he will produce the appropriate healing. So then, those who confess will conceal nothing from their [confessors], though perhaps hesitant if they know their thoughts need care, but they will uncover everything completely to their confessor.

51. (Concerning the fact that the brothers are to hasten to confession)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [7], ed. lines 261–87]: **Also it is right that we should tell them what is expected of them. So then you, my brothers, seeing the superior hurrying off to this good ministry which is very beneficial to your souls, you should run, and running reach with eagerness this very calm harbor that is safe for your souls, and reveal completely without any covering up every stirring of your mind and every thought that harms your soul, as though you are making your confession in the presence of God and not a man. But the one who sets out to lie to God will always get his punishment. For the psalmist says “Thou wilt destroy all that speak falsehood” (Ps. 5:6). So then, by confessing without deceit and ridding your minds of all wrangling, all impurity, all confusion and trouble, you may be happy and rejoice, having gained this good hope namely that you will not fail to gain salvation. But make your confession without accusing each other when perhaps a violent dispute or some other argument occurs. Do not make your confession if you consider yourselves blameless and you are looking really for condemnations, nor should you speak about the bodily needs which afflict you. For there is always a time for them but this is a time for making confession of faults and obtaining healing for spiritual passions. If you must speak of some violent dispute, be keen to ascribe and assign to yourselves all the blame and reason for the fault, whatever it is. But if you speak about some other passions, reveal these completely so that you can gain double benefit from this, by both attaining sound health of soul and clothing yourself in exalting humility, for possessing this we will assuredly be like God who says, “Learn from me that I am gentle and lowly in heart” (Matt. 11:29). What else would be a clearer proof of gentleness and humility in heart than clearly to bear all affliction nobly and blame oneself in everything? [p. 27] The true confession without which I do not think anyone gains salvation is the cause of so many good things.**

52. (Penalty for those who do not confess)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [7], ed. lines 288–314]: **Then we order that a person who does not make confession should be excommunicated from the Lord God until, coming to his senses and thinking of higher things, he confesses all his faulty and harmful habits. Thus it would be necessary also to expel such a person from the monastery and cut him off like a rotten limb, and as a wound that is hard to heal or completely incurable to remove him and cast him away, but the uncertainty of the future and the expectation that perhaps one day he may come to his senses held us back from this purpose. However for him to be liable to the penalty of excommunication is very useful since it is very effective. Indeed, what benefit does he obtain from remaining at the monastery? What benefit comes from not making confession or rather does not harm and ruin follow and a continued practice of evil and everything**

whatsoever that brings destruction to the soul? So then, as it is impossible for someone who is sick or has wounds to return to health when he hides these from the doctor, so it is much more difficult for the person who does not make confession ever to gain health of soul. The divine Basil is witness of this when he speaks as follows “If a monk is going to show proper progress and come into a state of life in accordance with the command of the Lord, he must keep no stirring of his soul hidden, but offer to his superior all the secrets of his heart stripped bare.”¹⁰

So then, by acting in this way, my brothers, we will not only be rescued from our own faults but we will be more secure later on; for the author of *The Ladder* says “Stripes that are exposed will not become worse,” and again, “A soul that thinks about confession is held back by it from sinning as if by a rein.”¹¹ So the revelation of one’s own faults is very useful. In future let us all run eagerly to it. Therefore we prescribe that confession should be held like this, by the superior himself clearly and by as many as seem to him to be suitable people to hear thoughts. [p. 28]

53. (Concerning the first confession)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [7], ed. lines 314–17]: **The first and great confession which we should make when casting off the hair of this world must be offered to the superior alone and not to anyone else so that he can know everyone himself and mix the medicine suitable for each one.** But if, on the other hand, the superior should wish to urge some of the most devout priests to receive [confession] of thoughts, let those who cast off the hair of this world disclose their thoughts to them.

54. (Concerning the confession to the superior)

All who belong to the brotherhood are to confess their personal thoughts to the superior, as I have stated, both at the time of their renunciation [of the world] and during their struggle and training after their renunciation, and they are not to have as recipients of their personal thoughts any others who are either solitaries or reside in other monasteries, but they are to lay bare all their own faults only to the superior, from whom they will also receive the remedies that are appropriate and suitable. They [should also confess] to those to whom the superior himself may entrust the matter, as I have indicated. They should not, however, go to any other person for the purpose of confession, nor shall they acclaim him as a spiritual father for themselves [anyone] except their own superior. For I abhor this altogether as a cause of outrage.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [15], lines 749–59]: **But if, on the other hand, there should be someone who is obdurate and disobedient, who follows his own will and does not wish to make confession to his superior but would acknowledge someone else and not this man as his spiritual father and would endeavor to confide his personal thoughts to him, he should be put out far away from our flock. He should be chased out at once, receiving neither mercy nor pity, but as someone who removes himself by his own evil—O eyes of “God who behold all things” (cf. Sir. 15:18)—evil and very dangerous decisions, let him be utterly rejected from the monastery and counted a stranger to our group and community, our way of life and fellowship, as being the cause of dissension and discord and all other kinds of instability, disorder, and serious harm.** Let these things be so.

55. (Concerning those who come to be tonsured)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [37], lines 1123–26]: **I must speak also** in fuller detail **about** those who come to the monastery for the purpose of being **tonsured**. [p. 29] **If they are distinguished people or are people known to you for a long time and have a close knowledge of the monastery's way of life and character, they should be tonsured within a period of six months, if perhaps they themselves ask for this and are accepted.**

56. (Concerning the change of clothing of the novices and their clothes)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [37], ed. lines 1127–34]: **But if they are common and unknown, after an interval of seven days after their arrival here they should assume the novice's rags and put on the monastic headdress, and they should be appointed to appropriate tasks according to their abilities and observed to see if they carry out these with perseverance and humility. If they persevere in this attitude until the completion of three years, then they should be enrolled among the brothers by being tonsured and should receive the pledge of the divine and angelic habit,** that is to say, the cloak. **But if they perhaps appear to have grown tired, grumbling and negligent,** let them divest themselves of their black clothes and clothe themselves with the clothing of the world and return to the world which they loved. For those who renounce it in accord with God's will become altogether strangers to "worldly passions" (Tit. 2:12) and their own.

57. (Concerning not seeking offerings from those who renounce [the world])

[= (22) *Evergetis* [37], ed. lines 1137–43]: **Then those who have been judged worthy to be accepted should not be put under any compulsion concerning a renunciation and an entrance offering,** as if [such gifts] were legal. **For one must not traffic in the grace of God or sell it for money, lest anyone causes shame thereby and inflicts a reproach on those among us who have been tonsured without payment, and lest that evil and accursed expression is introduced, that is, mine and yours and greater and smaller, and that the one who has made an offering is thought to be more important than the one who has not. May it not happen, may that not happen among you ever.** For the so-called renunciation destroys the blessed submission.

58. (Concerning the voluntary offering)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [37], ed. lines 1143–56]: **But if, however, the one who is to be tonsured himself willingly chooses to offer something to God, it should be accepted** in the following way. If the thing that is being offered and dedicated to God is movable, he who is going to be tonsured, when entering into the holy sanctuary bare-headed [p. 30], shall make a deposition of this on top of the holy and sacred altar with his own hands. But if it should happen to be immovable or animate, he shall set forth a document of grant and dedication to God through the intercessions of our supremely holy Mistress, the Mother of God, and having entered into the holy sanctuary, as I have stated, he shall set down this [document] on the awesome and holy and mystical and divine table. **For that is freely chosen and not forced, being the action of a pious mind in the category of almsgiving and doing good, and in exchange for God's recompense is to**

atone for his sins, and moreover that we might speak the truth, is brought as an offering to God and his mother.

For a so-called renunciation and an entrance offering are one thing and the gift another, whether an act of almsgiving or an offering; for the former has within it the repayment of expectation and, like some necessity that has to be bought for the body, is paid in advance for some agreements and exchanges perhaps stated, but the other is offered freely with heavenly hopes and recompenses.

Therefore the person who offers must not suppose that he has any preference over the rest of the brothers because of this, but should be treated in the same way as every one and according to the rule of the monastery then in force.

59. (Concerning those who will attempt to seek the return of the dedication).

[= (22) *Evergetis* [37], ed. lines 1156–61]: **If someone who has made an offering is ever tempted by demons—there are many such examples of fickleness—and desires to leave the monastery and wishes to take his offering and what he had dedicated to God away with him, that should not be given him, whatever it happens to be. For what has once been consecrated to God must not be taken away, and he who takes it away is sacrilegious and everyone knows the sort of punishment that committing sacrilege brings, even if we do not say it.**

60. (Concerning the monks who come from another monastery)

[= (32) *Mamas* [22]]: **But so much concerning those who are tonsured in the monastery. One should, however, consider also those who come from a different [monastery] for the purpose of making a beginning in it. Let him, therefore, who has been chosen by the monastery to be admitted as a monk, be ordered to observe its regimen, and after the passage of six months in it, let the present rule be read to him personally. If, indeed, he is obviously pleased, with all [p. 31] [the things] that are written in it, let the priest in the narthex, as I said, say “Blessed [is our God]” as well as the *trisagion*; and in the church let the monk bow down and present his head uncovered to the superior. The latter, as he makes the sign of the precious cross over it, reverently says the following, “May the grace of the all-Holy Spirit, brother, through the prayers of our fathers, grant you power and strength to complete well and pleasingly to God the beginning which you made for the edification and salvation of your soul.” Thereupon let the superior give him the kiss in the Lord and successively likewise all the brothers. Let him, however, make a prostration to the brothers, saying, “Pray for me, fathers and brothers, that God may grant me perseverance; for, behold, I have made a beginning in this holy monastery,” and, after the brothers have answered, “May God grant you, brother, perseverance in every good work,” he shall be enrolled in the brotherhood. Then, let glory be offered to God and let the dismissal follow, after the customary prayer has been said. For in no other way shall anyone be numbered among the brothers of our monastery unless, along with the confession, this ceremony takes place in exactly the same way.**

61. (Concerning the table and food)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 325–37]: **It should be the right time now to mention the**

table and food and the other things that are disposed by nature to maintain **the body**. For as we are made up of two parts, I mean **soul and body**, so also are the activities of the monastery. The whole daily divine office expressed in the singing of psalms could reasonably be thought of as the **soul of the monastery**, whereas the monastery itself and all the things that benefit our bodies could be considered its **body**. So then, since with God's help we have said enough already about its soul, it is right that we should also speak about matters which concern its **body**, by prescribing the diet and setting out for you more precisely all the other things that secure a more lasting continuance of the monastery, as it is necessary for the one who wishes the condition of the cenobitic community to improve to be no less concerned about these things. So then, these things also should be said and should of course be imparted to my fathers and brothers.

After the dismissal of the sacred and divine mystery [of the Eucharist], as they are all coming out of the church and sitting together **in the narthex, the refectory semantron is sounded**, as is customary [p. 32] and **the priest who performed the service** leading . . . [Gap in text, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 340–48]: [**you should make obeisance to the superior and then, beginning to recite audibly the customary psalm, walk to the refectory, that is the superior and all those without exception who have been instructed to sit down at the table during the first sitting. Then entering the refectory and completing the appointed psalm and the short prayer that accompanies it, you should sit down in the order laid down by the superior and gratefully partake of what has been set before you.**]

62. (Concerning the brothers who are absent from the thanksgiving)

[Missing chapter; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 348–51]: [**Then anyone who was late for the psalm and the thanksgiving should be reported by the refectorian to the superior, and he should enquire the reason for his lateness and grant him pardon if it seems reasonable, but if not, he is to perform as many genuflections as the superior wishes.**]

63. (Concerning the reading at the refectory)

[Gap in text; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 352–56]: [**Moreover, the traditional reading must take place during the sittings in the customary way, with no one making a noise or causing a disturbance or destroying the benefit which comes from that with worldly conversations and idle chatter. The superior only may speak sparingly if he wishes and perhaps the one asked by him may answer similarly in a few] brief phrases.**

[= (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 357–63]: **But if someone causes a disturbance or is disturbed, is noisy or causes a noise, and ruins the reading by untimely and improper conversation, he is to be silenced by the refectorian. But if, something I hope does not happen, when he silences him the noisy person pays no attention, he is to be removed from the refectory even if he is unwilling and subjected to the penalty of going without his food or made to learn self-control in another way as the superior wishes.**

All, then, shall sit down at the table in accordance with the order that has been determined by the superior.

64. (Concerning those who seek seats of honor)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 364–80]: **We absolutely refuse even to hear that someone of his own accord seeks a loftier seat or the honor therefrom. For how could this be acceptable, that men who are living according to God’s will should quarrel at all about seating, like those who are keen to show themselves in a worldly way superior to the rest in this, as those who are excited by glory that is vain and hated by God? For “Everyone that is proud in heart is an abomination to the Lord” (Prov. 16:5), says Holy Scripture “and the Lord rejects the proud, but he gives grace to the humble” (Prov. 3:34). So this will not happen among you, it will not. For if you are in your right mind, you would never choose this, to be an abomination to the Lord rather than to receive favor from him and have him near you, as those who are of a contrite heart (Ps. 34:18), or, to speak truly, to be his dwelling and beloved of him. [p. 33] But if any of you is found causing annoyance in this matter, putting forward as an excuse perhaps age or sphere of work, and does not abide by the command of the superior, nor is satisfied with the place allocated to him, I command in the Lord that he be allocated the last place and be taught to leave to the world the habits of the world. But if, something that is in every way detestable and undignified, he still disagrees and objects, persisting after the second and third admonition in being incorrigible, he shall not sit down at all but, standing up, shall perform some service.**

65. (Concerning those who ought to be preferentially seated)

[= (32) *Mamas* [36], ed. lines 23–31]: **But those who have been entrusted with these two great offices, [namely,] the steward and the ecclesiarch, shall sit ahead of all of them, and after them the priests according to their rank of seniority, and after the latter, in turn, the deacons, unless, the superior should prefer some who are advanced in years or old age, worthy of respect and honor, to sit ahead of the latter, the deacons, that is. After they are seated, however, there shall not be for the others a preference in respect to seating but thereafter the seating will be assigned suitably to each at the discretion of the superior.**

66. (Concerning supper and missing the prayers)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 420–21]: **But at the time of supper also, if someone who wishes to have supper arrives after grace, he will incur the same penalty [Gap in text; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 421–23]: [as he who was late at the midday meal, if of course he does not have a reasonable excuse when he is asked. The one, however, who because of abstinence does not come to the supper incurs no blame.]**

67. Concerning the regimen of the holy Lent

[Gap in text; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 438–44]: **[But that is not the procedure during the holy fast days and especially during the first and greatest fast, on the first day of which, that is Monday of the first week, the liturgy should not be celebrated nor should care be taken with the table or food. However on the other days of the same week attention should be paid to the table, and whoever chooses should partake of food. This will be composed of**

legumes soaked in water and perhaps some fresh vegetables and fruits, and the drink will be hot water flavored with cumin. That is apart from Friday.]

[= (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 445–52]: Again, **[on this day] you should eat two dishes of food cooked with sesame oil, and drink wine distributed in the customary measure because of the feast of the great martyr St. Theodore,¹² which the superior must celebrate and give you a refreshment. You should carry out the first week of the great and holy Lent in that way.**

68. (Concerning the Saturdays and Sundays of the holy Lent and [the appropriate] food)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [10], lines 453–55]: **On all Saturdays and Sundays of the same holy fast three [p. 34] cooked dishes containing sesame oil should be set out for you and for your drink the customary measure of wine should be distributed.** You must eat supper on these [days], as is the custom of the monastery.

69. (Concerning the Wednesday of the Great Canon)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 456–63]: **Also on Wednesday and on the Thursday of the great canon [you shall be] without supper, but on Friday a refreshment must be given to the chanters on account of the *Akathistos* hymn. On Tuesdays and on the other Thursdays of the holy Lent let [the food] be as follows: boiled beans and *almaia* and fruits and a brewed beverage. These are for those whose bodies are strong, but for those who are weaker let there be cooked food with sesame oil and olive oil and wine given with the customary measure and let these be served in one meal. Mondays and Wednesdays and Fridays, however, you should not partake of anything cooked nor wine but only boiled beans and some small fruits, if there are any, and raw vegetables and hot water flavored with cumin.**

70. (Concerning the [feasts] of [St. John] the Forerunner and of the holy Forty Martyrs)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 463–78]: **But if the commemoration of the discovery of the precious head of [St. John] the Forerunner or the remembrance of the Forty Saints¹³ happens to fall on one of these days, then the fast should be broken and you should eat three dishes with olive oil and take wine measured out with the customary measure, but not fish.**

You should take care to celebrate one of these feasts when it falls on one of the days of the first week, and you should have as refreshment not that of the aforementioned days, but only wine of the customary measure and gruel. But then, on all the other days of this holy Lent you will not be allowed to eat fish at all, unless, perhaps, some refreshment is sent you by someone, then the fast should be broken on this occasion because of this special treat lest we be seen by men to fast (Matt. 6:16), lest we happen also to offend him who gives the refreshment, perchance on the very day of Palm Sunday.

71. (Concerning Palm Sunday and the [feast of the] Annunciation)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 480–92]: **When that bright and holy feast, or the salvation-bringing feast of the Annunciation falls, you should celebrate it as splendidly as possible, on each of the two [feasts], partaking of fish provided by the monastery and drinking wine of the customary measure. We will eat fish during this holy feast of the Annunciation, [p. 35] as has**

been said, if it does not fall during the great holy week. For at that time we will use for food only vegetables and legumes that have been cooked with olive oil on account of the feast, since for three days of that week—that is Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday—we must eat just as on Wednesdays and Fridays of the rest of the weeks—and be content with legumes, fresh vegetables, fruits that happen to be on hand, and hot water flavored with honey or cumin.

72. (Concerning the [feast of the] Annunciation, if it occurs during Holy Week).

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 492–501]: **If this aforementioned holy feast of the Annunciation falls on those days, whether on Holy Thursday, or Good Friday, or on Holy Saturday itself, we shall not partake of fish** but of legumes and cooked vegetables containing olive oil and **we shall drink wine with the customary measure**, and we **shall do whatever is appropriate for the feast.**

On Holy Thursday your eating will be as on the days of Lent that are free from fasting in the matter of both dishes and wine; but on Good Friday one must neither cook nor take thought of the table nor eat at all, but it is appropriate that all continue fasting. **On Holy Saturday** let there be a **collation only** in the narthex after the dismissal of the divine consecration [of the Eucharist], which must be celebrated around the third or fourth watch of the night.

73. (Concerning the Great Sunday [of Easter])

The entire office of the great and brilliant holy Sunday shall be performed in accordance with the prescription of the [liturgical] *typikon*.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 503–5]: **In this manner the diet for the great and holy period of Lent must be kept, though care should be shown to the sick at the discretion of the superior.**

74. (Concerning the Week of Renovation)

During the Week of Renovation¹⁴ one must indispensably eat cheese and eggs and milk every day and must partake of wine.

75. (Concerning the Week of St. Thomas)

Beginning with Monday of [the Week] of the holy apostle Thomas,¹⁵ on Wednesdays [p. 36] and Fridays and Tuesdays, I mean, one must abstain equally from cheese and eggs and milk, but it is appropriate to eat olive oil and to drink wine but not to eat fish. According to the Rule which we have received from Palestine, after the entire last week of Pentecost, that is, during [the week of] the Holy Spirit, as well as during the Week of Renovation, we ought to partake of cheese and milk and wine.

76. (Concerning the fasts of the Holy Apostles and the Nativity of Christ).

[= (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 509–19]: I must say also concerning the fast of the Holy Apostles¹⁶ that on all the Mondays and Wednesdays and Fridays we do not sing the psalm “God is the Lord.” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) For this reason, **after the completion of the whole office of the day, both of the hours and vespers, just as the church’s *typikon* expounds, you should be summoned**

to the refectory at the seventh hour in accordance with the rule laid down above. For on these [days] one must partake neither of any cooked food nor of olive oil nor of wine but of cooked legumes and raw vegetables and perhaps fruits that are available at the time and water.

On Tuesdays and Thursdays, of course, you **shall eat two dishes cooked with olive oil and you shall each drink wine with the customary measure.** Also the customary **supper should be set out for you, a small piece of bread** and very few olives or fruits that are in season will be served, **and** let **wine** be drunk with the smaller measure. Likewise also on Saturdays and Sundays. On these [days] we shall eat three cooked dishes at dinner.

The fast of the holy Nativity of Christ¹⁷ shall be similar to the fast of the Holy Apostles regarding food and drink.

77. (Concerning the three fast days of the week and their breaking)

So much concerning fasting during the three illustrious and holy fasts. Concerning, however, fasting on every Wednesday and Friday of the other weeks, as prescribed by the divine canons, the fathers in Palestine decided that fasting must consist of total abstinence from wine and olive oil. They also decided that fasting on Monday must be equal to that of [Wednesday and Friday]. Let us also conform to the same thing, following our holy fathers. I ordain, however, that when a feast of the Lord occurs, either the feast of the Twelve Apostles, or of the great teachers or any of the great fathers, on which vigils occur or the *Polyeleos* is sung, it is right that all fast be broken on whichever of the aforesaid three days of the week a celebration of the [feast] of the aforesaid [saints] should happen to occur. You are also permitted through the entire [p. 37] twelve-day period [of Christmastide] to eat cheese and milk and eggs and to partake of wine every day.

78. (Concerning Artzibourios and the week of Cheesefare)

[= (32) *Mamas* [19], ed. lines 6–12]: **But a specific thing which I almost bypassed, must be committed to writing because it is necessary and it separates us from the loathsome tradition of the Artzibourians.¹⁸ Since in the week before the Meatfare week the Artzibourians received the tradition to eat nothing else except bread and water, we, in order that we may be differentiated from their heresy, unhesitatingly eat both cheese and eggs throughout the entire week, and we likewise observe this, during the entire week of Cheesefare because of another heresy.¹⁹**

79. (Concerning the fact that all are to come to the refectory)

[= (32) *Mamas* [19], ed. lines 12–18]: **Both our brethren who take care of the vineyards and the gardens, as well as all the other ministrants, ought without fail to come also to the refectory each day, and in common to enjoy the bounties of God and thank his goodness in order that the name “brotherhood” may not be just a name, but that it may become a reality through deeds.**

80. (Concerning the steward and his selection)

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. lines 605–8]: It is fitting to add a steward to the monastery so that the superior may have him as a helper in all things and a most reliable fellow-combatant for the

support of the brothers and the care of the monastery. He must be appointed in the following way. **After consulting with** the brothers as to who is the one who is superior to the others **in conduct, manners, character, intellect and discipline** so as to be “faithful and wise” (cf. Luke 12:42), as the sacred gospel says somewhere, surpassing the others, as I said, **the superior shall install** this [brother].

81. (Concerning the installation of the steward)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. lines 610–23]: His installation shall proceed **in the following way. After the dismissal from matins and the customary prayer said by the priest, a trisagion should be said by all** [p. 38] **and the one chosen and preferred should make three full genuflections in front of and near the holy sanctuary; then he should reverently kiss the holy, divine, and revered icons of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ and of the most holy Mistress the Mother of God. After that he should perform the proper obeisance to the superior and then he shall bow his head uncovered, and he [the superior] making over it the sign of the venerable cross should reverently say as follows, “The grace of the all-Holy Spirit, my brother, through the fervent intercessions of our wholly pure Mistress, the Mother of God, and through the prayers of our holy and God-bearing fathers, is installing you steward of our venerable monastery.” Then when he has given him the kiss in the name of the Lord,** he sets him in front of the holy screen. Thus let all the brotherhood approach him and let all, **without exception, kiss him, and after the kiss glory should be given to God and the dismissal should follow after the usual prayer of the priest.** If, however, he who is appointed to the office of steward is also an ordained priest, he would be even more acceptable.²⁰

82. (Concerning the superior and the steward)

Let the superior forego all other necessary duties and go out to visit along with the appointed steward all the dependencies of the monastery so as to investigate them even more precisely and to inspect them and to note them down in writing. The aforesaid steward, in fact, is to supervise all the [monastic] officials and hired laborers and to give to each one the appropriate living allowance.

83. (Concerning the harvest and the brothers sent [to gather the crops])

At the time of harvest and vintage other brothers, too, must be sent to the dependencies so that the steward may have them as his co-workers and assistants and fellow-laborers for the effort and endeavor of gathering the crops, but also as truthful witnesses for the exact [quantity] of the crops that have been collected. The quantity of each kind must be recorded and brought to the superior, and he shall note them down in an accurate written record. At the appropriate time [p. 39] he shall examine the revenues that have been collected and deposited.

84. (Concerning the steward, that he is not to do anything without the knowledge of the superior)

For the steward shall not have the power to do anything without the knowledge as well as the judgment and will of the superior, but he is to follow all his footsteps and wishes, just as Solomon says somewhere, “Do all things with counsel” (Prov. 31:3). But even the sacred gospel itself says,

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“I have come down from heaven not to do my own will, but the will of my Father who sent me” (John 6:38).

85. (Concerning the superintendents of the dependencies)

For it is not my wish that the superintendents of the dependencies have under their authority the revenues of the estates, but [only] the agricultural tools and all the materials. Their fair living allowance and that of the brothers who till the soil will be given to them by the steward. He shall also deliver to them the monies needed for other justified and reasonable expenses and he shall note these down in writing, and afterwards at the appropriate time he shall give a clear account of them. For it is not my wish that those who serve [the monastery] be examined and investigated for the outlay of any trifling thing except in the presence of the superior. Even the shepherds shall not be investigated by the steward and the man in charge of the flocks alone, but they, too, shall be [examined] just as I have indicated above.

86. (Concerning the steward who is on duty in the monastery)

There must also be in the monastery another steward, who in every way is on a par with the first steward in virtue, for the supervision and stimulation of all the officials. He must also have charge of all the strangers and brothers who visit and must take care of the ill, as I have indicated above, and the revenues that are collected from whatsoever source must be investigated and examined with his knowledge. He must deliver to each one of the [monastic officials] the things that are necessary for the brotherhood, as the author of Acts says somewhere that “distribution was made to each as any had need” (Acts 4:35). But when the superior is absent or even [p. 40] when he is resting in his cell, he himself will keep the entire brotherhood in order. Those who are sluggish in entering the church for the singing of the psalms, those who talk idly or do nothing or do any other thing that is improper and unprofitable, he will admonish and correct in a brotherly manner and in love. He will persuade them to go to their cells and to attend to their prayers, to do manual labor, and in addition to these, not to resort to insults against one another or wranglings. For he who does this shall be subjected to seclusion. But if he does not repent and does not ask for forgiveness with a contrite heart, he shall be punished most severely so as to learn the expression “Bless and forgive me, brother.”

87. (Concerning those who have some acquisitions in the monastery)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [22], ed. lines 899–904]: **Those who acquire some possessions contrary to the rule of the monastery, even so much as an obol or a piece of fruit, without the knowledge of the superior, will be liable to punishment. But the person who purloins something from the monastery and does not confess it and make amends will be expelled completely.**

[= (32) *Mamas* [34], ed. lines 16–21]: **It will not be possible for you to have domestics who render services, but each shall serve himself, the young one him who is advanced [in age], and the stronger one him who is weaker, as the superior orders. For thus the Master’s commandment will be fulfilled and the law of love will be observed unimpaired.**

All these things the aforesaid steward shall do in accordance with the order of the superior, without dispute, but in full accord with the superior’s judgment and wish.

88. (Concerning the two stewards and if they are removed from their office)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [13], ed. lines 644–58]: **What follows I did not wish to commit to writing. For it should not be necessary to remove from his position and rank someone who has previously been selected for it, if, in fact, they remained unchanged and completely unmoved in their adherence to what is good, but that is impossible, for we often change and alter, such is human nature, and when we are thought worthy of honor we become weaker with regard to the performance of good deeds, whether it is through giving way to laziness, as in most cases, since authority has a habit of weakening those who have been elevated to it whenever they ought to continue with the struggle and their diligence even more, or because we feign virtue at the start through the desire for authority and the hope of its attainment, and then when we have gained it, we immediately find ourselves being precisely and truly what we were before. For these reasons the matter must be committed to writing [p. 41] and punishment given as strongly as possible.**

89. (Concerning the stewards and the serious pursuit [of their duties])

[= (2) *Evergetis* [14], ed. lines 661–63]: **So if the stewards continue unchanged and immutable, properly maintaining virtue and love for the brothers, on account of which they were thought worthy of this rank, they will not be removed from this office but remain firm.**

90. (Concerning those who administer the office of steward deceitfully)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [14], ed. lines 664–75]: **But if time proves them to be unqualified and unsuitable, either because they have carried out their office in a careless and indifferent manner or because they have been doing favors for their friends and relatives or have been appropriating some of the monastery's property or have shown themselves to be trouble makers and unruly, or opposing the regulations of the superior, or betraying or subjecting the monastery's property to anyone's control, or on the other hand have been disregarding any of the instructions in the rule and the *typikon* and following their own wishes, or clearly been involved in bodily passions or even have become unreasonably attached to someone in preference to the rest of the community and therefore have been proved as unsuitable for the guiding of souls, they are to be expelled, then others should be found, who abound in all goodness and are superior to them in virtue and are unimpeachable. These will be preferred to the others in every way and will be promoted to the former's office.**

If, on the other hand, they do not succumb [to evil] while performing their service and are approved by God and the father [superior] and the brotherhood, they will hear, “Well done, good and faithful servant; you have been faithful over a little, I will set you over much” (Matt. 25:21).

91. (Concerning the installations of the officials)

Let the installations of all the officials, that is, the ecclesiarch, the cellarer, the treasurers, the provisioner and the rest be carried out in the following way. After the dismissal of matins and the customary prayer of the priest, a *trisagion* having been said by all, let him who has been selected for any office whatsoever make three deep genuflections in front of and near the sanctuary. [p. 42] Then let him reverently kiss the divine and sacred and venerable icons of our Lord Jesus Christ

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and the Mother of God and, in turn, let him again make a prostration in front of the holy screen and likewise to each choir. Then let him with his own hand take the keys from the supremely holy Mother of God and bow his neck to the superior, and let the superior bless him and make the sign of the venerable cross over him as he says the following: “The grace of the all-Holy Spirit, brother, through the prayers of our fathers, strengthen you well and, as it pleases the Holy Spirit, may you perform the service which has been assigned to you.”

After this, having taken his stand in front of the sanctuary, let him make a common prostration to the brothers, gently appealing to them as follows: “Pray for me, fathers and brothers, to execute well and in a manner pleasing to God the service to which I have been appointed.” As all the brothers say, “God strengthen you, brother,” let the dismissal take place.

92. (Concerning the offices that do not have keys)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [29], ed. lines 978–80]: **However for the installations which do not involve keys, the kissing of the divine icon and the blessing of the superior along with the *trisagion* will be sufficient for the installation.**

[= (22) *Evergetis* [32], ed. lines 1012–18]: **Naturally it is just to leave unchanged those who have been appointed to each of the offices while they are performing them in a careful and devout manner, until the superior sees fit to remove them. But those who neglect or despise them and perhaps even behave deceitfully in them should be removed and others appointed. If one of these people were to appropriate something, anything at all, he will be answerable to our Lord Jesus Christ and his pure Mother, from whom in fact he received his office, promising to carry out his office eagerly and without deceit.**

93. (Concerning the installation of the ecclesiarch)

After the installation of the ecclesiarch, all the things of the church shall be handed over to him in writing.

94. (Concerning the sacred offerings and the divine vessels)

[= (32) *Mamas* [37]]: **Since, the monastery had need of sacred vessels, divine offerings and books [p. 43] for the glory of God and the illumination of those who practice asceticism in it, as many things as were necessary were dedicated to it by the grace of Christ and through the intercessions of the supremely holy Mother of God. All the silver vessels and revered icons and liturgical cloths and many books and bronze items that are seen, and an inventory of these has been made by us, signed by my own hand. Concerning these furthermore, I prescribe that they be absolutely both inalienable and irremovable. He who shall dare to remove from them anything of whatever kind shall be considered sacrilegious and along with Judas shall be referred to eternal punishments, and before the [punishments] may he also inherit [Judas'] noose.**

But may no one, my Christ, whether potentate or magistrate or anyone of those in the monastery, whether superior or subordinate, even think of removing or alienating any of the offerings or of the books in it, either large or small, or any other thing whatsoever. Instead let there be more eagerness to make additions and further dedications for the glory of God and for their own considerable benefit.

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95. (Concerning the superior, that he is to inspect the things of the church during the holy week of Renovation)

Likewise, the superior must during the Renovation week, on whatever day he wishes, check over all the things of the church, having in hand the inventory, and just as all things were handed over to the ecclesiarch . . .

96. (Concerning the cellarer and his appointment)

[Missing chapter; cf. (32) *Mamas* [11]]

97. (Concerning the superior, that he is to go into the storehouse and make an inspection)

. . . lest somehow he try to entice you because you are rather weak and you succumb to the ill-will of the Evil One, run quickly to confession. For the honest confession will make your forgiveness complete, justly granting [you] the latter by the superior.

Do not deprive any brothers of their rights because of prejudice or in repayment for an injury. [p. 44]

98. (Concerning the fact that the cellarer is not to do anything without the knowledge of the superior)

Apply every effort, therefore, to do nothing, even as much as the smallest thing, without the knowledge and judgment of the superior. For if anyone of you shall do any such thing and, despite admonition and warning, does not restrain himself from such an undertaking, he shall be subjected to the appropriate penalty.

99. (Concerning him who operates the storeroom treacherously and deceitfully)

Neither will the cellarer have in his power to waste the things of the monastery on his friends and relatives nor to appropriate from the things that have been brought to him so much as an obol. For if he does this, he shall not partake of the divine body and blood, but he shall also be removed from his office and another who is better than he in virtue will be appointed in his place. The superior and the steward must examine precisely the food and drink of the brothers so as to make a decision in the case of each [brother] according to his relative weakness.

100. (Concerning the treasurer and the things in the treasury)

Two treasurers must be appointed by the superior. Of these, one will be in charge of all the income of the monastery and will record in detail both the revenues and the expenditures, not simply thus, but in accordance with the example that will be cited.

There shall be a money-box deposited in the treasury of the monastery, in which will be put all the monies that come to the monastery from whatsoever source, secured with keys and seals. There shall also be a piece of paper which will serve as a record of deposits and that, too, will be stored in the money-box. In this [piece of paper] all the aforesaid monies will be recorded in detail. From these, the treasurer will take each month whatever is necessary for the monastery's expenses and will spend these in accordance with the superior's order.

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101. (Concerning the rendering of account after the passage of two months)

After the completion of the month, both the superior and the preeminent monks will sit down together in a designated place, [p. 45] and the money-box will be set up in the middle and will be opened by him who holds its key. Then, the record of deposits will be brought out first, and after it has been read, it will make known the monies that had been previously given to the treasurer for expenditure. Then, the treasurer will present a clear and distinct [record of] the expenditure of these [monies], but he shall also make absolutely clear all the monies that have been collected by him from whatsoever transactions during the same months. He shall present the recording of them, which indicates what and from where, from whom and at what time the monies were collected, and thus both the monies that have been collected and those that have been spent during the same months, being clearly discerned, will be recorded in the deposit record very clearly. After the recording, the paper containing the deposit record will again be stored away in the money-box, and likewise the monies that have come to the monastery either from gifts or from other quarters. The treasurer, however, will take, in turn, from the money-box other specified *nomismata* for the expenses of the month that has started.

Then, the money-box shall again be closed and, after it has been sealed by the aforesaid brothers, it will be stored away in the customary place. Thus, all income and expenditures having been declared and made quite clear and evident, there will be no cause of scandal left against him who has been entrusted with this office or against anyone else.

Therefore, I enjoin in the Holy Spirit that neither he who after me will succeed to the office of superior nor he who is next in rank, I mean the steward, nor anyone else whosoever, is to take for himself out of the money-box even one single *nomisma*, neither a greater nor a smaller [amount], because, as I have stated, everything ought to be openly collected and spent.

102. (Concerning the garments and every giving and taking by the monks)

All the garments, indeed, of the brotherhood, any clothes and cloaks and *apostolika*²¹ and the rest, shall be kept appropriately by the treasurer and shall be duly distributed to those brothers who need them at whatever times the superior should choose. The purchase, however, of these [garments] shall be made by the [superior] himself or another brother who has clearly been approved for possessing experience sufficient for such matters.

[= (22) *Evergetis* [25], ed. lines 930–35]: **I prescribe such things to be bought at the appropriate times, and it is good to take care of your old garments as much as you can and use them. For only a use that is necessary should be sought, and a surplus should be hated as being of the devil. We give the same instruction also in the case of cloaks and vests and shoes, and [p. 46] in short, all necessities.**

103. (Concerning the giving [back] of old [garments] and receiving new ones)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [25], ed. lines 935–38]: **Whenever there should be a pressing need for anyone to receive a new item of these articles, he must bring the old one of course to the storehouse and hand this over and receive another one with the knowledge of the superior. For otherwise, if old garments are not brought back, I do not permit new ones to be given out.** These shall be the duties of the treasurer.

104. (Concerning the other treasurer)

Let, however, the other [treasurer] have his own separate workshop, which is also called a treasury. In the latter he shall keep very carefully and safely all the more massive equipment of the monastery which happens to be stored in there,—agricultural tools, things made of metal and other things necessary for the monastery—receiving them with a written document and again giving them out to the attendants who need them for agricultural and other services of the monastery in order that he may have knowledge of what sort of and how many of the serviceable tools are given to each of the attendants. It shall [also] be the task of the aforesaid treasurer to supervise the coppersmiths of the monastery.

105. (Concerning the superintendent of provisions and the superintendent of the storehouse and the travelers)

It is also necessary for me to mention the other offices, such as [those of] the superintendent of provisions and the superintendent of the storehouse and, of course, the superintendents of the dependencies.²² First of all, they are to have the fear of God and to do everything in accordance with the superior's order. In receiving and dispensing, they must give out everything in measure and take in everything in measure, as the sacred gospel says somewhere that "the measure you give will be the measure you get" (Matt. 7:2). Keep doing in accordance with the custom which you have received from me and which is traditional from the beginning, and it will be well with you.

If, however, one of you acts contrary to the judgment of the superior and appropriates the things that have been entrusted to him, he shall be accountable to our Lord Jesus Christ and to the pure Mother of God, from whom indeed he has received his office, [p. 47] having promised to administer his office readily and without deceit. But also the superior shall expel him from his office and shall by all means appoint another in his place, and to him who administers his office deceitfully a penalty shall be given, consisting of bread and water according to the degree of his trespass.

106. (Concerning [the fact that] food is to be the same [for all])

[= (22) *Evergetis* [26], ed. lines 941–43]: **On these matters** I instruct **you**, my fathers and brothers, **that you should all have the same food and drink.**

107. (Concerning the ill and their diet)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [26], ed. lines 947–51]: **For in every way you should only help and take care of those who are clearly afflicted with illness**, as much as you can, **and for this reason perhaps need better food and drink to sustain their weak and wearied bodies. For I think that this shows discernment and preserves the conscience of everyone else free of offense.**

108. (Concerning the fact that the ill are not to grumble for excessive food)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [41], ed. lines 1259–68]: **Our sick brothers emboldened by this should not cast off self-restraint by seeking for extra things and things which perhaps they have never even heard of much less seen and eaten, but they should restrain and control them-**

selves, being satisfied only with those things which the circumstance of the season and the resources of the monastery provide for them. For if we command that they be cared for because of the [divine] commandment, yet we do not allow them to give themselves airs but live in a more restrained manner, and as monks ought, so that they may receive from God the reward of their endurance, which the deprivation of their desires and the unpleasantness of their sickness is going to secure for them.

109. (Concerning those who are going to be superintendents of the dependencies)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [34], ed. lines 1063–67]: **Since**, by the ineffable providence of God and of the pure Mother of God who gave birth to him without [human] seed, **we have gained possession of some immovable property** for the monastery, just as [p. 48] I have said above, **the superior must have concern for them also, and he should be as careful as he can as to what sort of brothers are sent to have the oversight of them, that is they should always be reverent and discreet, and elderly if possible, unaffected by passions that are caused by the attacks of Belial** (cf. II Cor. 6:15).

110. (Concerning the fact that a layman is not to be made superintendent of the dependencies)

I do not permit any layman to be entrusted with such an office apart from the tillers of the soil and those who tend the animals.

111. (Concerning the estates that involve [the risk of] spiritual harm)

If, however, there should be a piece of property that is not near the monastery but involves [the risk of] spiritual harm, I permit this to be given by agreement or exchange for another that is closer, the monastery collecting the sum of revenue that belongs to it. It is my wish, however, that such properties as are closer [to the monastery] be altogether inalienable and indefeasible, never to be taken away or alienated at all by anyone, except for those [properties] that involve [the risk of] spiritual harm, although these, too, Christ-loving people and I have purchased and acquired with many toils and expenses for the nourishment and preservation of our brothers who practice asceticism. He who shall give up possession of or shall take away any of these [properties] on any pretext whatsoever shall certainly be subjected to the charge of sacrilege and shall be liable to the legal punishment for this, apart from spiritual harm.

112. (Concerning the baker and the brothers [who assist him])

Now the discussion must proceed to other matters and I must speak also concerning these matters to the best of my ability, concerning our brothers, that is, who toil in the bake-house. They must celebrate the entire office and must not be engaged in futile conversations, for this usually happens at gatherings. I direct, however, that a gift of wine, the customarily given measure, be given to those who toil. [p. 49]

113. (Concerning the cobbler, the carpenter, and the rest of the manual workers)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [21], ed. lines 877–83]: But I must speak also of **those who are engaged in manual tasks**, the cobbler, the carpenters and the smiths. Some of the more simple brothers **should**

not gather without the superior's knowledge and should not engage in **vain chattering and then turn to disgraceful talk** —for **“by a multitude of words,”** he says, **“thou shalt not escape sin”** (Prov. 10:19)—**they should not reject the admonition of the superior. For we instruct him to do this in love and persuade them to give up topics which harm the soul, and discuss matters from Holy Scripture that help the soul.**

114. (Concerning the disciplinary official)

It is fitting, therefore, that a disciplinary official be attached to the monastery, also, who assembles the brothers to go into the church and sing the psalms. He shall arise before the doxology of matins, and while the lamplighter has already begun to strike the heavy [semantron], he shall go off to the cell of the superior and to that of each of the brothers, and calling out loudly the phrase, “Father, bless” he shall arouse all for the performance of the midnight office.

While matins is being sung, he will go out of the church twice, after the six psalms and the sixth ode, and will enter the cells of the brothers and will awaken whomsoever he will find sleeping, perhaps from indolence or from the hardship resulting from their duties, and will bring them to the holy church. He will do this once also during the mystery [of the Eucharist] and at vespers and compline. But he himself also at every service ought to post in the left choir those who are going to start [the singing].

He will closely watch the brothers very frequently at every hour, if possible, and will admonish and correct them in a brotherly manner and in love whenever they sit together without good reason or are chattering idly or doing nothing or doing something else that is improper and unprofitable, and will persuade them to go to their own cells and to attend earnestly to their prayer and to their handiwork. He will do these things throughout the whole year.

During the readings that take place at matins and the [canonical] hours during the holy and great Lent, he ought to rise from his own seat and make three genuflections in front of the holy sanctuary bareheaded and to go through the brothers one by one and awaken whomsoever he should find sleeping and not alert and listening to the reading, and persuade him [p. 50] who has been awakened from sleep to rise and make in the middle of the holy church three prostrations and one each to the two choirs and thus, after he has taken his seat, to attend more carefully to the reading.

115. (Concerning the fact that the monastery is to be altogether inaccessible to women)

The monastery shall be altogether inaccessible to women and not even for the sake of worship must they enter in all eternity.

Meat shall never be eaten at all in this [monastery].

Nor may lay boys be accepted for the study of the sacred scriptures, only those who have grown a beard or those who have the first growth of beard on their cheeks. In order to understand the [liturgical] office of the church, let the boys who wish to become monks be placed in a special cell of the monastery and taught the sacred psalter and all the rest of the office, and thus let them enter and be accepted. They shall, however, neither be brought in for the sake of carrying water or another service, nor will they work as servants.

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116. (Concerning hospitality to guests [who are] monks)

Since we acknowledge hospitality as a most royal gate to virtue, usually born of love—the first of virtues—it is my wish that, just as it was practiced up to now, it be extended again to monks who are entertained as guests in the holy monastery, from whatsoever place they may be. The monastery [should] accept all and impart to them a proportionate [share] of the food of the day that the brothers are eating. If anyone of these [guests] is a notable man, traveling for the sake of venerating the life-receiving tomb [of Christ], he is to be embraced and accepted at the common table and nourished equally with the brothers and be entertained as a guest for three whole days.

117. (Concerning the magistrates who visit)

Even if magistrates from the region should visit at the time when the brothers are eating dry food, the rule of the cenobitic community must be observed, but the visitor must be entertained differently. Let him be seated with the superior and let him eat with him without criticism and be accorded appropriate honor. [p. 51]

118. (Concerning the poor who visit)

[cf. (22) *Evergetis* [38], ed. line 1185]: The poor, our brothers, who come to the gate quite frequently, since it is impossible for all to be brought inside the monastery, shall be received only in the hospice which is outside the monastery. The guestmaster shall supply bread to each one and food from the table, that they may be comforted. For I prefer that not even one be turned away from the gate hungry, but that in accordance with the custom that has been prescribed from the beginning, all be refreshed with food and beneficence as much as possible, **unless perhaps it should happen to be a woman.**

119. (Concerning the fact that alms should not be given to women who approach [the gate of the monastery])

[= (22) *Evergetis* [38], ed. lines 1185–88]: **For they should not receive a share, not that we hate our fellow human beings, certainly not, but we fear harm from that quarter, in case if a habit was generally accepted they would visit the gate more frequently and would be found to be the cause of evil rather than good to** the brothers. I enjoin in the Holy Spirit that the superior and the steward and the guestmaster observe this restriction.

The matters of hospitality and almsgiving shall always be observed in this manner. But I must turn my discussion to the things that benefit the brothers.

120. (An added remark to the superior)

Let the superior be permitted at whatever time he should choose to enter into the cells of the brothers and search closely lest someone is doing handiwork without the [superior's] wish and judgment, whether he has things, when closely inspected, that are called *margounia* ["baskets"] in the vernacular, or any other possessions, even trifles. If he should find these things, let them be taken away. He is either to burn them with fire or to distribute them to the poor; and he is to give the owner appropriate counsel and restrain him from such an undertaking thereafter, seeing that he

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is doing things that are contrary to the rule of the monastery. Basil the Great takes up this very thing and expressly says as follows: "If anyone possesses anything in the monastery or outside the monastery, let him be excommunicated."²³

(Canons of Basil the Great)²⁴

121. It seems to me necessary to mention also some other canons of our great father himself, Basil, which have been set forth for those who have undertaken the solitary life. [p. 52]

122. He who has become aware of a brother who contemplates a departure from the monastery and has either communicated with or has given his consent to him and has not reported his plans, must be excommunicated from the church for one week and [subsist] on bread and water.

123. If anyone goes out without the blessing of the superior, let him make a hundred prostrations and eat dry food for three days.

124. If anyone, while eating at table, talks idly or out of inattentiveness does something that is not pleasing, let him arise and intone, as is customary, "Have mercy on me, O God," and ask for forgiveness.

125. If anyone eats without having received the blessing, let him make fifty prostrations.

126. If anyone is absent from the first [seating at] the table, let him remain without food until the evening.

127. If anyone is not on time for the prayer at compline, let him make the customary obeisance and sing the entire office and make fifty prostrations.

128. If anyone after the prostration is found conversing or being alone with someone, let him make fifty prostrations.

129. If anyone of the brothers, apart from the officials and the steward, enters into the kitchen inopportunately, speaking idly and giving orders, let him make thirty prostrations.

130. If anyone, without permission or absolute necessity, enters into the cell of another or sleeps [in it] or starts doing handiwork, let him be banished from the church and the refectory for three days and eat dry food.

131. If anyone is found writing to anyone or receiving a letter without the permission of the superior, let him eat dry food for three days. Likewise, both he who receives and he who gives out [something], apart from the steward, must be excommunicated.

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132. If one of the tillers of the soil or the gardeners or the vine-dressers or the shepherds take any fruits whatsoever and eat them without their having been blessed, [he] must make fifty prostrations and eat dry food for five days.

133. If anyone without the permission and blessing of the superior shall open a vein or cut his hair²⁵ or put on a garment or shoes, let him make fifty prostrations. [p. 53]

134. If anyone takes a fruit from a tree without the consent of the guard or the gardener, let him make twenty-five prostrations.

135. (Concerning all the officials)

Both the officials and those in charge of all the other necessary [services] ought to attend to them carefully in order that they may not fall under the charge of negligence.

136. (Concerning the relatives of the brothers who visit)

The visiting relatives of the brothers in the monastery must be announced to the superior by the gatekeeper. First of all, they must be asked to see the superior, then by his permission to see their relatives, in accordance with [what] the superior's wish will provide and the examination of the visitor will show. Let him, however, who does not abide by this rule and goes forth to meet his kinsman without the knowledge of the superior remain in seclusion for three days [on a regimen] of bread and water, in order that he may "not think of himself more highly than he ought to think" (Rom. 12:3).

137. (Concerning the canons of St. Basil)

Having found and recognized that these things tend to benefit the brotherhood, I have collected them from the canons of Basil the Great, as I have stated above, and had them recorded along with other matters.

138. (Concerning the above canons and decrees)

Accordingly, both the decrees and canons that have been transmitted to us from our fathers have been included in these chapters. If my spiritual flock should observe them, then "their light shall break forth as the morning and their health shall speedily spring forth" (Is. 58:8). If, on the other hand, it should turn away and reject the paternal injunctions, it will set aside everything and obtain the wages of disobedience. But may it not happen so in the case of my brothers, may it not, O Lord my God, nor may the terrible beast tear them apart. But just as until now you have kept them in your holy name, so also until the end preserve them in order that [p. 54] they may keep doing your will, and surely your will is that they walk in the footsteps of your sacred injunctions.

139. (Concerning the reasons for which these things were written)

The reasons that prompted me to write these things in the present rule are not few, and my fathers and brothers in Christ are not ignorant of them, I believe. Yet a further [reason], indeed, is the danger of silence that hangs over me, as the divine scriptures instruct me. For he says: "Woe to

him that gives his neighbor to drink the thick lees of wine” (Hab. 2:15). If the superintendent of souls is called a “watchman” by Ezekiel—which he is both in fact and in name—how could I have escaped the sword threatened through [him] and the full payment for the blood of the flock—what blood this, surely, is!—if I had not set forth everything openly? For he says: “Son of man, I have made you a watchman to my people. If you see the sword coming up and you warn them, you are innocent; but if not, their blood will be required at your hands” (cf. Ezek. 33:6–9).

All these things have made the exposition of the rule necessary for me in order that, by contemplating it every day like a model of behavior, as it were, my fathers and brothers may mold their own life on it and renew in themselves the ordinances of our present rule and may keep preserving them inviolate and may present their conscience pure before the tribunal of the impartial Judge, through the intercessions of our supremely holy Mistress, the Mother of God, and through the prayers of our elders and fathers. May you be saved and magnified and have peace, and may you become enviable in the eyes of all for your good and dignified conduct all the days of your life.

140. (Concerning him who receives the leadership [of the monastery])

For, behold, by the providence of God, I am also leaving behind to you, my flock, a superior, the ordained monk and disciple of mine, lord Joachim, who after my departure from life is going to assume the entire leadership of the monastery. [He is] a man [p. 55] who is of attested virtue and piety and is adorned with understanding and learning and a spiritual way of life and the rest of the good qualities, and “has worked hard with me” (Rom. 16:6), as you also know, for the establishment of the monastery and for all the things that are under [its authority]. But may he, after he has received the *sphragis* as the superior by the most holy bishop of Tamasia and primate at the time,²⁶ govern the monastery and give rest to the flock in a place of verdure and refreshment (cf. Ps. 22 [23]:2).

141. Concerning the brothers, that they are to confess to the superior)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [15], ed. lines 737–49]: **I plainly instruct you all, my brothers, that after my departure from the world, you hurry to confide to him all the stirrings of your souls and confess the thoughts that harm your souls, so that he may form an idea of the quality of your attitude and relationship with him. By thoughts we mean not those that have been confessed by you, unless someone, perhaps, should willingly choose [to do this], but those that trouble you day by day and hour by hour. For it is not possible, no, it is not possible, being human, not to think something wicked. Do not put off something that is good, a thing you should not do, but run to it with all eagerness and speed, so that you may all be “one” (John 17:21), “being of the same mind” (Phil. 2:2), thinking the same thing, shepherded and guided by one and the same shepherd, attached and bound to one another like a chain of gold, and “fitted together into one body” (Eph. 4:16) under one head, as the holy apostle says, with the Spirit as the master builder.**

142. Concerning the fact that the brothers must have all goodwill and honor for the superior)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [16], ed. lines 763–71]: **You should reserve, I beg you, for your superior**

all honor, all reverence, all unwavering submission, and all obedience as has been said by one of the divine fathers. For he says, “For if those caring for you are going to render account on your behalf, how will we not be submissive to them in everything, obey them, and serve them as the other parts of the body do the head.” The divine and great apostle Paul speaks as follows in his letter to the Hebrews; “Obey your leaders and submit to them; for they are keeping watch over your souls, as men who will have to give account” (Heb. 13:17). [p. 56]

143. (Concerning the fact that they are to have love for one another and concord)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [16], ed. lines 772–83]: **Also maintain love, peace, and harmony in your dealings with one another, burn with a tender affection for one another, supporting one another, “instructing, comforting, and forbearing one another, stirring up one another to love and good works”²⁷ and, to put it simply, exerting yourselves strongly to establish whatever is good, praiseworthy, virtuous or brings salvation. For Our Lord Jesus Christ says, “This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you” (John 15:12), and elsewhere, “By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another” (John 13:35). Do you see whose disciples we will be by keeping these words? Do you see what glory and blessedness and exultation we are going to get by being disciples of the Master who loves mankind? So then, let us take his commands to heart with all zeal and power and enthusiasm.**

144. (Instruction to him who will be the superior)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [17], ed. lines 785–99]: **You, spiritual father and guide of this holy flock, be moderate with the brothers, gentle, protective, and in your concern maintain in everything a fatherly affection for them. I entreat you, care for them all, have concern for them all, forbear with them all, support them, instructing, advising, teaching, comforting, healing the sick, supporting the weak, encouraging the faint-hearted, restoring those who sin, forgiving “seventy times seven” (Matt. 18:22) in accordance with the word of Our Lord. For it is better that we, who are imitating the Lord himself, be judged considerate [even though] a little remiss in what we ought to do, than by maintaining utmost righteousness we be condemned as heartless and haters of our brothers. Also, to omit the rest, St. Basil says “And the superior himself, as a father caring for true children, will watch over the needs of each one and will bring them suitable healing and care as far as he can, and will support with love and fatherly affection the member who is truly weak whether physically or spiritually.”²⁸ [p. 57]**

145. (Exhortation to the brothers)

[= (32) *Mamas* [44], ed. lines 31–33]: **If then, brothers, your superior conducts himself thus, being both paternally disposed towards you and devoutly and piously tending the flock of Christ, you shall not question him or disobey him or do anything without his consent. For whoever does this shall be answerable to the pure Mother of God and he shall render an account to her if he does not repent.**

146. (Frightful penalties to the superior)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [18], ed. lines 825–35]: **But neither will the superior himself spend the wealth of the monastery in doing favors for his own relations and friends. For by acting in that way he will not be taking part in the divine mysteries “in the Holy Spirit” (Rom. 9:1). Therefore he should take care not “to fall into the hands of the living God” (Heb. 10:31). For even though we are not capable of imposing on him a penalty appropriate for making unjustifiable and unnecessary payments and bringing about changes in the affairs and property of the monastery, yet he will not escape the fearful judgment of God, which we confer upon him in writing this.**

147. (To the superior who has disregarded the penalties)

[Cf. (22) *Evergetis* [18], lines 835–36]: **But if he is seen to be so fearless and utterly shameless that he does not even fear the condemnation of God, but spends the wealth of the monastery improperly,** in that case let him be questioned by the leaders of the brotherhood and, if he amends himself, let him be shown compassion. But if, on the other hand, he persists in the same ways, let him be reported to the *ephoros* [of the monastery], and the latter will justly do what is right and will amend what is wrong. For the superior has been appointed for the preservation of the monastery and as an “example” (I Tim. 1:16; II Tim. 1:13) for the brothers and that he may be a leading light and an example to all, and not deceitful and sacrilegious. May it not happen, O Christ the King, that such a person should ever be allowed to shepherd your flock, but rather a man who fulfills your divine commandments and is a scrupulous guardian of the rule, so as to follow himself, too, the fatherly model—just as the prevailing custom has been from the beginning—“in order that we may all be one in the Lord” (cf. Gal. 3:28).

148. (Concerning the fact that one who has been tonsured in another monastery should not receive the office of superior)

A monk from another monastery of the island shall not be appointed superior for any reason whatsoever. But we will appoint one who was nurtured and trained and tonsured in the monastery [p. 58] and knows its regulations and the traits of the brothers. For it is my wish that all those who are tonsured in our holy monastery, whether *apostolikai*²⁹ or wearers of the great habit, be appointed if they are worthy of the office of superior. I exclude, however, from the leadership those alone who neither entered the novitiate [here] nor made their obeisance to the brotherhood, even if they have resided for many years in the monastery.

If, however, it will be [impossible to find among the brothers tonsured in the monastery] an ordained monk who holds the rank of priest and is worthy of the office of superior—which I pray may not happen—in that case let those I indicated above hold the office of superior. For it is not my wish that anyone who happens to be a priest but is unworthy of the pastoral leadership and useless for the shepherding of souls should become a superior. Nor, in fact, should anyone rashly and by his own judgment pursue this [office], [= (22) *Evergetis* [17], ed. lines 801–3]: **making a display perhaps of his seniority or his noble birth or rank or his offering of money or property, but that man should be preferred** whom the superior as well as the brothers in God know as having the actual virtues. He is to have the dignity of the appointment.

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149. (Concerning [St. John] the Forerunner and his feast days)

Furthermore, I erected a chapel very close to the monastery, towards the rising sun, which is named in honor of the venerable Forerunner and Baptist John. It is near the cell which is there and the very few trees and scant running water. Although the profound love of solitude which consumes me within, as well as the boundless love of my brothers, do not permit me to revel in the object of my desire, yet I have prescribed that the divine mystery [of the Eucharist] be performed [there] from the day of its inauguration and dedication, and that the two feasts [of St. John], I mean his birth and his beheading as well as his commemoration,³⁰ be celebrated by you splendidly in accordance with custom. These things shall be performed in eternity.

150. (And [concerning] the holy icons [of the chapel of St. John])

Besides, I have dedicated holy icons and sacred books for the glory of God and the saint, which will be recorded, according to their kind, in a special document and will be defined. [p. 59] But also in order that [the chapel] may look after the things I have indicated and may [offer] psalmody and prayers for us, I prescribe that it receive without fail the things that I have outlined in the document that bears my signature, affixed by my hand.

151. (Concerning the fact that another cell is not to be built)

I completely prohibit, from now on, the building of another cell very close to the monastery except for the aforementioned one.

152. (Concerning solitaries and their regimen)

I enjoin the following things upon those who prefer to live the life of a solitary. With the knowledge of the superior they shall build cells in more solitary places, observing the following rule. With much scrutiny, of course, let them receive late on Sunday the provisioning for five days: loaves of bread and fruits or legumes soaked in water and materials for plaited-work to combat *akedia*. On Saturday let them leave their cell, come into the monastery and eat the food that has been set before them equally with the brotherhood. Let them bring their handiwork to the steward of the monastery. Late on Sunday again, let them take their provisions, as they customarily do, and run a straight course to their cell. For this is the life of the true solitary, as we have received it from our fathers. I do not at all accept a solitary in any other way.

153. (A shuddering injunction)

I enjoin in the Holy Spirit that all those with you observe these rules and not sell to anyone else a living allowance, whether he happens to be a layman or a monk, or promises much and great benefit to the monastery, or gives a very large amount of money as an offering, or has toiled in the monastery for a long time and has then gone to another monastery and asks to receive a living allowance from our monastery. For this I completely forbid and reject.

154. (Concerning the commemorations of our holy fathers)

Concerning our fathers and brothers who have fallen asleep I shall say a few words. [p. 60] We must celebrate on the thirteenth of the month of December the memorials of our holy fathers,

the most saintly monks Neophytos, Ignatios and Prokopios.³¹ Yes, indeed. But also on the thirteenth of each month, a night office for our aforesaid holy fathers and the divine mystery [of the Eucharist] must be performed and a treat [of an extra serving of wine], the customarily given measure, must be given to the brothers at the table.

155. (Concerning those who have dedicated properties to the monastery)
[Missing chapter]

156. ([Concerning the commemorations of others worthy of remembrance])

[= (22) *Evergetis* [36], ed. lines 1083–85]: **Furthermore, commemorations should take place every year for all those who have accomplished for the monastery something worthy of remembrance.**

157. (Concerning the commemorations of all the brothers)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [36], ed. lines 1085–91]: **Equally** [we must commemorate] **all the brothers** in the monastery **whose names were and will be inscribed in the diptychs. In addition, whenever someone has recently died, he should be remembered during each service, and I mean during matins and the liturgy and vespers, until his commemoration on the fortieth day, during which also every day one offering will be made on his behalf.** This I prescribe. **In addition to this the ecclesiarch must note down the names of each of those who die in the *menologion*.**

[= (22) *Evergetis* [36], ed. lines 1118–21]: **We command, moreover, the priests** in the monastery **to consult the diptychs at every divine liturgy, so that they themselves may not bear the accusation of having forgotten and neglected them.**

158. (Concerning my own judgment and the rule)

[= (32) *Mamas* [41], ed. lines 13–23]: **The things, then, that I have previously stated have presented quite clearly the circumstances that made the composition of the present rule necessary. For these are the rule and the precise constitution for a true cenobitic monastery. May the Triune God preserve inviolable up to the end of the present world all the things that have been formulated in order that thus the flock of Christ may be called light, in accordance with the statements of the gospels (Matt. 5:14), and through it yet others also might be brought to edification. May it be a truly chosen flock of Christ and by its example be able to instruct many souls of men [p. 61] that see its correct way of life as a marvelous example.**

159. (Concerning the fact that following common usage a trustee is to be elected)

Since it would be in conformity with common usage that [the monastery] acquire also trustees of my present rule, I forthwith institute these: the two greatest and loftiest, first God and [then] his undefiled Mother. From him and through him we were brought forth from non-existence into existence.

160. (Concerning the trustees: [they are to be] God and she who gave birth to him, and the emperor)

I institute as trustee him who from [God] and through [God] truly reigns, our very great and sovereign emperor³² and along with him those also who after him will be granted by God the rights to the Roman scepters in order that they may protect my fathers and brothers and look after the monastery for their soul's mercy and reward.

161. (A sworn appeal to the magistrates of the island at the time)

[= (32) *Mamas* [38], ed. lines 21–37]: **But I adjure** also those who at the time are distinguished by the magistracies of this island, **by our Lord Jesus Christ** and by his undefiled Mother, **that if the monks should come to them and present the present regulations of the *typikon* and say that they are being unjustly treated by some, that they proceed against the injustice and check its impetus and rescue the flock of Christ from the hand of quite cruel men and not to ignore it but support and defend it in accordance with the dictates of law and justice, in order that thus they may procure a reward for themselves and have the divine favor because they graciously received the monks of the supremely holy Mother of God of the Mountain of Machairas and deemed them worthy of the proper assistance. For this reason, in fact, it has been prescribed that they even be commemorated.**

162. (Most shuddering curses against him who shall attempt to proceed towards the annulment [of the rule])

[= (32) *Mamas* [41], ed. lines 23–28]: **Let him, however, who shall even attempt to proceed towards the annulment of our present rule of the *typikon* [p. 62] in addition to not being listened to, be also alien to the hope of the Christians, I mean the undefiled body and blood, because he has wanted to overturn and violently shake this peace-loving and benevolent rule that has been established for the benefit of my fathers and brothers.**

163. (Instruction to the brothers)

[= (32) *Evergetis* [42], ed. lines 1270–82]: **So then I have stated sufficiently all the things that I wished and that are acceptable to God and to [our] ardent helper and patroness, the pure Mother of God, and which are greatly beneficial for your help. In the future it will be your concern to maintain them unbroken and unchanged always. By this I mean, to carry out completely in all the services the canonical procedure³³ handed on to you, to preserve loyalty and honor towards your superiors, to love one another, to be keen each of you “to surpass each other in humility” (Phil. 2:3; I Peter 5:5), to labor with one another in everything as the limbs of one body and “to complete what is lacking” (Col. 1:24) in one another, not to stir up quarrels nor form improper friendships or cause schisms and breakaway services, to refrain from claiming the seat of honor and worldly preferments, but look to one thing only, that is to live and conduct yourselves virtuously and breathe in nothing else, if possible, than the word of salvation and everything that is for the edification and benefit of your soul.**

[= (22) *Evergetis* [42], ed. lines 1292–1300]: **So, my children and brothers, let us in no way prefer the things that harm, and pass by those that bring salvation. For we did not abandon the world for indulgence and luxury, but for exertion and to strive as much as we could to gain the kingdom of heaven. Therefore let us force ourselves, let us force ourselves, as**

has been said; “for the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence, and the men of violence take it by force” (Matt. 11:12).

164. (Instruction to the superior and regulation regarding [the number of] brothers)

My statement is again directed to you, spiritual father and brother. The first thing is to follow the things that have been written and observe without obstruction the things that have been rightly and lawfully laid down by canon; and not to add to the number [of brothers] that has been prescribed until the Lord calls one of you, [my] brothers, to that blessed life. In that case you must make an addition according to the rank of him who departed, be he a cleric or someone else. [p. 63]

165. (Regulation concerning clerics)

I have prescribed that clerics, I mean [gap in text] . . .

At all events, you shall appoint them to the primary offices,³⁴ if they are competent for such an office, that they may not let anything belonging to the monastery become lost in any way out of carelessness or some other kind of neglect and so be liable to a penalty that is equal to that of sacrilege.³⁵ Every single person who does not follow this standard and rule, which leads to salvation, must be expelled, lest perhaps “a little leaven leavens the whole lump” (I Cor. 5:6). But I enjoin these things also upon those who after you will succeed to the leadership.

166. (Entreaty and appeal of the sinner Neilos to all)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [42], ed. lines 1305–11]: **So then I, the sinner Neilos, beseech you all to “lead a life worthy of your calling”** (Eph. 4:1); **“present your bodies holy to the Lord”** (Rom. 12:1); **“love one another”** (John 15:12); **“run well the race that is set before you”** (Heb. 12:1); **“whatsoever is good, whatsoever is beloved of God, consider these things you have heard and learned from me”** (cf. Phil. 4:8–9), the unworthy one. **Do not fail to do these things, my brothers and beloved children. Remember your souls and do not forget my insignificance in your prayers.** Do not let a stone cover my memory, O you to whom I gave birth in spirit. For “the measure you give is the measure you receive.”³⁶

167. (Concerning the fact that the present *typikon* is to be read three times a year)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [43], ed. lines 1313–18]: **I instruct you to read the present *typikon* three times a year during your meal-times, to remind you of your instructions and for the benefit of your souls. For in that way you will be convinced about your own salvation, if you have kept well what you received from your fathers and are paying back to me in the Lord my wages for rearing you with this spiritual upbringing and instruction.**

168. (A brief and concluding prayer)

[= (22) *Evergetis* [43], ed. lines 1318–24]: **“The God of peace who called us to his eternal glory”** (Heb. 13:20–21), **through his great and unspeakable goodness confirm and strengthen you in his holy will through His only-begotten Son Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ and the All-holy Life-giving Spirit, to whom belong all glory, honor, worship, [p. 64] and majesty**

now and always and for ever and ever, Amen. Glory to thee, our God, glory to thee.

169. (Concerning the holy monastery for women in Tamasia)

Besides, by the good pleasure of God and his Mother, who gave him birth without [human] seed [and] who cooperates with us in all respects for the things that are better and bring salvation, I have erected from its very foundations a holy monastery for women in Tamasia, and it has been made complete in all respects, in both holy and venerable icons and sacred and soul-benefiting books, as well as other divine offerings. I have set forth in writing for the nuns a precise rule for practicing asceticism. I have appointed the most honorable superior who will succeed me as trustee along with the most devout ordained monk, lord Neophytos, to supervise and guide the sacred flock of Christ and to give approval in all matters, as I have prescribed in writing.

170. (Concerning what this holy monastery must receive yearly)

I prescribe that this holy monastery and the sisters who practice asceticism in it receive yearly from our net revenues—of the totals, that is—one-eighth of a hundred; and the other two are for those who are struggling against the sacred disease³⁷ and for the rest of the poor. From this eighth, the priests of *Blachernitissa*³⁸ ought to receive yearly twenty-four *nomismata*, but they, too, are to have the consent of the superior; and while the male [animals] ought to be tithed, the female are not because of the wool and the cheese.

The superior at the time ought freely to bestow this small gift without hesitation and complaining, just as I have prescribed, in no way whatsoever using poverty as an excuse. For I have dedicated to the monastery sufficient revenues and acquisitions for the appropriate expenditures and food for all. If you do so, you will be confident in the hope that you loan these things to Christ, by whom you will also be repaid “a hundredfold” (Mark 10, 30; Luke 18, 30). If, [p. 65] however, anyone attempts in any way whatsoever to take away from what has been dedicated [to God], he will have the divinity fighting against him for being sacrilegious, and let him not partake of the divine sacraments.

In the month of August, on the thirteenth, in the year 6718 [= 1210 A.D.]. I, the humble monk Neilos, founder of the monastery of *Machairas*, bishop of Tamasia and primate, have signed at the beginning and end. 6718.³⁹

Notes on the Translation

1. The donation is problematic, for Cyprus was independent of Byzantium during this emperor’s reign, first under the usurper Isaac Komnenos (1184–91) and then, after the island’s conquest by the English king and crusader Richard I Lionheart (1189–99) in 1191, by various Latin rulers.
2. Another problematic donation. During Alexios’ reign, Cyprus was under the control of the Lusignan ruler Aimery (1194–1205).
3. In [47] below.
4. Presumably in an inventory, not preserved.
5. Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, November 21.
6. Feast of the birth of the Mother of God, September 8; commemoration, December 26; feast of the Purifi-

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- cation (i.e., the Presentation of Christ in the Temple), February 2; feast of the Annunciation, March 25.
7. Feast of the Dormition, August 15.
 8. Cf. (32) *Mamas* [19] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19].
 9. Cf. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 12, PG 31, col. 1376 AB.
 10. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractae* 26 ([LR26]), PG 31, col. 985CD.
 11. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi* 4, PG 88, cols. 681B, 705C.
 12. Saturday of the first week in Lent.
 13. Feast of the Discovery of the Head of St. John the Forerunner, February 24; feast of the Forty Martyrs, March 9.
 14. The first week of Easter; cf. (4) *Stoudios* [A3].
 15. The week following the Sunday of St. Thomas, i.e., the first Sunday after Easter.
 16. Fast of the Holy Apostles, from Monday after the feast of All Saints (Sunday after Pentecost) through the vigil of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 28.
 17. Fast of the Holy Nativity, from November 15 until Christmas.
 18. See (20) *Black Mountain* [55] with note.
 19. The heresy of the *Tetraditai*.
 20. Cf. (28) *Pantokrator* [4].
 21. See also [148] below; according to (9) *Galesios* [130], the *apostolikai* (wearers of the habit of the apostles) were an intermediate rank between the wearers of the habit of the martyrs and the wearers of the habit of the angels (*megaloschemoi*).
 22. The Greek text (ed. p. 46, line 20) reads: *mokeritas*. The word *mokerites* is not found in the dictionaries; it may be a neologism, as the editor suggests (Tsiknopoulos, *Kypriaka Typika*, p. 23*) or a scribal error. The reference is undoubtedly to the officials who visited and supervised the dependencies and who are called *stratokopoi* in this chapter, *metochiaroi* in [85] and [109] and *metochitai* in [110].
 23. Cf. Pseudo-Basil, *Poenae in monachos deliquentes* 13, PG 31, col. 1308C.
 24. For references to the sources, see the Document Notes.
 25. Reading *keirekomei* for *kerokomei* in edition, p. 52, line 28. Although the verb *keirekomeo* is not found in the dictionaries, the adjective *keirekomes*, “one who has cut his hair,” is attested; see Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v. *keirekomes*. For the rule forbidding monks to cut their hair without the superior’s permission, see Pachomios, *Regula* B, PG 40, col. 952B and (32) *Mamas* [24] and note.
 26. See [17] above.
 27. Rom. 15:14; I Thess. 4:18; Eph. 4:2; Heb. 10:24.
 28. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 28, PG 31, col. 1417C.
 29. Cf. [102] above, with Document note below.
 30. Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Forerunner, June 24; feast of his beheading, August 29; commemoration, January 7.
 31. See [7], [8], and [10] above.
 32. Gap in the text here.
 33. The reading *diakonia* (edition, page 62, line 10) is wrong. (22) *Evergetis* [42], ed. line 1273 has *akolouthia*.
 34. For the meaning, see [81] above and (28) *Pantokrator* [4].
 35. Cf. (22) *Evergetis* [19], [32].
 36. Matt. 7:2; Mark 4:24; Luke 6:38.
 37. *Hiera nosos*; for which, see (28) *Pantokrator*, n. 84.
 38. The Church of the Holy Virgin of Blachernai in Constantinople, for which, see Janin, *Geographie*, vol. 3, pp. 161–71.
 39. Two appendices follow in the edition (ed. pp. 66–68); these have not been translated. Appendix A (ed. p. 66) reproduces part of [114] (ed. lines 10–23), while Appendix B (ed. pp. 67–68) copies (22) *Evergetis*, [33] (ed. lines 1026–58).

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Document Notes

The manuscript's editor has transferred chapter titles from the author's index to the body of the document, enclosing them in round brackets. We have followed this convention in our translation. The first twenty chapters discussing various aspects of the foundation's constitution and history, are all original to (34) *Machairas*. The chapters are listed here to facilitate reference.

- [1] Meditation on death.
- [2] The founder's authority to issue this *Rule*.
- [3] Reason for issuance of the *Rule*.
- [4] Preservation of prior rule.
- [5] Plan of organization.
- [6] Preface to the foundation history.
- [7] First founders Neophytos and Ignatios.
- [8] The monk Prokopios.
- [9] Gift of the emperor Manuel I Komnenos.
- [10] Building of the oratory.
- [11] Neilos' arrival at the monastery.
- [12] His designation as Ignatios' successor.
- [13] His reluctance to accept the superiorship.
- [14] Death of Ignatios.
- [15] Construction of the church and other buildings.
- [16] The episcopal *stauropegion*.
- [17] Ignatios' restriction of episcopal rights.
- [18] Neilos' installation by Bishop Niketas Hagiostephanites.
- [19] Warning to future bishops.
- [20] Commemoration for respectful bishops.
- [21] Independent and self-governing status. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [12] and (32) *Mamas* [4]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [1], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [31], (30) *Phoberos* [33], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [4].
- [22] Gift and confirmation of Emperor Isaac II Angelos. A Group A chapter.
- [23] Emperor Alexios III Angelos and his gifts. A Group A chapter. He is commemorated by name in [24] below.
- [24] First *trisagion* of the emperor. See also [47] below. A Group A chapter. See other provisions in (25) *Fragala* [C3], [C5]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [34], [71]; (28) *Pantokrator* [3]; and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [49].
- [25] Donors of immovable property. A Group A chapter. See the provision for their commemoration in [155] below.
- [26] Illumination of the church. A Group A chapter. See other provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [66], [68]; (28) *Pantokrator* [6], [29], [34]; and (48) *Prodromos* [10].
- [27] Feast of the entry of the Mother of God into the temple (Presentation of the Mother of God). A Group A chapter. See also the provisions for this feast in (10) *Eleousa* [13] and (35) *Skoteine* [19].
- [28] Other feasts of the Mother of God. See also the provision in (27) *Kecharitomene* [60].
- [29] Feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God. A Group A chapter. See also other provisions for this feast in (22) *Evergetis* [11]; (23) *Pakourianos* [11]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [59]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [10], [29], [65]; (39) *Lips* [38]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [112]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [C14].
- [30] Introduction to the hours. A Group B chapter, shared in part with both (22) *Evergetis* [3] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; textually related provision in (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46].
- [31] Office of the first hour. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [4] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [32], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13], (30) *Phoberos* [9], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]. There is a gap in the manuscript at this point (extending through part of [33]) that can be resolved by using (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 119–26.

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- [32] Disciplinary enforcement. A Group B chapter, missing from the manuscript, but cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13], (30) *Phoberos* [9], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]. The gap in the manuscript here cannot be restored with any confidence, but cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 127–35.
- [33] Private recitation of the office. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [4] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13], (30) *Phoberos* [9], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46]. The text of this chapter is defective; for lost content, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [4], ed. lines 136–39.
- [34] Omission of genuflections during Christmas and Pentecost. A Group B chapter, shared in part with both (22) *Evergetis* [4] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [33], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13], (30) *Phoberos* [10], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46].
- [35] Offices of the third and sixth hours. A Group D chapter, shared with (32) *Mamas* [31] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [31].
- [36] The Holy Eucharist. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [4], [5] and (32) *Mamas* [32]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [33], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13], [14], (30) *Phoberos* [10], [11], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [32].
- [37] Frequency of reception of communion. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [5] and (32) *Mamas* [32]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [33], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [14], (30) *Phoberos* [11], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [32], and (58) *Menoikeion* [16].
- [38] No one to abstain entirely from communion. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [5] and (32) *Mamas* [32]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [33], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [14], (30) *Phoberos* [11], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [32].
- [39] Preparation for communion. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [5] and (32) *Mamas* [32]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [33], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [14], (30) *Phoberos* [11], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [32].
- [40] Quality of the eucharistic bread and wine. A Group A chapter. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [85] and (36) *Blemmydes* [4] likewise show a concern about the manufacture and use of the eucharistic elements.
- [41] Specifications for the eucharistic elements. A Group A chapter.
- [42] Office of the ninth hour. A Group A chapter. See also other treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [6], (27) *Kecharitomene* [35], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15], (30) *Phoberos* [12], (32) *Mamas* [47], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46].
- [43] Office of vespers. A Group A chapter. See also other treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [6], (27) *Kecharitomene* [35], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15], (30) *Phoberos* [12], (32) *Mamas* [47], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46].
- [44] Office of compline. A Group A chapter. See also other treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [6], (27) *Kecharitomene* [36], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15], (30) *Phoberos* [12], (32) *Mamas* [47], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46].
- [45] Summons to midnight office. A Group A chapter.
- [46] Midnight office. A Group A chapter. See also other treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [6], (27) *Kecharitomene* [38], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15], (30) *Phoberos* [12], (32) *Mamas* [47], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46].
- [47] Second *trisaqion* of the emperor. See also [24] above. A Group A chapter.
- [48] Office of matins. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [6] and (32) *Mamas* [47]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [39], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [15], (30) *Phoberos* [13], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [46].
- [49] No absences from the office. A Group D chapter, shared with (32) *Mamas* [21] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [21].
- [50] Superior to offer confession. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [7], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [16], and (30) *Phoberos* [14]. (32) *Mamas* [29] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [29] have different treatments.
- [51] Guidelines for confession. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [7] and (32) *Mamas* [30]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [17], (30) *Phoberos* [14], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [30].
- [52] Punishment of non-confessing monks. See also [54] below. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis*

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- [7], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [17], and (30) *Phoberos* [14].
- [53] Confession at tonsure. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [7], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [18], and (30) *Phoberos* [15].
- [54] Expulsion of non-confessing monks. See also [52] above. A Group C chapter, shared only with (22) *Evergetis* [15]. (32) *Mamas* [29] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [29] have different treatments.
- [55] Length of the novitiate for notables. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [37] and (32) *Mamas* [22]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55], (30) *Phoberos* [51], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22].
- [56] Length of the novitiate for others. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [37] and (32) *Mamas* [22]; textually related provisions in (30) *Phoberos* [51] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22].
- [57] No mandatory entrance gifts. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [37] and (32) *Mamas* [22]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55], (30) *Phoberos* [53A], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22].
- [58] Voluntary offerings allowed. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [37] and (32) *Mamas* [22]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55], (30) *Phoberos* [53A], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22].
- [59] Entrance gifts cannot be reclaimed. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [37] and (32) *Mamas* [5]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [7], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55], (30) *Phoberos* [53A], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5].
- [60] Acceptability of monks from other monasteries. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [37] and (32) *Mamas* [22]; textually related provisions in (30) *Phoberos* [52] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [22].
- [61] Importance of the diet; summons to the refectory. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [9] and (32) *Mamas* [17]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [20], (30) *Phoberos* [20], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], and (58) *Menoikeion* [8].
- [62] Discipline of monks absent from meals. A Group B chapter, missing because of a gap in the manuscript, but cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9] and (32) *Mamas* [17]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [40], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [21], (30) *Phoberos* [21], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], and (58) *Menoikeion* [8].
- [63] Discipline of the disorderly. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [9], (27) *Kecharitomene* [41], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [21], (30) *Phoberos* [21], and (58) *Menoikeion* [8]. The lost portion of this chapter that is due to the gap in the manuscript that begins at [62] can be restored by reference to (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 352–56; the lost portion may have been shared with (32) *Mamas* [17] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17].
- [64] No arguments over precedence. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [9] and (32) *Mamas* [36]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [42], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [22], (30) *Phoberos* [22], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [35].
- [65] Order of seating at meals. A Group D chapter, shared with (32) *Mamas* [36] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [35].
- [66] Evening meal. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [9], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [24], and (30) *Phoberos* [24]. There is a gap in the manuscript at this point that extends down through part of [67]. Text is restored using (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 421–23.
- [67] Diet for the first week of Lent. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [10] and (32) *Mamas* [18]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [25], (30) *Phoberos* [27], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18]. The gap in the manuscript that begins in [66] continues through the middle of this chapter; it is resolved by using (22) *Evergetis* [10], ed. lines 445–52.
- [68] Diet for Saturdays and Sundays in Lent. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [10] and (32) *Mamas* [18]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [26], (30) *Phoberos* [28], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18].
- [69] Diet for Wednesday of the Great Canon. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [10] and

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- (32) *Mamas* [18]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [26], (30) *Phoberos* [28], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18].
- [70] Diet for the feasts of St. John and the Forty Martyrs. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [10] and (32) *Mamas* [18]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [26], (30) *Phoberos* [28], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18].
- [71] Diet for the feast of the Annunciation. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [10] and (32) *Mamas* [18]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [27], (30) *Phoberos* [28], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18].
- [72] Diet for holy week. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [10] and (32) *Mamas* [18]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [27], (30) *Phoberos* [28], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18].
- [73] Easter service; dietary discretion for the sick. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [10] and (32) *Mamas* [18]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [28], (30) *Phoberos* [28], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18].
- [74] Diet for the Week of Renovation. A Group A chapter. See also other provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [34], (30) *Phoberos* [28], and (43) *Kasoulon* [10].
- [75] Diet for the Week of St. Thomas and the last week of Pentecost. A Group A chapter.
- [76] Fasts of the Holy Apostles and the Nativity. A Group B chapter, shared in part with both (22) *Evergetis* [10] and (32) *Mamas* [18]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [48], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [28], (30) *Phoberos* [29], [30], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18].
- [77] Diet for days of fasting; diet during Christmas season. A Group A chapter. See also other provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [38], [45]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [46]; (30) *Phoberos* [16], [17], [19]; (32) *Mamas* [17]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17]; (45) *Neophytos* [C4]; (36) *Blemmydes* [11]; (39) *Lips* [32]; (43) *Kasoulon* [5], [8]; (55) *Athanasios I* [5]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [8].
- [78] Diet to spite the Artziburians. A Group D chapter, shared with (32) *Mamas* [19] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19]. See also other treatments of this diet in (20) *Black Mountain* [20], [55]; (28) *Pantokrator* [12]; (30) *Phoberos* [19]; and (36) *Blemmydes* [11].
- [79] Fellow-brethren to eat with other monks. A Group D chapter, shared with (32) *Mamas* [19] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19].
- [80] Steward's qualifications for office. A Group C chapter, shared in part with (22) *Evergetis* [13] and (30) *Phoberos* [35]. See also different provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [32], (32) *Mamas* [7], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [7].
- [81] Installation of the steward. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [13] and (32) *Mamas* [7]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [34] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [7].
- [82] Joint supervisory responsibilities of the superior and the steward. A Group A chapter.
- [83] Monks to help harvest the crops. A Group A chapter.
- [84] Steward subordinated to superior. A Group A chapter. (28) *Pantokrator* [64] takes the opposite approach, obliging the superior to make no administrative undertaking without consulting the stewards.
- [85] Property managers. See also [110] below. A Group A chapter.
- [86] Duties of the second steward. A Group A chapter.
- [87] No private possessions; no servants. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [22], [24] and (32) *Mamas* [34], [35]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [47], (30) *Phoberos* [41], [43] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33], [34].
- [88] Why stewards may need to be removed from office. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [13] and (32) *Mamas* [2]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [13] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [2].
- [89] Stewards' tenure of office. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [14] and (32) *Mamas* [2]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [13], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [41], (30) *Phoberos* [35], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [2].

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- [90] Justifications for removal of stewards. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [14] and (32) *Mamas* [2]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [41], (30) *Phoberos* [35], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [2].
- [91] Installation of officials. A Group A chapter. See similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [29], (27) *Kecharitomene* [18], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [35], (30) *Phoberos* [30], (32) *Mamas* [6], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [6].
- [92] Installation of officials without keys; tenure of office for officials. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [29], [32] and (32) *Mamas* [6] (investiture only); textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [18], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [35], [38], (30) *Phoberos* [47], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [6].
- [93] Inventory of movable property given to the ecclesiarch. See also [95] below. A Group A chapter. See similar treatments in (27) *Kecharitomene* [20], (32) *Mamas* [8], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [8], and (58) *Menoikeion* [4].
- [94] Purpose of the inventory. A Group D chapter, shared with (32) *Mamas* [37] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [37].
- [95] Annual inventory check of movable property. See also [93] above. A Group A chapter. Part of the text is missing in a gap in the text that continues down to part of [97].
- [96] Duties of the cellarer. See also [105] below. A Group D chapter, missing, but cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [23], (32) *Mamas* [11], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [11]. The entire text is missing in a gap in the manuscript that continues down to part of [97].
- [97] Superior to inspect the storehouse. A Group A chapter. The gap in the manuscript that begins in [95] ends part way through this chapter.
- [98] Cellarer subordinated to the superior. A Group A chapter.
- [99] Removal of the cellarer. A Group A chapter.
- [100] Duties of the treasurer. A Group A chapter. See similar treatments in (27) *Kecharitomene* [24], (32) *Mamas* [10], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [10].
- [101] Reconciliation of accounts every two months. A Group A chapter.
- [102] Communal wardrobe. A Group C chapter, shared in part with (22) *Evergetis* [25], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [52], and (30) *Phoberos* [44]. (32) *Mamas* [28] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28] make different provisions.
- [103] Exchange of garments. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [25], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [52], and (30) *Phoberos* [44].
- [104] Duties of custodian of tools. A Group A chapter. Cf. the work supervisor found in (20) *Black Mountain* [80].
- [105] Duties of the superintendents of provisions, the storehouse and of the dependencies. A Group A chapter. For other descriptions of the duties of provisioners, see [96] above, and (27) *Kecharitomene* [23], (32) *Mamas* [11], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [11]. Officials analogous to the superintendents of dependencies are found in (9) *Galesios* [221], [244].
- [106] Equality in food and drink. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [26] and (32) *Mamas* [34]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [56], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [53], (30) *Phoberos* [45], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33].
- [107] Additional food for sick monks. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [26] and (32) *Mamas* [34]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [56], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [53], (30) *Phoberos* [45], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33].
- [108] Sick brothers not to demand excessive food. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [41] and (32) *Mamas* [34]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [57], (30) *Phoberos* [56], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33].
- [109] Qualifications of property administrators. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [34], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [40], and (30) *Phoberos* [49].
- [110] No lay property managers. See also [85] above. A Group A chapter. Laymen are permitted to serve in this capacity in (27) *Kecharitomene* [31].

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- [111] Distant estates may be alienated. A Group A chapter. Unprecedented; cf. discussion of the issue in (27) *Kecharitomene* [10] and in (45) *Neophytos* [10].
- [112] The baker and his assistants. A Group A chapter. For bakers and bakeries elsewhere in our documents, see (11) *Ath. Rule* [30]; (15) *Constantine IX* [4]; (19) *Attaleiates* [16], [INV 9]; (23) *Pakourianos* [6], [21]; (26) *Luke of Messina* [8]; (27) *Kecharitomene*, Appendix A; (28) *Pantokrator* [33], [45], [52]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [62]; (35) *Skoteine* [9]; (37) *Auxentios* [7]; (38) *Kellibara I* [17]; (45) *Neophytos* [20]; (56) *Kellibara II* [2]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [145]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [C1]; a baker is also among the signatories to (32) *Mamas*.
- [113] Manual workers not to engage in idle talking. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [21] and (32) *Mamas* [35]; textually related provisions in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [47], (30) *Phoberos* [39], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [34], and (58) *Menoikeion* [17]. See also (11) *Ath. Rule* [30], [31] for similar craftsmen.
- [114] Disciplinary official. A Group A chapter. See also descriptions of this official's duties in (4) *Stoudios* [2], [18]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [17]; (22) *Evergetis* [31]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [26]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [37]; and (30) *Phoberos* [48].
- [115] Women banned from monastery; no consumption of meat; school for youths intending to become monks. A Group A chapter. The ban on women is analogous to but textually independent of those found in (22) *Evergetis* [39], (28) *Pantokrator* [18], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [84], (32) *Mamas* [27], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [27]. For the ban on meat, see also (25) *Fragala* [B4] and (26) *Luke of Messina* [3]. (23) *Pakourianos* [31] makes a similar provision for a boy's school.
- [116] Hospitality for other monks and notables. A Group A chapter. See other provisions for hospitality in (21) *Roidion* [B2], [B3] and (42) *Sabas* [8].
- [117] Entertainment of visiting magistrates. A Group A chapter. See also (21) *Roidion* [B7] and (26) *Luke of Messina* [3], [8].
- [118] Charitable distributions. A Group C chapter, shared in part with (22) *Evergetis* [38], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [56], and (30) *Phoberos* [55]. (32) *Mamas* [13] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [13] have different provisions.
- [119] Rationale for exclusion of women from almsgiving. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [38], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [56], and (30) *Phoberos* [55].
- [120] Superior to search cells. A Group A chapter, textually independent of but recalling (22) *Evergetis* [27], (27) *Kecharitomene* [50], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [53], (30) *Phoberos* [45], (32) *Mamas* [20], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [20].
- [121] Introduction to the Basilian canons. Most of the following thirteen chapters, [122] through [134], are drawn from the pseudo-Basilian *Poenae in monachos delinquentes*, PG 31, cols. 1305–20, but from a text rather different from our edited version that incorporated elements of the Pachomian *Praecepta*. There is also a mostly different set of these canons in (45) *Neophytos* [CB1] through [CB12].
- [122] Punishment for a monk who fails to report another's plan to flee the monastery. Cf. *Poenae* 40, PG 31, col. 1312B; also found in (45) *Neophytos* [CB1].
- [123] Punishment for a departure without the superior's approval. Cf. *Poenae* 12, PG 31, col. 1308C; also found in (45) *Neophytos* [CB2].
- [124] Punishment for boorish behavior at table. Cf. *Poenae* 28, PG 31, col. 1309B.
- [125] Punishment for eating without receiving the blessing. Cf. *Poenae* 21, PG 31, col. 1309A.
- [126] Punishment for absence from dinner. Cf. *Poenae* 34, PG 31, col. 1309D.
- [127] Punishment for lateness at compline. Cf. *Poenae* 37, PG 31, col. 1312A.
- [128] Punishment for unauthorized conversation or socialization. Not found in our text of the *Poenae*.
- [129] Punishment for intruders in the kitchen. Cf. *Poenae* 52, PG 31, col. 1313A.
- [130] Punishment for entering or sleeping in another's cell. Cf. *Poenae* 23, PG 31, col. 1309B; also found in (45) *Neophytos* [CB6].
- [131] Punishment for unauthorized correspondence or distribution of monastic property. Cf. *Poenae* 59, PG 31, col. 1313C; also found in (22) *Evergetis* [22] and (45) *Neophytos* [CB5], [CB10].
- [132] Punishment for manual workers eating fruit before it is blessed. Not found in our text of the *Poenae*,

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- but see (32) *Mamas* [19], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19], and (43) *Kasoulon* [11] which refer to a similar custom, and the Pachomian *Praecepta* [73], [75], ed. A. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina* (Louvain, 1932), pp. 34–35.
- [133] Even personal services not to be administered without the superior's permission. Not found in our text of the *Poenae*, but (32) *Mamas* [24] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [24] have this provision, which may be derived in part from the Pachomian *Praecepta* [97], ed. Boon, p. 40.
- [134] Punishment for theft of fruit from the garden. Not found in our text of the *Poenae*, but cf. the Pachomian *Praecepta* [77], ed. Boon, p. 35.
- [135] Admonition to all officials. See also [165] below. A Group A chapter. The condemnation of official carelessness recalls (22) *Evergetis* [32]; cf. [19].
- [136] Reception of visiting relatives. See also [116] above. A Group A chapter.
- [137] Need to observe the (Basilian) canons. A Group A chapter.
- [138] Value of the canons. A Group A chapter.
- [139] Purpose of the *typikon*. A Group A chapter. Cf. the discussion of the purpose of the inventory in (32) *Mamas* [37] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [37].
- [140] Designation of a successor. A Group A chapter. See also such designations in other documents: (1) *Apa Abraham* [1], (10) *Eleousa* [11], (41) *Docheiariou* [4], (48) *Prodromos* [6], (49) *Geromeri* [14], (50) *Gerasimos* [3], and (52) *Choumnos* [A3].
- [141] Exclusive confession to the superior. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [15] and (30) *Phoberos* [35]. (32) *Mamas* [29] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [29] have different treatments.
- [142] Monks' obedience to the superior. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [16], (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [43], and (30) *Phoberos* [36]. (32) *Mamas* [24] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [24] have different provisions.
- [143] Monks' mutual affection for one another. A Group C chapter, shared only with (22) *Evergetis* [16].
- [144] Exhortation to the superior. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [17] and (32) *Mamas* [42]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [44], (30) *Phoberos* [36], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [41], and (58) *Menoikeion* [19].
- [145] Monks not to question superior. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [18] and (32) *Mamas* [44]; textually related provisions in (30) *Phoberos* [37] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [43].
- [146] Superior not to spend the monastery's wealth for friends or relatives. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [18] and (32) *Mamas* [44]; textually related provisions in (30) *Phoberos* [37], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [43].
- [147] Correction of the superior. A Group B chapter, shared in part with both (22) *Evergetis* [13] and (32) *Mamas* [44]; textually related provision in (33) *Heliou Bomon* [43].
- [148] Outside monks not eligible to become superior; hostility to privilege. A Group B chapter, shared in part with both (22) *Evergetis* [17] and (32) *Mamas* [45]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [42], (30) *Phoberos* [36], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [44].
- [149] Chapel of St. John the Baptist. A Group A chapter. See discussions of similar dependencies in (13) *Ath. Rule* [9] and (44) *Karyes* [2] ff.
- [150] Icons of the chapel of St. John. A Group A chapter. For the furnishings of other small dependencies, see (35) *Skoteine* [28], [42] and (44) *Karyes* [3].
- [151] No additional cells to be built. A Group A chapter. See similar restrictions in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [45], [53].
- [152] Solitaries and their regimen. A Group A chapter. The weekly regime is similar to that prescribed in (24) *Christodoulos* [A24].
- [153] No sales of living allowances (*siteresia*). A Group A chapter. These are permitted in (19) *Attaleiates* [30] but rejected by (27) *Kecharitomene* [53].
- [154] Founders' commemoration. A Group A chapter. See other provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [35]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [7], [11], [64], [72], [91]; (30) *Phoberos* [50]; (32) *Mamas* [40]; (33) *Heliou Bomon*.

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- [155] Commemoration of donors of properties. Missing, but presumably a Group A chapter. See also [25] above.
- [156] Commemoration of other benefactors. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [36] and (32) *Mamas* [40]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [70] and (30) *Phoberos* [50].
- [157] Commemoration of departed monks. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [36] and (32) *Mamas* [39]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [70], (30) *Phoberos* [50], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [39].
- [158] Divine preservation of the *typikon*. A Group D chapter, shared with (32) *Mamas* [41] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [40].
- [159] Designation of heavenly trustees. A Group A chapter. See similar provisions in (10) *Eleousa* [18], (19) *Attaleiates* [7], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [13], [14], [123].
- [160] Designation of emperor as a trustee. A Group A chapter. See similar provisions in (18) *Nea Gephyra* [2], (38) *Kellibara I* [16], and (39) *Lips* [3]; cf. (14) *Ath. Testament* [5].
- [161] Exhortation to the magistrates of the island. A Group D chapter, shared with (32) *Mamas* [38] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [38].
- [162] Curse against violators of the *typikon*. A Group D chapter, shared with (32) *Mamas* [41] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [40].
- [163] Final exhortation. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [42] and (32) *Mamas* [46]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [78], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [57], (30) *Phoberos* [59], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45], and (58) *Menoikeion* [20].
- [164] No addition to the number of monks. A Group A chapter. See similar scheme of replacement by attrition in (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [8].
- [165] Promotion of clerics to offices; carelessness equivalent to sacrilege. See also [135] above. A Group A chapter. For the special honor accorded ordained monks, see also (35) *Skoteine* [14]; the condemnation of official carelessness recalls (22) *Evergetis* [32]; cf. [19].
- [166] Scriptural exhortations. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [42] and (32) *Mamas* [46]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [78], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [57], (30) *Phoberos* [59], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45], and (58) *Menoikeion* [20].
- [167] Reading of the *typikon*. A Group C chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [43], (27) *Kecharitomene* [65], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [57], and (30) *Phoberos* [59]. See also different treatments in (32) *Mamas* [16] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [16].
- [168] Scriptural blessing. A Group B chapter, shared with both (22) *Evergetis* [43] and (32) *Mamas* [46]; textually related provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [78], (30) *Phoberos* [59], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45].
- [169] Women's convent in Tamasia. A Group A chapter. For other double monasteries, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [69], [77], [79]; (31) *Areia* [M1], [M4], [M5], [M6]; and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [8].
- [170] Financial support for the convent. A Group A chapter. See the different financial arrangements made for the convent mentioned in (31) *Areia* [M4], [M5], [M6].

35. *Skoteine* [Boreine]*: Testament of Maximos for the Monastery of the Mother of God at Skoteine near Philadelphia

Date: November 1247

Translator: George Dennis

Edition employed: Manuel Gedeon, "Diatheke Maximou monachou ktitoros tes en Lydia mones Kotines (1247)," *Mikrasiatika Chronika* 2 (1939), 263–91 (text at 271–90), with reference to Sophronios Eustratiades, "He en Philadelpheia mone tes hyperagias Theotokou tes Koteines," *Hellenika* 3 (1930), 317–39, corr. A. Sigalas, *EEBS* 8 (1931), 377–81.

Manuscript: Vatopedi 3:106 (13th c.)¹

Other translations: Abridged French translation by Pierre Năsturel, "Recherches sur le testament de Maxime de Skoteinè (1247)," in *Philadelphie et autres études* (Paris, 1984), pp. 74–82.

Institutional History

The *Testament* is our only source for the history of this foundation. The monk Maximos, the author of this document, was the son of a charcoal burner who inherited [2] a modest private religious foundation from his father and grandfather. Năsturel ("Recherches," p. 86) conjectures that Maximos' father Gregory fled to the mountain on which he established his monastery in the first instance to escape the abuses of the tax collectors of Emperor Isaac II (1185–95), which eventually led to a successful usurpation by a local dynast, Theodore Mangaphas, in 1188.² The *Testament* indicates the existence of links between the family of the usurper and this monastery down to the middle of the thirteenth century.³ The foundation's original church was so small that only three persons could fit [8] into it at one time. Yet out of these beginnings our author built a substantial and prosperous foundation, a remarkable achievement for an individual of presumably modest means. He assiduously sought donations and made purchases of landed property from pious widows, clerics and monks. Some of the latter either chose or were required to make entrance gifts (*prosenexeis*).⁴ Though the debt is not explicitly acknowledged, he owed a great deal of his success to wealthy aristocratic neighbors. His foundation benefitted especially from the patronage of the *allagator* Phokas and his wife Irene;⁵ the lady Athanasia Mangaphaina, who later became a nun,⁶ was another important benefactor.

The fate of the foundation is unknown. The neighboring metropolis of Philadelphia was one of Byzantium's last strongholds in this part of Asia Minor, falling to the Ottoman Turks only in 1390. If the *Skoteine* monastery was still in existence at that time, it is improbable that it survived much longer. Its precise location has not yet been identified.⁷

Analysis

The *Testament* is essentially a detailed inventory [24] ff. of the properties and possessions of the *Skoteine* monastery and its five dependencies, prefaced by a foundation history [2] ff. Administrative and disciplinary matters are treated only briefly [12] ff.

A. *Lives of the Monks*

1. Number of Monks

As in (37) *Auxentios* [6] and (45) *Neophytos* [9], the community was divided into church monks (*ekklestiastikoi*) and others. The former were to enjoy [14] proper honor and precedence in “where they sit and stand, since they are obliged to pray fervently for all the others.” Before the author assumed charge of the foundation, there was [4] a community of six monks, including his father, grandfather, two uncles, and other relatives. Later, the size of the community increased [5] to at least nine monks, then, during [8] the author’s own superiorship, up to twenty. There are no instructions on the length of the novitiate or the minimum age for admission; the author himself was tonsured [7] while still a boy.

2. Liturgical Duties

The author provides [12] for the monks to participate in a morning and an evening service of daily prayer, to be led by the ecclesiarch in accordance with the prescriptions of a (liturgical) *typikon* that is also mentioned [24] in the inventory. The patronal feast of the Mother of God receives [19] a special regulation.

3. Manual Labor

There was a role [23] for manual labor in the lives of the monks as well, evidently including viticulture [41] and the production [23] of articles of clothing. However, the author instructs his monks that “they should not produce more than they really need,” that is, no production for the local market economy.

4. Cenobitic Life

The author strongly endorses [13] cenobitic life, rejecting solitary and kelliotic alternatives. Monks were to take meals in common, share the same food, and have no personal possessions. These are traditional Evergetian principles, but there is no use of Evergetian language.

B. *Constitutional Matters*

1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

Despite this monastery’s origins as a simple private religious foundation, our author was eager to claim [20] for it the status of an independent and self-governing foundation.

2. Choice of the Superior

The superior was free to transmit [20] the monastery to his successor, but not to a lay relative or to any other lay person. Future superiors were to be chosen [17] internally by “collective judgment” of the community. An outside candidate (i.e., a *xenokourites*) was eligible to be selected if there was no one available internally who was suitable for the foundation’s leadership. Previously, the author’s father Gregory had recruited [5] such a *xenokourites* to conduct the liturgical services at the foundation. This unnamed ascetic brought two disciples with him, and after ten years’ service here, moved on [8] to the superiorship of another monastery. This indicates that there was a kind of career track for a charismatic *xenokourites* despite the frequent sentiment against them among founders.

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3. Other Officials

An ecclesiarch, a cellarer and a treasurer served [22] as the monastery's officials, but the ultimate authority was vested in the superior himself.

4. Patronal Privileges

There was to be [19] a solemn memorial service for the founders each evening. The foundation's chief patrons, the *allagator* Phokas and his wife Irene, who decorated the church and paid for the construction of the monks' cells, the refectory, the kitchen and the bakery (cf. [45]), were to be buried [9] in the monastery and were to receive a perpetual liturgical commemoration. The nun Athanasia Mangaphaina was apparently allowed [10] to remain in the buildings that she had donated to the foundation; after her death she was to be joined with her husband Mangaphas as the beneficiary of commemorative services.

C. Financial Matters

1. Endowment Properties

The foundation's monks evidently directly administered (and possibly even worked on) their landed properties, which prompted [10] the establishment of five dependencies near the most important clusters because "the brothers in Christ did not have the possibility of stopping for a place to rest." These were: St. Nicholas (probably a house church, in buildings donated by the widow of a certain Berges) [10], St. John the Merciful (paid for by Athanasia Mangaphaina) [10], St. Prokopios at Aulax (built and furnished by Irene, wife of Phokas) [11], [34], St. Constantine [35], and The Saints [41], [42]. These dependencies were well stocked with sacred vessels, vestments, and service books. The author apparently also made use of his family's background in the crafts by providing for watermills and workshops [10], [29], [34], [36], [45] as well as the more commonplace gardens [36], vineyards [40], [41], [45] cattle byres [43], [45], and olive groves [37]. The author's pride in the assets of his foundation is reflected in the detailed inventory ([24] through [45]) of landed property, consecrated offerings, and even livestock [44] included as part of this document.

2. Financial Administration

It was the superior's direct responsibility to see [16] to it that the foundation's properties were not damaged or destroyed. As in the slightly earlier (34) *Machairas* [82], [84], he was [21] to "administer everything in the monastery down to the tiniest detail," but the monks were to report [16] him to the metropolitan of Philadelphia if he failed to do so, for "his [the superior's] administration ought not to go unobserved." This is an implicit repudiation of the principle embodied in (22) *Evergetis* [18] that the superior should not be accountable to his monks for his financial administration.

D. Overall Philosophy

Our author prefers [15] an egalitarian style of leadership in which the superior was to regard himself "as of equal station to all the rest" of the monks and not to "think anyone in the monastery is more worthless than himself." Like (31) *Areia* [T10], our author enjoins [21] the superior to govern collaboratively "together with monks who are knowledgeable and perceptive regarding a

wide variety of matters.” On the other hand, the superior was entitled [15] to expel disobedient monks after three warnings.

E. External Relations

1. Recognition of the Rights of the Metropolitan

The author enjoyed good relations with the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and is accordingly generous with the rights [20] he was willing to concede to them: the local bishop was allowed to grant [17] blessing (*sphragis*) and installation (*cheirotomia*) to the newly elected superior of the monastery, to have [20] a commemoration (*anaphora*) in the liturgy, and to provide [20] spiritual correction for the monks. This invites contrast to the entirely different attitude seen in the contemporary (36) *Blemmydes* [1]. The author also encourages [16] his monks to turn to the metropolitan of Philadelphia if their superior administered the foundation’s properties poorly; the prelate was also to help resolve other disputes between the superior and the monks. Less trusting founders of the eleventh and even the twelfth centuries (though cf. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [4], [41], [111]) would not have allowed such a large role for the local bishop, but by this time the perceived threat from the hierarchy may well have receded significantly.

2. Relations with the *Nea Mone* of Chios

The foundation enjoyed close relations with the monks of the *Nea Mone*, with whom this monastery shared [43] ownership of a cattle byre. That monastery’s superior had also recommended [5] this foundation’s first spiritual director.

* As this publication was going to press, we were informed by Jacques Lefort that the correct form of this monastery’s name is *Boreine*, not *Skoteine*. See further volume one of *Actes de Vatopédi* (forthcoming).

Notes on the Introduction

1. Possibly an autograph, but probably a contemporary copy; see Năsturel, “Recherches,” pp. 73–74.
2. For this individual, see Charles Brand, “Mankaphas, Theodore,” *ODB*, pp. 1286–87.
3. (35) *Skoteine* [10], [36], [40], [43].
4. (35) *Skoteine* [31], [32], [33], [38], [39].
5. (35) *Skoteine* [9], [38], [41], [45].
6. (35) *Skoteine* [10], [36], [40], [43].
7. See the observations of Năsturel, “Recherches,” pp. 82–85.

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Translation

+ I, Maximos, ordained monk and founder of [the monastery of] the most holy Mother of God of Skoteine,¹ have signed in my own hand. +

[1.] “As for man, his days are as grass; as a flower of the field, so shall he flourish” (Ps. 102 [103]:15). This was the cry of King David, God’s forefather, as he was inspired by the Holy Spirit. Reflecting on these words I came to realize how true it is that everything a man has does wither away that quickly, and that all human prosperity and domination is a lie. Indeed every man is a liar, for he spends his life wandering about to no purpose, and he conjures up what ought not to be. In truth, just like grass, the reputation of each man is a picture of vanity. The only solid thing about him is that he has been brought forth in the likeness and in the image of God. For this reason, with the lyre of the Spirit, David proclaimed that human nature “has been made a little less than the angels” (Ps. 8:6). Therefore, I too have been created in the image of God, although I have not preserved that image in its entirety and I have not maintained intact the true man within me. Now, at any rate, I want to make my situation clear to everyone, for I am afraid that the customary separation which is part of human nature will come upon me and will find my affairs in disarray.

[2.] First of all, I bequeath to all orthodox Christians the love and the pardon which is found in Christ. Then, I make the following disposition. My father was the monk, the late lord Gregory, who was a craftsman. Before my birth, he went up to the [p. 272] mountain, the one on which the monastery was founded, accompanied by his apprentices in order to collect the charcoal to be found there. As he looked about here and there at the lay of the land, he was quite pleased. He offered a prayer that if God might allow him to plant a vineyard in this place, he would build an oratory to honor the name of our most holy Mother of God and, with God’s help, he would make arrangements that the liturgy and divine service would be celebrated unceasingly. His prayer was soon transformed into fact in accord with the promise of the Gospel which states: “Every one who asks receives, and he who seeks finds, and to him who knocks it will be opened” (Matt. 7:8; Luke 11:10). He then cleared the dense woods which covered the mountain and planted a small vineyard there.

[3.] Before me my father had sired a female child, and then I was born, but death took the one who had given birth to me, earth rendering its due back to earth, and with her my older sister also died. I was then left in the care of my grandmother, who nourished me with her milk and who brought me to the light [of baptism]. My father had no more concern for the things of this life. Rather, as the saying goes, he put himself beyond the reach of all disorder and confusion,² and, observing the precept of Solomon, he sneered at “the voice of the exactor” (Job 3:18). He ascended the mountain and there he built an oratory dedicated to our all-holy Mother of God. He also constructed a cell with a fence around it. Alone there he earnestly prayed to God for the increase of the oratory erected by him.

[4.] I was just starting to grow up then and was occupied in learning my letters. At the same time my father was very much concerned about putting some educated monk in charge of that oratory

and of the vineyards planted around it. In fact some monks did come, but they quickly turned around and went home because the mountain was such a wild, rugged, and inhospitable place. [p. 273] As a result my father persevered in the place by himself as though he were a winged creature, finding his comfort and consolation in God. My grandfather, the monk Niphon, came to live with him. A short time later my uncle on my father's side also went up to join them, and then another who was older. With their numbers augmented by the ties of nature, then, they came to about six monks. They still clung to their previous plan to place this small monastery under the charge of some worthy, formed monk who would see that they performed the morning and evening services of praise in the accustomed manner, as well as the divine liturgy. This indeed was what they were looking for.

[5.] For myself now, I had one day of the week free, while I spent the others in the school of grammar. My father learned that there was a certain godly man dwelling in the region of Sampson. He went and asked the advice of the late venerable lord Basil of the *Nea Mone*³ about such a man. He gave him truly excellent advice. He spoke about the man's virtue, which he could fully attest to from personal experience. My father went off there and found this man in a cell. He gave an account of his coming to him and of his journey, and explained his purpose. The holy man then agreed to his request, and accompanied him all the way to the monastery with two disciples from among the monks following him. He was very pleased with the location, which promised to be quiet and undisturbed. For the man had the greatest possible love for such complete solitude and was well aware of the benefits to be derived from it. It was for these reasons that he had lived in solitude for so many years.

[6.] This man now devoted himself to such a way of life and to meditation on the words of God. My father held him in great reverence and regarded him as on a level with the angels. In fact, as I grew older, I came to spend some time with the man and observed his virtuous conduct, his keeping vigil [p. 274], his love of God, his amazing mortification of the flesh, the fruit of his total self-control, and many other things beyond my ability to number. I myself was pricked by a divine goad. I strongly desired to be with that man and to share his daily life and, as though it were a honeycomb, to be nourished by his divine utterances.

[7.] At any rate, this holy man spoke with my father about my joining them and receiving the monastic tonsure. He did not let a day go by without giving me advice and warning me that all the pleasant things of the world were more bitter than poisonous drugs. But I had no experience of spiritual pleasure, for I was still immature. "Let the time come," I said, "when I am of age for marriage and then I shall choose the monastic tonsure." But he did not let up in his efforts to counsel me and to fill me with dread of the fearful judgment. He was persistent in urging me on. Like the falling rain he hollowed out my stony heart for the reception of his word or, to tell the truth, he shaped it like wax. So his admonitions did not, so to speak, fall upon deaf ears, but they touched my heart and soon accomplished their goal. Much later I would give abundant thanks to the Mother of the Word that I had indeed come into the possession of spiritual pleasure. On the feast of the Exaltation of the precious Cross⁴ the holy man tonsured me. When he placed the holy

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robe around me, I was filled with unspeakable joy as though I had been led, not into battle, but into a sort of bridal chamber. As a result, I myself entered into spiritual struggles, unlikely as this might seem, following and struggling alongside this holy man in observing the divine commandments.

[8.] After my tonsure, which I just recounted, this man stayed with me for two years. He was then honored by being named superior of the monastery of Kounion.⁵ He left me in charge of this monastery, which, with God's approval, began to expand. [p. 275] Each year a very large number of monks came to join us, twelve at times, then eighteen, and up to twenty.

While things were in this state, we worked toward the acquisition of immovable and animate property, inasmuch as our people were lacking the food and clothing they needed. In fact, the church which had been erected by my father was so small that it could not even accommodate three people. We set about building a more spacious divine temple. Since God, who brings everything to a good conclusion, watches over everyone, and arranges things for our benefit, did not despise our weakness and poverty, but kindly granted our requests, I collected a vast amount of material and raised up the present very beautiful church without anyone giving or handing over anything whatever for its construction.

[9.] The church, though, did not have any of the holy icons. But the *allagator*,⁶ lord Phokas, under God's guidance, decorated it with paintings on wood. He donated only what was essential. All the maintenance for the painters each day and other services came from the monastery and were provided by it. Most recently this same man had also given us the funds to build the refectory, as well as those for the construction of a kitchen and a bakery. May God grant him and his wife the reward due the good [servant] for, in addition to their other good deeds, they were instrumental in bringing down the water that flows into the monastery. They ought to be accorded the privilege of being commemorated unceasingly in the monastery and of being buried in it wherever they choose. This is enough now about the origins and present condition of the monastery.

[10.] Since the monastery did not have any dependency, the brothers in Christ did not have the possibility of stopping for a rest.⁷ At first I established a small oratory dedicated to our father among the saints, the bishop and miracle-worker Nicholas, in the buildings which were donated to me by the wife of the late Berges [p. 276], who gave what aid she could. We have been dwelling in that place until recently. Then in like manner the nun, lady Athanasia Mangaphaina, granted me all the buildings which belonged to her. With her help I erected a church dedicated to our holy father among the saints, John the Merciful. She also donated all her immovable property, I refer to the vineyard in Agridion⁸ and the other one in Kobena, along with the mulberry trees in it, and the workshop with the water mill right by the river, which she obtained by purchase. We made arrangements with her which are to remain in effect for the rest of her present life. After her death commemorative services ought to be held unceasingly for her, along with her former spouse, the late Mangaphas.

[11.] I also acquired another dependency at Aulax⁹ in the area around the river. With the help of the monk Hilarion, also known as Isaac, I built a fence around it. In addition, this same Isaac

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dedicated to the monastery one half of his share of the fields situated in the area of Epizyga which he had inherited from his parents, that is, a fourth of the entire property. His former wife's sister [donated] her entire share of the fields with his consent. However, about the various possessions of the monastery and other such matters [I shall speak] at another time.¹⁰

[12.] Let me first call to mind the manner in which my successor is to carry out his duties as superior, and the quality of the daily life which he and the monks under him should strive to attain. In the second place I shall put down all my prescriptions concerning the manner of performing the divine hymnody. This is what I prescribe: the semantron must not be struck nor the evening service of praise begun until the monk appointed by the superior as ecclesiarch should, while holding a copy in his hand, carefully read the *typikon* and carry out its prescriptions [p. 277] exactly as written. The same is to be observed in the morning service of praise. During the service itself all the brothers in Christ ought to observe silence. Nobody is allowed to speak to anyone else, no matter who they may be.

[13.] The superior ought to direct all the monks practicing asceticism in the monastery to live together in the cenobitic manner. Nobody is to be off by himself, or live by himself, or acquire things for himself. But together they are all to dine at one and the same table and to share the same food.¹¹ A common outlook, a common way of thinking, and love of the brothers should be fostered among them. There is no doubt that living by oneself cuts one off from the others. By so being cut off one is preoccupied with oneself and left to one's own devices, and this is totally incompatible with common life. One thinks about and is concerned about one's own good rather than that of another. Peace and union of minds are put aside and destroyed. On the other hand, having things in common binds together and leads to peace and, as mentioned earlier, is the cause of a complete unity of attitudes and of minds.

[14.] Those who serve in the church ought to receive proper honor in such distinctions as where they sit and stand, since they are obliged to pray fervently for all the others, to keep vigil, and to make every effort to bring about peace and tranquility.

[15.] I enjoin upon the superior that he be meek, gentle, compassionate, peaceful, and very forgiving toward everyone. He does not exalt himself above his own sheep, nor does he think of himself as anything but the most worthless man in the monastery. He must regard himself as of equal station with all the rest and frequently, if necessary, actually serve them. "I did not come," says Christ who is truth itself, "to be served but to serve, and to lay down my life for many" (Matt. 20:28; Mark 10:45). He ought to possess the gifts of giving counsel and of teaching. "He who draws forth," it is said, "what is worthy from what is worthless shall be as my mouth" (Jer. 15:19). He should be an example to all of them, and what he is obliged to teach he should first put into practice. If any member of [p. 278] the cenobitic community should take a stand against his own superior, he should be counseled and admonished. After a first, second, and third warning, as is stated [in the law], he should be expelled from the monastery as a cause of scandal (cf. Titus 3:10).

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[16.] The superior, along with the others, ought to exercise restraint in dealing with the possessions of the monastery. He should not be remiss, lest these possessions suffer damage or destruction. But if he does act otherwise, the monks should go to the person who is metropolitan of Philadelphia at that time and inform him truthfully of the superior's actions. If indeed he does not fall back into his previous lazy ways, let him remain in his position as superior, but if he persists in what he had been doing, let him be thrown out, and another installed in his place, according to the sacred canons. If some misunderstanding should arise between the monks and the superior, let it be straightened out by the spiritual fathers from outside. If it should stretch out and cause a great deal of tension, then let it be straightened out by the bishop.

[17.] When it comes to naming a person as superior it should be done in this way. If, in the collective judgment of the other monks, the monastery is fortunate to have in it a man worthy to be superior, let him go down from the monastery to receive the *sphragis* and be installed by the metropolitan then in office. But if the monastery does not have among its monks a man worthy to preside over it, then let them accept a man of blameless life from some other place. This man should then have full authority, and nobody should try to stand up against him on any pretext, for no monk is allowed to hinder him in what he may want to do.

[18.] The gate of the monastery should always be open. Let the monks welcome those who come here. They should not look down on any stranger or anyone in want, but they should receive everyone kindly and honorably, extending their hospitality with whatever the monastery can provide in food and drink.

[19.] The feast of our most holy [p. 279] Mother of God¹² should be celebrated on the twenty-first of November every year without fail. It should be done very splendidly with a great display of lights. On the morrow the fare at table should be very special, and that evening there should be a solemn commemorative service for the founders.

[20.] I leave the monastery absolutely free and not subject to any person who may hold ecclesiastical office nor to any other person among the civilians. It is to regulate its own affairs free of all external interference. The superior, who has received the monastery as free, is obliged to transmit it as free to his successor. He, in turn, must so pass it on to his successor, and so on. It is not to come under the control of any secular person, a private individual, a relative, or a complete outsider. The only exception is that the most holy metropolitan of Philadelphia at the time has the right to confer the *sphragis*, to have the customary commemoration in the liturgy, and, when necessary, to provide a cure and a correction for souls. But as far as any other right over the monastery is concerned, it is my wish that neither he nor anyone else, no matter how illustrious they may be in their way of life or dignity, is to have any such right.

[21.] The superior indeed ought to be beyond all evil suspicion. His administration ought not to go unobserved, but together with monks who are knowledgeable and perceptive regarding a wide variety of matters, let him administer everything in the monastery down to the tiniest detail.

[22.] The affairs of the church ought to be looked after by the ecclesiarch, the provision of food by the cellarer, and matters connected with contributions and income of all kinds are to be looked after by the treasurer. In all these matters the ultimate authority should rest with the superior.

[23.] I also decree that the monks in this revered monastery should not sell any item from among the garments issued to them or [p. 280] exchange them without the knowledge of the superior. They should not produce more than they really need, for this overturns the common good order, harmony, and spiritual behavior. This suffices on this subject.

[24.] Since we are obliged to give a detailed list of the possessions and acquisitions of the monastery in the present written disposition, this is what it has.

First, what appertains to the church. An ornamented gospel lectionary for daily use. Four books each with the four gospels. Another with the gospel readings for Sundays. The Gospel according to Matthew with a commentary: first and second volumes. Another [copy of the] second volume [of the commentary] on Matthew. Another gospel with selections from John. The four gospels interpreted by [Theophylact, archbishop of] Bulgaria.¹³ The *Hexameros* of [St. John] Chrysostom. Another by the great Basil. Another by him. The *Apostolos* for daily use. The *Propheteia*. A *Sticherarion* with the new notation.¹⁴ An *Oktoechos*. The *Parakletike* with the two canons. A *Synaxarion*. A *Heirmologion*. A *Kontakarion*. Another book with the *exaposteilaria* for the whole year. The *Triodion*. The *Pentekostarion*. Two *typika*. A *Schematologion* containing [also] the complete service for funerals. *Menaia* for the twelve months. A book [containing the lives of the saints] for September [by Symeon Metaphrastes]. Another for the same month. Another for October. Another for half of the month of November. Another for the same month also containing the life of Saint John the Merciful. Another for the same month beginning from the fifteenth of the second book.¹⁵ Another beginning from the fifteenth of the same. Two gospel lectionaries without ornamentation. The book of [St. John] Chrysostom called "The Pearls."¹⁶ Another of the great Basil containing a commentary on the Psalms and various homilies.¹⁷ Two books of [St. Gregory Nazianzen] the Theologian. The *Catecheses* of [St. Theodore] the Studite.¹⁸ [John] Klimakos.¹⁹ The epistles of the holy apostle Paul with commentary. The one to the Ephesians with commentary. The Acts [of the Apostles] with commentary. Another book with the same. A book of Dorotheos also containing various chapters of Mark.²⁰ [p. 281] A book on "The Statues,"²¹ also including some discourses of [St. Gregory] the Theologian. Another book containing [John] Klimakos, the *Pandektes*,²² and the *Ascetical Treatises* of the great Basil. Another copy of [John] Klimakos. Another copy of the *Pandektes*. A book containing the life of the divine [St. John] Chrysostom. Another work of [St. John] Chrysostom containing various orations. A book of Barlaam.²³ Books by Saint Ephraem, two volumes. A book containing the life of Saint Mary [of Egypt] and various other writings. The *Gerontikon*, on paper. A Psalter with commentary. A book on paper containing various treatises including one on the revered icons. Five Psalters. A Psalter [donated by] Monomachos.²⁴ A book containing the entire service for [the monastery's patronal] feast. Another book containing canons of certain saints. Another book with the life of Saint Euthymios and certain saints. Three copies of the liturgy of [St. John] Chrysostom.²⁵ Three more [copies of the liturgy] by the great Basil. [The liturgy of the] Presanctified. Another [copy of the same liturgy].

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[25.] Also: Seven white sets of vestments.²⁶ Another purple set. Two *epitrachelia*. Another one embroidered in gold.²⁷ *Epimanikia* embroidered in gold with [representations of] the Annunciation and the Resurrection. Two other pairs. Two pieces [of silk cloth] to cover the chalice. A gold *aer*.²⁸ Two silk cloths woven with gold [thread] and showing lions. Another one of gold and scarlet with a griffin in the middle. Another embroidered in gold. Another in white and gold. An inner cover for the altar.²⁹ Three altar cloths. Two pairs of candelabra. Other small ones for the entrance. Two more. Five sieves. Two *lamnai* for the *templon*. Another two for the archangels.³⁰ Three others for outside in the narthex. Another at the Sepulcher.³¹ Small metal crosses with a censer in the sacred dome. Two metal trays³² [for the *kollyba*]. A cauldron for the church.³³

[26.] Large icons for veneration. Five others on the *templon*. On the same *templon*, the twelve feasts, small icons for the feasts of the Lord. Two decorated images, one of Christ and one of Saint George. [p. 282] An ivory carving of the Dormition and the Nativity. Another small one of the Dormition with ornamentation. Another of [St. Michael the Archangel] the supreme commander [of the heavenly armies] fashioned in bronze.

[27.] In the dependency there is a volume of the *menaion* for September and October. Another one on paper comprising six months. Another for March. One for April. One for May. One for June. Another for July and August. Another for October. The Sunday gospels. An *Apostolos* without decoration. The *Propheteia*. A *Sticherarion*. A *typikon*. A *Euchologion*. A Psalter. A *Synaxarion* for six months. A *Triodion*. A liturgy of [St. John] Chrysostom. The monastery also has a book containing the *theotokia* for the whole year and the lives of the summer saints [by Symeon Metaphrastes]. In the dependency are a set of vestments and an *epitrachelion*.

[28.] In the dependency of Aulax are these items. A *Heortologion* on paper for six months. Another on parchment for the whole year. A *typikon*. A Psalter. An *Oktoechos*. A *Parakletike* with two canons. Another small one on paper with various canons. The *Propheteia*. The *Apostolos*. A liturgy of [St. John] Chrysostom. A set of vestments. Two silk cloths. An altar cloth and two *lamnai*.

[29.] These are the metal objects. Five copper pots, three large and two small. Two large standing pots. A tripod to hold cooking pots. Two basins. Four pitchers for serving wine, two of them large. One kettle. One water bucket. A copper jug. Two lamps. Three large water containers. Two cauldrons. Two table bells.³⁴ A tripod to hold cooking pots. An ironworker's shop.³⁵ Two anvils. And all the rest of the equipment for the workshop. Seventeen spades. Four axes. Seven *tziera*. Ten plowshares.³⁶ Four pruning hooks. Thirty old, large jars. Another thirty kettles (?).³⁷ Six storage chests. Various tables.

[30.] Items of cloth. Four pillows stuffed with cotton. Forty of wool. Four cotton quilts. One hundred heavy blankets. Four bedspreads. One rug. Two large towels. [p. 283] Sheets and face towels.

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[31.] At various times the following fields in the region of Aulax have come into my possession. The field which has the name of Rhymos³⁸ was acquired by me by purchase from Strateges. One in the region of Kyamites for thirteen sheep. Another field in the same region purchased from Grantales³⁹ for ten sheep. Another field belonging to Pelekanos in the same region. Another field by the imperial highway was purchased. For a payment of four *hyperpera* I acquired the field of Lentianos, which measures about twenty *modioi* in the same region. The field of Mazarina below the imperial highway in the same region. Another field belonging to Mazarina by the pond. Another one belonging to her in Balanidia. A field in the region of Kyamites which came to me as a gift from the priest Agapetos. Another field in the same region was acquired by purchase from the same priest. I acquired another field from Kalamoutzes and his father for four *hyperpera*. I acquired another field above the thicket of thorn bushes in the same region from Arbantinos for two *hyperpera*.

[32.] I also acquired some fields, which go by the name of Chenolakkos, beyond Aulax from the late lector Chamelos, the son-in-law of Proximos.⁴⁰ Another field belonging to him, called Saint Eustathios, extending from the old water conduit and going up as far as Bastagos. Another field of his which is called Makres Moires. Another field of his in the same place which is called Tou Philippou. Another field by the threshing floors. Another field near the dependency of the monastery. Another field which lies below Saint Prokopios. The field near Tou Philippou was purchased by me from the father of Kaloeides.

[33.] Another field by the Makres [p. 284] Moires below the water conduit and extending above it which I acquired by purchase from the priest Alexios. I acquired other fields called Stauriou by purchase from the wife of the ironworker from the city.⁴¹ Another one of Euphemes. I purchased another field in the hollow of the water conduit in the same region from Pothos. In the same region I acquired a field from Montokiklina. I acquired another field in the same region from Maedones. In the same place another field from the same person. I acquired a field by the village of Epizyga from the monk Isaac by way of an entrance gift, just as also from his father, the monk Gregory. In the same village I also bought from Nicholas Kazanes, the son-in-law of Amirasames,⁴² some irrigated fields, about a hundred *modioi*, for twenty gold *hyperpera*.⁴³ I also bought another field which is named after Saint George from Magoules for eighteen *trikephala* [*nomismata*], and a field of about eighteen *modioi* from the father of Chrysochoos. By exchange with Boures the son-in-law of Amirasames⁴⁴ I acquired all the fields in the region of Epizyga belonging to him, irrigated and waterless, giving to him a certain vineyard in the region of Tazinoi. Also I acquired a field with a mill from John Charakonites. From the same person another very small field below the dependency along with the old mill. I also bought the old mill belonging to Kazanes with its enclosure.

[34.] I acquired those fields in Aulax which lie opposite the dependency on the other side of the river from the priest Agapetos Exerdiopoulos, George Tridseas and Euphemes.⁴⁵ I acquired another field, called Saint Constantine, on the other side by purchase from Kallierges. I acquired another one by purchase from Moschonas with [p. 285] the other field of the widow which is joined to that of Branias. I also acquired by purchase a field with an old mill for six *hyperpera*.

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From the children of the late Monomachos I bought the houses which he had erected along the river in Aulax together with the field there near them for three *hyperpera*.⁴⁶ The dependency of Aulax which I erected from its foundations and in which the church of the great martyr Prokopios is also established. Along the river in Aulax I constructed three water mills with workshops.

[35.] There is another dependency of Saint Constantine. The dependency of Saint Constantine, as it stands, has its own enclosure with its vineyard, along with the rest of its territory and possessions. The waterless fields above Epizyga, which were called "Ta Kastellia," were divided into three portions. The monastery was in possession of one part, and acquired another from Kazanes for three gold *hyperpera*. This Kazanes, together with Charakonites and his brother, sold me the field belonging to them, called Kastella, above the dependency. So much for these matters.

[36.] Now, of all the arable land in Domenaki, that is, up to five plots, I possess, resulting from exchanges made with various related persons, one entire plot⁴⁷ for myself. I have also acquired by purchase from Tritides⁴⁸ a field right below Saint Constantine with the ruins of a mill for four gold *hyperpera*. In the same region I acquired a field from Mazizanes. In addition to the one plot I have in Domenaki, I have acquired one belonging to Rhomnos⁴⁹ Pegadiotes in Domenaki, that is, two *kokkia*, for eighteen gold *hyperpera*. From Kalimytos one *kokkion* and a half for ten gold *hyperpera*. From Alexios Amirasames one *kokkion* and a half for nine gold *hyperpera*, [p. 286] and from the son-in-law of Lavrentes Tzykandyles two garden plots close to the pasture for ten gold *hyperpera*. The monastery also acquired a workshop with a water mill by the river in Kobena from Mangaphaina. The small mill of lord Melachrenos is obliged to pay the customary fee of eight *trikephala* [*nomismata*] to the monastery each year and to do as much actual mill work in it as the monastery requires. Another water mill lower down belongs to the monastery.

[37.] In the village of Rhaos I acquired eleven olive trees by purchase from Axios. Another eleven olive trees belonging to Eudokia Kyminas are held in security by the monastery for seven gold *hyperpera*. The olive trees of Pyrouses Komnenos. I acquired some additional olive trees by purchase from Bastos. I acquired still more olive trees by purchase from Chazares the brother-in-law of Tourtours.⁵⁰ From Pasinales I bought fifteen olive trees for seventeen gold *hyperpera*, and at the same time the fifty-seven trees of Rhaos.

[38.] I acquired the field of Saint Peter by way of entrance gift from Abythianos.⁵¹ I also acquired a field in Kybaros from Kathras. In the region of Geranes I acquired another field by purchase from Hysterinos. I acquired a field in Mesotraphos from the late monk Kostomyres. In the region of Kardamon⁵² I acquired fields with all their appurtenances going under the name of Grammatike from the late monk Bartholomew Intres. Another field in the same region was donated to me by the late *sebastos*⁵³ Mytas. In the same region I acquired the field of Phoulanos by purchase. I also acquired a field which is called Kalamaritzi from Liberos. Along the river a field of about one hundred *modioi* was dedicated to the monastery by [p. 287] lady Irene. The salt marsh on the other side goes together with this. There is another of the holy Theologian. Another of Saint Akindynos. A field at Embole donated by Skrinas. Another field in the same place. I acquired a field of about

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eighty *modioi* from the children of Abythianos as an entrance gift. In Mesoglossion I acquired a field by purchase from the late Roseles Tyrannos, with another field which he had in Pantniza⁵⁴ in the region of Dryatos. I also purchased a field from lord Karseres.⁵⁵

[39.] On the mountain of Kissos there is a field where the imperial highway ascends and which extends as far as the place called Libaditzia, including everything off to the left after it comes down to the path coming from the fort and rises up toward the north. As for the other [path going] toward the threshing floor, all the arable land to the right of this belongs to the monastery. As one descends again from the imperial highway and heads toward the place where there is grazing land, and in which there are troughs, everything to the left and to the right belongs to the monastery. There, taking the path which goes off toward Kasilokome, what is down below to the left belongs to the monastery. I also acquired those fields of Boukolike as an entrance gift from the monk Niphon of Kasilokome. In the region of Melikoures another field of about ten *modioi* was donated to the monastery by the children of the late Komnenos. This is how these matters stand.

[40.] The boundary of the vineyards and other land about the monastery is as follows. It begins from the vineyard of Phagomodes, the one which had been sold previously by the late *protoallagator* Bardachlas, goes down the road to the left and comes up against the upper part of the vineyard of the monastery. From there it goes down to the possessions of the late Choneiates on a level with [p. 288] the rocks which form a border, abuts on the property of Saratzes, and comes to an end at the boundary of Kobena. From there it goes up toward the south taking in the vineyards and other lands there by the river, going on evenly to the vineyard of Karantene, of the priest Phlatoumes, also known as Akanthopates, of Botaneiotes, and of Sourmes, then it abuts on the possessions of Mangaphaina. The boundary turns and heads toward the East and comes to a stop at the vineyard of Phagomodes, which is where we began.

[41.] Within this boundary we have described lie the vineyards which were sold by the monastery: a vineyard in the region of Kobena along with some mulberry trees was donated to the monastery by the nun Mangaphaina; a field from Marzautes in which we planted a vineyard; a vineyard below the great martyr Saint Demetrios with all its appurtenances, with the houses in it, and all its territory and possessions; a vineyard in the region of the healing [waters] donated to the monastery by Tyrannina; another vineyard by the river in Aulax planted by us; another vineyard in the region of Prooikoi acquired from Mesopotamia by the revered monastery. On the whole, that is, four *kokkia* with [the proceeds from the sale of which] the monastery obtained some fields. In Keramareion it also has a field, and in Tria Bouna one was donated to it by the aforementioned lady Irene. At the Saints the monastery acquired a dependency from Kalambakes of blessed memory along with the vineyard around it.

[42.] These are the books in the dependency at the Saints. The gospel readings for Sundays. An *Apostolos*. An *Euchologion*. An *Oktoechos*. A *Parakletike*. A Psalter. A *Triodion*. The *Propheteia*. A *Sticherarion* with the old notation. A *Menaion* for September. Another one for September. One for October and for November. Another for March and for April. Another for May [p. 289] and for

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June. A *Sticherokathistarion*. A liturgy of the divine [St. John] Chrysostom and one of the great Basil. A *typikon*. A *Heirmologion*. A *Kontakarion*. A *Schematologion*. A book called “The Pearls.” There are also in this [dependency] eight icons. A set of vestments. Sacred [vessels]. A silver communion spoon. A paten and other things.

[43.] A cattle byre in Modi was donated to the monastery by the late *sebastos* Mytas,⁵⁶ as well as the fields about it, which come to two thousand *modioi*, just as they were divided up with the monks of the *Nea Mone*. In the area of Heliotopos some fields were obtained by the monastery from Mangaphaina. But these must be divided up absolutely evenly with the most noble *Vestiaritissa*.⁵⁷

[44.] Located in the monastery are nine wagons with yokes of oxen and buffalo, fifteen spare horses, eight mares, fifteen male and female donkeys. Two saddle horses. Three hundred pigs. A hundred⁵⁸ small and large cows. Spare buffaloes. Fifty-five pack mules.⁵⁹ About five hundred sheep and the full complement of those needed to take care of them.⁶⁰ About two hundred beehives in various locations. Then there are various other material possessions which I have not recorded. But the above should suffice.

[45.] In addition, the monastery acquired from lady Irene after her husband, the *allagator*, lord Phokas, departed this life, three pairs of draft animals (one buffalo and the other [two] of oxen) and two wagons with iron-rimmed wheels. This same lady Irene also had a church erected for the dependency of Aulax and dedicated to the holy, great martyr Prokopios. She also had it adorned with paintings on wood. She also constructed a water mill by the river in Aulax and planted a vineyard in the same place. She deposited two silk cloths and two *lammnai* in the church of Saint Prokopios. The same lady also paid for the decoration of the great refectory of the monks. She also saw to the construction of the cells for the monks out in front and those out in back. She [p. 290] added to this the two sections of the field she had purchased from Hyaleas and Amiras. She also bought another field from Syritianos Angelos. Lady Irene assigned to this monastery the vineyard belonging to her which is below Saint Demetrios with its appurtenances and its cattle byre. She also arranged for the adornment of the monastery’s gospel, [with] a silk cloth and [donated] a pair of large candelabra. She also had another water mill constructed below the monastery, and she donated one hundred and forty-four *hyperpera*.

[46.] Therefore, now that I have made this disposition, whoever should attempt to do anything contrary to this manifest testament of mine, be he an official or a subordinate, from the highest to the least, layman or ecclesiastic, whatever rank he may hold, if such a person should be bold enough to attempt to transgress its prescriptions, whoever he may be, not only will he alienate himself from God and the Christian faith, but he will call down upon himself the curses of the three hundred and eighteen holy, God-bearing fathers, and his lot will be with that of the traitor Judas and with those who cried out “Away with him, away with him, crucify” the Son of God (cf. Matt. 27:22). I want this present, manifest testament of mine to remain firm and absolutely undisturbed for all time.

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Written at my behest by the recording secretary of the most holy metropolitan of Philadelphia, the deacon Michael Paximades, in the presence of the witnesses listed below. In the month of November of the sixth indiction in the year 6756 [= 1247 A.D.]

+ Michael in Christ our God faithful emperor and autocrator of the Romans Doukas Angelos Komnenos Palaiologos + ⁶¹

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of our translator, George Dennis [GD], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

The two editions of this text by Gedeon (= G) and Eustratiades (= E) are both deficient, quite possibly due to a faulty original manuscript. Sentences are incomplete, verbs are missing, nouns are in the wrong case, and so forth. I have employed G as the basis for the translation, but have taken readings from both and have indicated the alternate ones in the notes. Since I have not been able to see the original, the correct readings frequently cannot be determined with any certainty. [GD]

1. The term means “somber” or “plunged in obscurity”; see Năsturel, “Recherches,” p. 72, and the description of the site in [4] below.
2. Cf. Herodotus 6.35.
3. Probably the well-known monastery on the island of Chios, for which see Anthony Cutler and Alexander Kazhdan, “Nea Mone,” *ODB*, pp. 1446–47.
4. September 14.
5. Possibly a reference to the monastery of *Kounin*, for which see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 164.
6. An officer in one of the corps of the imperial guards; cf. Pseudo-Kodinos 6, 9, ed. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), p. 160. [GD]
7. The text is not clear; G reads *ho theòs*, which makes no sense; E. has *hóthen*, which is adopted here. [GD]
8. This could mean “hamlet,” but here it seems to be the name of a locality. [GD]
9. *tou aulakos*, literally “in the hollow,” but here and later it seems to be used as a proper name indicating a specific locality. See Năsturel, “Recherches,” p. 83. [GD]
10. Reading *allote* as in E. [GD]
11. *ton auton halon*, literally, “same salt.” [GD]
12. Feast of the Presentation in the Temple or Entry into the Holy of Holies.
13. See Ch. Papaioannou, “Hen cheirographon tou hypomnematos tou archiepiskopou Boulgarias Theophylaktou eis ta 4 evangelia,” *Theologia* 3 (1925), 243–55.
14. *neophonon*. According to G, this is the modern or “new” Byzantine musical notation. The dependency at The Saints had one in the old notation, *palaiophonon*: see [42] below and Năsturel, “Recherches,” p. 93. [GD]
15. The text seems confused here. Perhaps the scribe has mixed up this sentence with the next, and this one should be omitted. “Second book,” i.e., the preceding one with presumably the first fourteen days of November. According to G, the Greek reads *tou deuteroi*, “of the second,” whereas E reads it as *tou dekembriou*, “of December,” which does not yield an improvement in the reading. [GD]
16. *Hoi Margarites*, a collection of ascetical texts by John Chrysostom. [GD]
17. Probably his *Homiliae in psalmos*, *PG* 29, 209–494. [GD]
18. See (4) *Stoudios*, The Studite Monastic Reform, A.
19. John Klimakos, *Scala paradisi*, *PG* 88, cols. 596–1209.
20. Dorotheos of Gaza, *Doctrinae*, *PG* 88, cols. 1611–1838, and Mark the Hermit, *Opuscula*, *PG* 65, cols. 905–1140; [GD] see also the citation of these authors in (3) *Theodore Studites*, Concerning Faith.

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21. John Chrysostom, *Ad populum Antiochenum*, PG 49, cols. 15–222. [GD]
22. *Pandecta scripturae sacrae* (PG 89, 1420–1856) by the seventh-century Palestinian monk, Antiochos.
23. *Barlaam and Joasaph*, a prose romance of uncertain date and authorship, ed. G. R. Woodward and H. Mattingly, *Barlaam and Joasaph*, Loeb Classical Library, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967). [GD]
24. *Psalterion monomach . . .*: E reads *monomachen*. A Monomachos (deceased) is mentioned later, see [34] below. Nästurel (“Recherches,” 92) suggests that he might have been the donor of this psalter.
25. *kondakion Chrysostomikon*. On this meaning of *kontakion* (“liturgy of St. Basil or St. John Chrysostom”), see Lampe, *PGL*, s.v.
26. E reads *hepta*, “seven,” whereas G has *epises*, “equal.” [GD]
27. *chrysoklabarikon*: “embroidered with gold thread.” See Koukoules, *BBP*, vol. 2.2, p. 43.
28. *aer chrysos*: a large veil for the chalice and paten (cf. Lampe, *PGL*, s.v. *aer*, B) woven with gold thread. On the so-called golden textiles, see Koukoules, *BBP*, vol. 2.2, p. 26.
29. *sarkesin*; most probably the *katasarkion*, first of the linen cloths laid on the altar. See Lampe, *PGL*, s.v. *katasarka*, and Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v. *katasarkion*.
30. [missing text]
31. Apparently a representation of the sepulcher of Christ. [GD]
32. *apallareai*. See Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v. *apalaria* / *apalarea*.
33. *anemomiliarion*: undoubtedly the same as *miliarion*, a large kettle for heating water; see Koukoules, *BBP*, vol. 2.2, p. 100.
34. G has *kondai*, whereas E reads *konía*. The reference is undoubtedly to *kontion* or *konti*, a small metal bell sounded by the superior at the refectory to announce the beginning and end of the meal. *Kontia* were also used in church during the liturgy and in religious processions. We are indebted for this information to Professor Constantine Pitsakes of the University of Komotini, who most kindly provided us with a copy of his recent article, “To ‘KONTION’: Nea stoicheia gia ten istoria mias amartyres(:) byzantines lexes (Actes de Saint-Pantélèemôn, ar. 7),” *IB Panellenio Istoriko Synedrio, Praktika* (Thessalonike, 1992), pp. 117–29.
35. *komodromikón*: not in the dictionaries. In Byzantine and Modern Greek *komodrómos* means a person who wanders about from village to village. In the demotic Greek of Cyprus it means an ironworker (so Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v.), which makes sense here, since ironworkers may have gone from one village to another to work. Ch. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis* (Lyons, 1688) also gives this meaning. [GD]
36. E reads *hendeka*, “eleven.” [GD]
37. *tzykalinaí*; *tzykaline* or alternatively *tzykalion* or *tsoukalin*, is another word for *chytra*, “kettle”; see Koukoules, *BBP*, vol. 2.2, p. 99.
38. For Rhymos, E reads Rome. [GD]
39. For Grantales, E reads Phrontales. Part of this sentence from “purchased” and the following sentence have been omitted by G, but have been transcribed by E. [GD]
40. E reads *gambros*, “son” or “brother-in-law,” whereas G has *pater*. The reading of E has been adopted here, since it is unlikely that the family name of the son differed from that of his father in several instances; see notes 42 and 44 below.
41. *polites*: in medieval Greek this most probably means a native of the city, i.e., Constantinople or possibly Philadelphia, which was the nearest large city. *Komodromos*, “ironworker” or “tinker,” could also have become a surname. [GD]
42. G reads *pater*.
43. Instead of *hyperpera*, G reads “fields,” here and subsequently. [GD]
44. G has *pater*.
45. E reads *pera*, on the other side; G has *para*, along the river. For Tridsea E has Trivea. [GD]
46. E reads thirty. [GD]
47. “Plot,” *stichos*, the latter denoted the “line-entry” on a tax roll or the property corresponding to it. See F.

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Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung* (Leipzig, 1927; repr. Hildesheim, 1960), p. 141.

48. For Tritides, E. has Tribides. Ruins of a mill, literally, a mill which has disappeared. [GD]
49. For Rhomnos E has Rhamnos. [GD]
50. Instead of *syngambros* “brother-in-law,” E has simply *syngenes* “kinsman.” [GD]
51. Abythianos. The spelling of this name follows E. [GD]
52. For Kardamon, E. has Mardymnon. G omits the name Bartholomew. [GD]
53. Instead of *sebastos*, E has a name, Gibestos. [GD]
54. For Pantniza, E reads Patnixa. [GD]
55. Instead of lord, E reads monk. [GD]
56. E reads *geros* instead of *sebastos*.
57. *Vestiaritisse*, as in E; G has <kyr> *Z. viririateses*. [GD]
58. E has seventy. [GD]
59. *aloga sagmaria bordonia*, as in E; these words are omitted in G. [GD]
60. According to G there were 1500 sheep. [GD]
61. Apparently Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282); for a discussion of his problematic endorsement of this document, see Năsturel, “Recherches,” pp. 73–74.

Document Notes

- [1] Meditation on death. Among contemporary documents, see also the reflections on this subject in (34) *Machairas* [1], (44) *Karyes* [1], and (45) *Neophytos* [2].
- [2] Choice of the site for the monastery. The account recalls Athanasios the Athonite’s foundation at Mylopotamos in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [9].
- [3] Foundation of the monastery by Maximos’ father Gregory. See the contemporary (44) *Karyes* [2] for another example of a monastic cell designed for “two or three brothers.”
- [4] Family members who joined the monastery. For another founder with many close relatives in religious life, see (31) *Areia* [T12].
- [5] Recruitment of a spiritual leader. For recruitment of leaders from other monasteries elsewhere, see also (32) *Mamas* [1], [43]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1], [42]; (37) *Auxentios* [3]. (34) *Machairas* [148], however, effectively forbids recruitment for the superiority from external sources.
- [6] The spiritual leader’s personal qualities.
- [7] Maximos’ tonsure. An early tonsure is implied, despite disapproval expressed in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3], [49], [50] and (34) *Machairas* [115]. (36) *Blemmydes* [9] ff. and (45) *Neophytos* [3] suggest a change in opinion on this issue, however.
- [8] Expansion of the monastery under Maximos’ direction. For the construction of another church by local subscription, see (17) *Nikon Metanoieite*, Foundation History.
- [9] Benefactions of Phokas the *allagator*. Phokas’ wife Irene was also a benefactor of the foundation; see [38], [41], and [45] below.
- [10] Foundation of the first two dependencies. Additional benefactions of Athanasia Mangaphaina are mentioned below in [36], [43], cf. [40]. [27] below may record the service books found at the dependency of St. Nicholas.
- [11] Foundation of the dependency at Aulax; bequest of Epizyga. The dependency, built [45], cf. [34] by the Lady Irene, wife of the *allagator* Phokas, was dedicated to St. Prokopios. There are also inventories of its movable properties [28] and landed properties [31]. Many of the foundation’s other properties were located in the vicinity, see [32], [34], and [41] below. For the bequest of Epizyga, see also [33], [35] below.
- [12] Regulation of liturgical services. Only a morning and an evening service are envisioned here; cf. provisions for the full sequence of the canonical hours in (34) *Machairas* [31] ff., (44) *Karyes* [8], [9], and (probably) (45) *Neophytos* [12], [C2], [C3].

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

- [13] Requirements of the cenobitic life. For the hostility to non-cenobitic forms of monasticism, see (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26]; for equality in food, see (22) *Evergetis* [26] and related documents, most recently (34) *Machairas* [106].
- [14] Privileges of monks serving in the church. Foreshadowed by (28) *Pantokrator* [4] and (34) *Machairas* [81], [165].
- [15] Superior's attitude towards the monks; expulsion of disobedient monks. Evergetian attitudes seen in (22) *Evergetis* [17] and related documents seem to influence the exhortation to the superior, while the disciplinary procedure set down in (31) *Areia* [T9] provides a parallel to the provision for expulsions.
- [16] Superior's obligation to care for the monastery's properties; oversight and resolution of disputes by the metropolitan of Philadelphia. See also [21] below. Honest and conscientious administration of property, an early Evergetian concern (for which see (22) *Evergetis* [14]), was restated most recently in (34) *Machairas* [90], and here applies to the superior who, as in (34) *Machairas* [82], [85], is personally responsible for the oversight of the endowment properties.
- [17] Internal selection of future superiors; *sphragis* and installation by the metropolitan. Combines the traditional reform principle of internal selection with a ready concession of episcopal rights. On the latter, see the more ambiguous treatment in (34) *Machairas* [9], [17], [18], [120] and the outright rejection of these rights in (38) *Kellibara I* [15].
- [18] Obligation of hospitality. See similar enthusiasm for this duty in (34) *Machairas* [116], [118] and (45) *Neophytos* [10], cf. [20].
- [19] Patronal feast of the Mother of God; memorial service for the founders. The feast of the Presentation is also celebrated as the patronal feast in (10) *Eleousa* [13] and (34) *Machairas* [27]. Founders are commemorated in the following thirteenth-century documents: (34) *Machairas* [31], [44], [150], and [154]; (37) *Auxentios* [13]; (39) *Lips* [8], [30], [52]; (40) *Anargyroi* [6]; and (45) *Neophytos* [12].
- [20] Independence of the monastery; rights of the metropolitan of Philadelphia. As in [17] above, a traditional reform institution is combined with an acknowledgement of episcopal rights. For contemporary assertions of institutional independence, see (34) *Machairas* [21] and (36) *Blemmydes* [1].
- [21] Superior to rule collaboratively. See also [16] above. The support for collaborative rule is found earlier in (31) *Areia* [T10]. The provision for close administrative supervision by the superior finds a parallel in (34) *Machairas* [82], [84], [85], [97], [98].
- [22] Duties of the ecclesiarch, the cellarer and the treasurer. See the more elaborate post-Evergetian descriptions of these positions in (32) *Mamas* [8], [10], [11] and in (34) *Machairas* [93], [100], cf. [96].
- [23] No production for the market or sale of garments. Traditional restrictions in foundations like this one and those on Mount Athos based in large part on the labor of their monks, for which see (12) *Tzimiskes* [15], [24] and (15) *Constantine IX* [2], [6]. The regulation here may be related to the sentiment against sales of annuities in kind, for which see (27) *Kecharitomene* [53] and (34) *Machairas* [153].
- [24] Inventory of books in the main church. See [27], [28], and [42] below for books at other locations and also other inventories of books in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 7], [INV 12] ff.; (23) *Pakourianos* [33B]; (45) *Neophytos* [12]; (48) *Prodromos* [14]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [INV]; and (61) *Eleousa Inv.* [3].
- [25] Sacred vessels and textiles in the main church. See [28] and [42], cf. [45] below for similar property at other locations and also inventories of consecrated objects in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 6], [INV 8], [INV 18]; (23) *Pakourianos* [33B]; (27) *Kecharitomene*, Appendix B; (31) *Areia* [T11]; (48) *Prodromos* [14]; and (61) *Eleousa Inv.* [5], [6].
- [26] Icons of the main church. See [45] for icons at the dependency of St. Prokopios at Aulax and also inventories of icons in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 5]; (23) *Pakourianos* [33B]; (48) *Prodromos* [14]; and (61) *Eleousa Inv.* [2].
- [27] Liturgical books of a(n unidentified) dependency. Probably composed when St. Nicholas [10] was the foundation's only dependency.
- [28] Inventory of movable property at the dependency of Aulax. Other properties associated with this dependency are listed in [29], [30], [31] (possibly), and [34] below.

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- [29] Cooking vessels and tools. See also the washing and cooking utensils mentioned in (28) *Pantokrator* [47].
- [30] Linens and bedding materials. See also the bedding supplies mentioned in (28) *Pantokrator* [37].
- [31] Properties in the regions of Aulax and Kyamites. For a general discussion of the foundation's properties here and elsewhere, see Năsturel, "Recherches," pp. 85–94. Note property acquired from a priest as an entrance gift, with further examples below in [32], [33], [38], and [39].
- [32] Properties beyond Aulax. Many of these properties were evidently donated to the foundation as entrance gifts by the lector Chamelos.
- [33] Properties in Makres Moires and Epizyga. These were primarily properties the author purchased for the foundation's endowment. For the bequest of Epizyga, see also [11] above and [35] below.
- [34] Properties in Aulax at the dependency of St. Prokopios. For this dependency, see also [28] above. Note that the author claims credit for the foundation here but attributes it to the lady Irene in [45] below.
- [35] The dependency of St. Constantine. The monastery's fourth dependency, probably associated with the bequest (entrance gift) of the monk Hilarion (Isaac) discussed above in [11] and [33] and other accessions in Epizyga.
- [36] Properties in Domenaki and Kobena. Many of the properties at Kobena came to the foundation from Athanasia Mangaphaina, including a vineyard [10], [41] and the workshop and mill mentioned here; cf. [40] for the proximity of her properties to the main monastery.
- [37] Olive groves in Rhaos. For olive groves elsewhere in our documents, see (17) *Nikon Metanoieite* [10], (26) *Luke of Messina* [9], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [46], (39) *Lips* [49], (40) *Anargyroi* [4], and (48) *Prodromos* [3], [15]. Olive oil was a staple of the monastic diet, on which a great value was put: see (32) *Mamas* [11] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [11]; it could also be developed as a commercial commodity, as is attested in (15) *Constantine IX* [2].
- [38] Other properties in various locations.
- [39] Description of properties along the imperial highway.
- [40] Boundary delimitation of properties around the monastery. For other boundary delimitations in our documents, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [80] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [145].
- [41] List of vineyards; dependency at the Saints. This is the fifth of the foundation's dependencies, apparently a pre-existing facility. See also the scattered references to vineyards in [2], [10], [33], [35], [40] above and [45] below, as well as elsewhere in our documents: (4) *Stoudios* [A2]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [30]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [9], [10], [53]; (22) *Evergetis*, Appendix; (23) *Pakourianos* [32]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [79], Appendix A; (39) *Lips* [44], [47], [49]; (40) *Anargyroi* [4]; (45) *Neophytos* [10]; (48) *Prodromos* [3], [15]; (49) *Geromeri* [13]; (52) *Choumnos* [A17]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [16]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [121], [122], [123], [124], [135], [142], [145], [159]; (58) *Menoikeion* [12]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [A6]. The increase in such references in documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is noteworthy.
- [42] Liturgical books at the dependency of the Saints. Cf. similar inventories for the main church [24], the dependency of Aulax [28], and an unnamed dependency [27].
- [43] Shared properties in Modi and Heliotopos. For the foundation's relations with the *Nea Mone*, see also [5] above.
- [44] List of wagons and beasts of burden. See also the list of animals in (23) *Pakourianos* [33C].
- [45] Benefactions of the lady Irene. For this benefactor and her husband Phokas, see also [9], [38], and [41] above.
- [46] Curse on transgressors of the *Testament*. For this traditional feature, see (8) *John Xenos* [2], (9) *Galesios* [246], (10) *Eleousa* [19], (18) *Nea Gephyra* [4], (19) *Attaleiates* [23], (22) *Evergetis* [12], (23) *Pakourianos* [18], (24) *Christodoulos* [B14], [C6], (27) *Kecharitomene* [1], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [31], (30) *Phoberos* [33], (31) *Areia* [T12], (32) *Mamas* [4], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [4], (37) *Auxentios* [2], (45) *Neophytos* [22], (49) *Geromeri* [16], and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [24].

36. *Blemmydes: Typikon of Nikephoros Blemmydes for the Monastery of the Lord Christ-Who-Is at Ematha near Ephesos*

Date: 1267¹

Translator: Joseph Munitiz

Editions employed: August Heisenberg, *Nicephori Blemmydae curriculum vitae et carmina* (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 93–99, rev. Ed. Kurtz, *BZ* 6 (1897), 394–410 (for [9], [11], [13]); Joseph A. Munitiz, *Nicephori Blemmydae autobiographia sive curriculum vitae necnon epistula universalior* (= *Corpus Christianorum, series graeca* 13) (Turnhout, 1984), pp. xxx–xxxii (for [1]); Joseph A. Munitiz, “A Missing Chapter from the Typikon of Nikephoros Blemmydes,” *REB* 44 (1986), 199–207, at pp. 204–5 (for [4]).

Manuscripts: Monacensis graecus 225, fols. 369v–373v (14th c.) (for [9], [11], [13]); Romanus Vallicellianus graecus 30 (olim C 4), fol. 388v–389r (14th c.) (for [1])

Other translations: English (of [4] only) in Munitiz, “Missing Chapter,” pp. 205–7.

Institutional History

The controversial Nikephoros Blemmydes, the founder of the monastery, had earlier been superior of the monastery of St. Gregory Thaumaturgos in Ephesos (from ca. 1237). He was also noteworthy in his day as a teacher, among whose students were the Nicaean Emperor Theodore II Laskaris (1254–58) and George Akropolites, father of the author of (46) *Akropolites*. He authored an autobiography, the *Partial Account*, which provides us with most of what is known about the foundation, and may have been drawn up as a kind of extended preface to the *typikon* itself.²

According to Munitiz (*Partial Account*, p. 23), Blemmydes probably began the construction of his monastery in the summer of 1241 during the brief patriarchate of Methodios II. Like most of the activities of our author, who survived no less than four assassination attempts during his life, the foundation of the monastery was controversial. His enemies charged that Blemmydes appropriated assets of the Thaumaturgos monastery for his new private monastery. In his autobiography, Blemmydes rejects the charge, asserting that he had more than ample funds to build the monastery from his own resources.³ The monastery took seven years and nine months to construct—a rare instance in which we have a precise indication of the time required to build such a foundation—during which time Blemmydes remained in his earlier post as superior of the Thaumaturgos monastery.⁴ Munitiz (*Partial Account*, p. 24) reckons that Blemmydes moved to the new foundation in the spring of 1249. The precise location of Blemmydes’ foundation is unknown.⁵ An unnamed emperor and patriarch are said to have confirmed the monastery’s independent status.⁶

Because one chapter [4] of the *typikon* quotes from Blemmydes’ *Partial Account*, Munitiz (*Partial Account*, p. 27) supposes that the *typikon* must date from sometime after the composition of the latter which he dates to April 1267. On the other hand, the *Partial Account* refers to several

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of the possible components of the *typikon*, one of which, the tract “De anima,” is dated in one of its manuscripts to March 1263. Like some other founders, Blemmydes composed a *Testament* at the end of his life. When Patriarch Joseph I (1266–75) came to visit him in 1268, Blemmydes sought his assent to serve as a witness to the document. This was possibly but not certainly a different document from the *typikon*, since several monastic *typika*, including (35) *Skoteine*, are titled testaments. In any event, only a preface is certainly preserved from Blemmydes’ *Testament* today.⁷ Despite Blemmydes’ precaution, Joseph I ignored the monastery’s independent status after the founder’s death and subordinated it, perhaps in 1273, to the neighboring *Galesios* monastery of which the patriarch himself had once been superior.⁸

Analysis

Only excerpted fragments survive of this document, probably due to the fact that Blemmydes’ monastery was unable to maintain its independence after his death. Three brief tracts entitled “On Faith,” “On Virtue,” and “On the Soul” that enjoyed an independent circulation may once have been part of the *typikon*.⁹ The chapter on the foundation’s independence, here assigned the arbitrary chapter number [1], may actually be a fragment of the author’s *Testament*, the preface of which is preserved separately.¹⁰ As Munitiz (“Missing Chapter,” p. 199) has observed, sorting out all the fragments would require considerable research into their respective manuscript traditions. Inevitably the fragments present only a very incomplete picture of the foundation, though sufficient to show the author’s idiosyncratic and generally rigorist outlook on problems of monastic discipline. The possibility cannot be excluded, however, that the overall tone of the entire document was somewhat more traditional.

Like most of the earlier authors of the Evergetian tradition, our author here was disposed to reject claims of episcopal supervision [1] and to resort to appeals to canon law and patristic precedent [9], [11] to support his arguments. Other provisions, such as the institutionalization of monastic ranks [9] and even his surprising eagerness to admit children as novices [9], were foreshadowed in (34) *Machairas*.¹¹ Still other disciplinary regulations branch out in new directions: the discouragement of the evening meal [11], an unwillingness to dispense with fasting on feasts of the Lord or to refute heretics [11], a hostility to sung prayers [13], and a requirement that the monks conduct [13] all liturgical services while standing.

A. Lives of the Monks

1. Liturgical Duties

Blemmydes provides that the monks’ liturgical prayers should be recited [13] while standing and in a moderate tone, but not be sung. Our author considers singing to be a pleasurable practice, excusable for public performances of the liturgy “as it dispels sluggishness and drives away laziness” but unsuitable for ascetics. The author of (54) *Neilos Damilas* [12] was another—but less stringent—liturgical conservative in these matters. At Blemmydes’ foundation, not even the sick and the old were to sit down, except for the readings. Those who were unable to stand were to leave the church to rest lest they be seen by the rest of the congregation. Blemmydes shares [4] the concern of the author of (34) *Machairas* [40], [41] for the purity of the eucharistic bread.

2. Length of the Novitiate

Our author sets [9] the ordinary length of the novitiate at three years, specifically a year wearing black vestments and two wearing the cassock. Those near death could be given tonsure immediately. Citing a canonical precedent, the author was willing to admit candidates for tonsure as young as ten years of age. Moreover, his quotation from a Justinianic novel implies that parental consent would not be required for such an admission, nor could the parents reclaim custody of their child. The author claims to have trained many young candidates who turned out to be virtuous monks. Therefore, such applicants were not to be rejected on account of their educational needs, the effort to gain custody of them, or for fear of scandal. For the young the author prescribes a lengthy novitiate, wearing black vestments until age twelve, then at least seven years wearing [novice's] rags until they reached the age of twenty.

As our author was aware, there was a late antique tradition (endorsed by Basil of Caesarea in [LR 15], [LR 53]) of educating youths, particularly orphans, at monasteries with an eye towards subsequent recruitment. This tradition lay mostly dormant in the earlier Byzantine era, though (23) *Pakourianos* [31] shows it being observed towards the end of the eleventh century. More recently, the authors of both (34) *Machairas* [115] and (45) *Neophytos* [115] had refused to take in lay youths for instruction, although the latter had himself had become a monk [3], [4], against his parents' wishes, at age eighteen, and the former was willing to train youths to be monks. Moreover, our author's contemporary, Maximos, the author of (35) *Skoteine* [7], had been tonsured at a young age.

3. Diet

Blemmydes recommends [11] only a single meal at noontime, although both the Studite tradition and the more conservative documents in the Evergetian tradition provided (minimally) for two meals daily on non-fast days.¹² As in (37) *Auxentios* [10] and (45) *Neophytos* [C4], additional self-imposed dietary restrictions are encouraged. The weak were to be allowed to partake of a second meal of "whatever happens to be available," but our author reasserts his personal preference for eating "a single very frugal meal daily."

Unlike the authors of (22) *Evergetis* [11] and of the rest of the documents in the Evergetian tradition, Blemmydes is unwilling to allow [11] a relaxation of fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays "on the pretext of celebrating feasts of the Lord," nor for the purpose of "refuting the nonsense of heretics." The latter may refer to the Armenians (so-called "Artzibourians"), in reaction to whose dietary practices during Cheesefare and Meatfare weeks several founders of the late eleventh and early thirteenth centuries endorsed a contrary diet.¹³ Our author prescribes that the diet on Wednesday and Friday fast days should be "taken without olive oil," but drinking wine will be allowed because of scriptural endorsement. Cumin- or fennel-flavored water was to be made available [11] as well; it is identified here for the first time in our documents as an aid against flatulence.

4. Clothing

Much more explicitly than either (34) *Machairas* [102] or (45) *Neophytos* [15], our author endorses [9] the institution of gradations of monastic garb, but, like the author of (9) *Galesios* [130], he considers them to be a recent corruption of "ancient tradition."

B. Constitutional Matters

1. Institutional Independence

The author provides [1] for the independence of this foundation. He was most worried about the various officials of the public church system, i.e., the agents of the patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops. Their inspectors and visitors were not to have either a general or a particular right of entry, nor was there to be any external investigation or correction of spiritual failings such as the contemporary author of (35) *Skoteine* [20] was willing to allow. This was an especially bold and forthright rejection of rights of the ecclesiastical hierarchy upheld by Basil II for bishops and metropolitans at the end of the tenth century and by Alexios I Komnenos for the patriarch at the end of the eleventh century.¹⁴ Most of the authors of the documents in the Evergetian tradition generally just ignore these rights of the hierarchy, probably regarding it as a potential threat to the independence of their foundations (but cf. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [4], [41], [111]).

2. Role of the Superior

Blemmydes forthrightly makes [1] the superior solely responsible for the care of the brotherhood “as it is he who will render an account of his leadership” to God himself.

3. Correction of the Superior

In the event that the superior should lapse into heresy, our author provides [1] that he will be admonished by “the educated members of the brotherhood”; should he persist, the emperor will order him to be tried by the (patriarchal) synod under canon law. This procedure should not be used, however, as a pretext for the superior’s unjust removal from office.

4. Patronal Privileges

The author may also have included [1] an injunction to the monks to commemorate his memory as the monastery’s founder.

Notes on the Introduction

1. For dating, see Munitiz, *Partial Account*, pp. 27–28.
2. *Diegesis merike* 2.45–49, ed. Munitiz, *Autobiographia*, pp. 65–67, and trans. *Partial Account*, pp. 116–19; for its relationship to the *typikon*, see *Partial Account*, p. 4.
3. *Diegesis merike* 2.46, ed. Munitiz, *Autobiographia*, p. 66.
4. *Diegesis merike* 2.48, ed. Munitiz, *Autobiographia*, p. 67.
5. Munitiz, *Partial Account*, p. 116, n. 73.
6. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1823, and Munitiz, *Partial Account*, p. 118, n. 78, suggest the emperor was Blemmydes’ pupil Theodore II Laskaris, who at this time would have been acting as co-ruler with his father John III Doukas Vatatzes (1222–54). The patriarch may have been Manuel II (1243–54).
7. Ed. with English translation by Browning, *Prooimia*, pp. 24–25.
8. Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1405, based on Pachymeres, 5.2, ed. A. Failler, *Georges Pachymérès, Relations historiques*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1984), p. 441.
9. *De anima*, *De fide*, and *De virtute et ascési*; according to Stiernon, “Blemmydès,” p. 196, based on J. Iriarte, *Regiae Bibliothecae Matritensis codices graeci manuscripti*, vol. 1 (Madrid, 1769), pp. 197–200, their presence in the original *typikon* was attested by a now lost manuscript of Blemmydes’ work in the Escorial library, but cf. Munitiz, “Missing Chapter,” pp. 199–200. These tracts are also mentioned in Blemmydes’ *Diegesis merike* 2.75, ed. Munitiz, *Autobiographia*, p. 79.

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10. For this excerpt, see Munitiz, *Autobiographia*, pp. xxx–xxxi, with n. 55, and *Partial Account*, p. 3, n. 14, and p. 116, n. 23.
11. Monastic ranks: (34) *Machairas* [50], [102], [148]; younger student-novices: [115].
12. (4) *Stoudios* [29]; (22) *Evergetis* [9], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [24], (30) *Phoberos* [24], and (34) *Machairas* [66].
13. Cf. (20) *Black Mountain* [90], (32) *Mamas* [18], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19], (34) *Machairas* [78].
14. Basil II, *Peri ton dynaton* (996) (*JGR* 3.314); Alexios I Komnenos, *De jure patriarchae* (1096) (*JGR* 3.408).

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As noted above, the author of this *typikon* quotes without attribution from his own autobiographical *Partial Account*. In our translation, his borrowings are indicated in boldface type.

Translation

[Chapter 1:] Concerning the monastery¹ being free from anyone’s hand.

More than any other thing I have set first, and tried to ensure in preference to all else, that the sacred foundation dedicated to the Lord Christ-Who-Is should be self-governing and free from any hierarchical hand. This is the foundation for which I have taken quite excessive pains, the haunt of bears, wolves and sometimes even leopards, which I have built up by much sweat and toil into a dwelling place for holy men.² Therefore I stipulate that no loophole therein should belong to any patriarchal, [p. xxxi] metropolitan, or episcopal official, nor to anyone belonging to the administration or clerical staff of any church, not even an archimandrite or delegate, not to any visitor or inspector, whether general or particular.

As an overall principle there should never be any investigation or correction of the spiritual failings here by an outsider, but I ordain that all the care for this brotherhood should be borne solely by their leader. Let him be the one to direct the followers, to inspect their actions, to carry out any investigation, to correct any misdemeanors, as it is he who will render account of his leadership.

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But should he adopt some erroneous opinion through ignorance, or incur some fault of conduct that is not of mortal importance, after a first, a second and even a third remonstrance by the educated members of the brotherhood, if he does not amend, then it is just that he be judged by the synod, at the emperor's order, and brought to his senses by canon law, once the case has been referred by his fellow ascetics. However if somebody under the influence of some passion brings an unjust sentence against him, let him be sentenced to consignment in the fire of hell on the day of God's just judgment, and may the same befall anyone who deliberately tries to spoil in any way the efforts I have consecrated to the Lord.

Since it is I who have stipulated and ensured that the sacred foundation and house of contemplation be self-governing, it is necessary that at the divine ceremonies the commemoration should be made instead of "In the first place . . .³ [p. 204]

Chapter 4: The bread, wine and incense offered to God.

As for the things for the holy altar, those offered to God, [are] superior to others, I shall treat of those first. Indeed as for the breads that are provided for the Feeder of all, and are to become the body of the Master, which admits no filth of any sort, let them be as clean as possible; and let the wine be choice, as it is to be rendered into the most honored blood of the Lord. The incense should be composed out of eagle-wood and ordinary black incense, the latter being preeminent among all to be found, because the Lord, of whom the incense is a type, [consists] not of one nature but of the highest divinity and common humanity, the latter being without blemish and mixture, indeed of one composite person, he who offered himself "on your behalf, a fragrant offering" (Eph. 5:2 from Exod. 29:18) as priest, and as God received himself along with the Father and the Son.

However the incense, being a type, remains a type, whereas the bread, while on the one hand it is to be consecrated and is laid upon the altar in place of the body of the Master, and in this sense it may be called a counter-type of that body, and the wine of the blood, yet on the other hand after the most sacred and awe-inspiring invocation of the rite, and after the three-fold signing upon them of the cross, they surpass the [role of] counter-type and attain that strangest of perfections, the bread being made into the very body of the Lord beyond sense perception, and the wine mixed with water being made in a similar manner into the blood of the same Lord and God.

[= Blemmydes, *Partial Account* 2.66, ed. lines 7–19]: **Indeed, because the wine was not neat, the pair of divine liturgists⁴ were at pains to speak accurately. They do not call it "wine," but by the expressions they used make it clear that it was the very drink to which we are accustomed, undoubtedly wine mixed with water. As the word "cup" denotes in turn two things—the content which is drunk is termed the "cup," and also the instrument itself, in which is contained the drink, is customarily called the "cup"—the two fathers divided between them these two meanings of the word: one applied the word to the content,⁵ the other to the container.⁶ Both have spoken explicitly of the bread as "bread," but they did not want to call the second of the offerings "wine" in order to forestall the impression that it was unmixed.**

[= Blemmydes, *Partial Account* 2.64]: **Since for a rational animal the most important and most appropriate of all solid foods is bread, and of the liquid foods the most beneficial for such a creature is wine, as it is transformed most quickly by the natural processes into blood, and since moreover it is well known that the generation of the blood and the development of**

the flesh are produced by the foodstuffs, when the Lord wanted to unite us to himself, he gave us bread to eat which he himself ate, having altered it into his own flesh. [It was] as if this bread, eaten by the Lord, digested by him, made into the body's juices, distributed once more, made into his blood, added to him, had been rendered into the flesh of the Lord himself by adventitious growth and resemblance.

[= Blemmydes, *Partial Account* 2.65]: **But all these are nature's processes, and the creator of nature, he who gave her the power to function, cut short these multiple paths and transformed the bread, without a passage of time, [p. 205] in supernatural fashion, even before eating it, into his own flesh, not into a part of his flesh, but into its very entirety. Even after the partition of the bread, it was his good pleasure that each single part should be the whole of his flesh, and that all the parts should be one and the same flesh. That is why we receive the whole Christ in the mysteries, each can take the whole into himself, and can mingle with the whole, and dwell in Christ, and Christ in him (cf. John 6:56), even though Christ is wholly in each. He is one and the same without division in all.**

[= Blemmydes, *Partial Account* 2.64, ed. lines 1–7]: **He also provided us with the wine to drink, which he himself had drunk and in the manner in which he had drunk, obviously mixed with water and not neat. Here also, before drinking it, he changed it into his own blood in a way that is wonderful, inexpressible and divine. The One who "sustains all things by the word of his power" (cf. Heb. 1:3) can perform all things by simple authority when he so wishes, bringing some things out of non-being, and transforming other things in a way beyond our grasp. [p. 93]**

Chapter 9: The candidates for the monastic life.

Those who come to the monastery with the intention of adopting the monastic life should be received, provided they are at least ten years old, on condition that they appear to have the type of character that is suitable for a life consecrated to God. The fortieth canon of the Sixth Ecumenical Council stipulates: Anyone who wishes to take upon himself the monastic yoke should not be under ten years of age.⁷ Therefore such candidates should not be sent away because of their extreme youth, nor should their own parents be allowed to drag them away by force. Nor does the civil law permit this: "We forbid," it says, "that parents remove their own children from holy monasteries when the children have chosen the monastic life."⁸

Children should be accepted and everything possible should be done for their care; anyone who teaches them to live according to Christ becomes the mouthpiece of Christ. In general, those who have learned the rudiments of the spiritual life from a tender age [p. 94] are found to be more adept than the others, just as we see happening in all other professions and branches of science. However they should be trained with great sobriety and educated to practice self-discipline in the use of food, sleep, conversation, custody of the eyes, and all else that pertains to this virtue. They should not be too forward either with one another, or with their elders, nor ever enter [another] cell. They should live apart, but should not form private groups. They should always be where they can be seen, and they should keep to themselves. They should be trained in quick understanding and in asceticism. Earlier they should have agreed to renounce completely all intercourse and contact with their parents and other relatives.

I have known many such candidates, whom I trained in this way with the help of God, reach

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very high grades of virtue and perfection, and an exceptional self-control, both in word and action. Even their natural impulses were restrained thanks to constant exhortations, reprimands, and all sorts of instruction. When were they ever plagued by foul language, which everyone recognizes to be a sure way of separating the user from God the Holy, and of enrolling him among the dirty demons? They were all extremely pure in speech and conduct. They were also humble, acknowledging in humility the root of all the virtues, and truthful, having learned that all falsehood comes from the Evil One (cf. John 8:44). They had been led gently and without great efforts to eschew all swearing, in pursuance of the Lord's most gentle command (cf. Matt. 5:34). They constantly showed by their deeds that they loved to obey and serve not only their tutor, but also one another. They were cut off from the world and from those of the world. They were masters of their hunger and appetite, accustomed to sleep on the ground or on hard beds superior to all pampering of the flesh. They had learned to reject in a spirit of pure poverty all preoccupation about what they were wearing. [p. 95] They had banished from among them as utterly hateful all evil-minded rivalry, which breeds enmities, but welcomed a healthy one as praiseworthy for the mutual affection it engenders—not that they competed with one another for individual progress in virtue, but rather that they urged one another on towards the good. Their mutual esteem was such that each considered his companion completely superior to himself in all respects.

It is obviously a good thing for a man to take upon himself the yoke of virtue in his youth. Therefore one should conscientiously accept such youths and not turn them away because of the work required for their education and custody, nor because of the danger that may arise if one is lazy or negligent. On their innocent hearts, which are pure as fresh new writing tablets, one should inscribe with great diligence the different letters and signs that constitute salvation, out of respect for the Savior and Teacher, the one common to us all, or at least out of fear of the account to be demanded of us.

During the first period, these very young candidates should only be required to wear black, until each has passed his twelfth birthday. Then, once that preliminary training is ended, let them start wearing the [novice's] rags, unless they have given signs of being more attracted to the pleasures of the world and are not suitable to make a complete renouncement. They are to be well tested during the rags period for at least seven years. Then if they have shown that they are worthy of the monastic habit, they may elect to adopt the full garb, provided they are at least twenty years old.

As for adult candidates, who have attained mental maturity and who present themselves at the monastery, let them wear black for one year, then adopt the [novice's] rags for two more. After this three-year period, they can don the monastic habit if they so wish, provided they have shown themselves worthy of the garb.

I have laid down [p. 96] these norms on the supposition that no special danger is foreseen. When death is imminent the holy habit will be granted without delay to those who are leaving this world. The monastic garb itself, if one considers the matter objectively, allows no difference of grades, even though the speculations of recent thinkers have debased the ancient tradition on this point. Therefore if some candidates are chary of the trials involved by a complete renunciation, and are not ready to don the habit because of the vows that impose such trials, they can continue as wearers of the [novice's] rags until they have reached the appropriate grade of courage and full

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spiritual vigor required for the spiritual and sacred exercise undertaken in the hope of gaining the prize, and until they are fulfilling all the obligations of the vows even before they have taken them.

Chapter 11: The nourishment of the ascetics.

Once a day at the sixth hour the table should be punctually and appropriately prepared with every possible care for the brethren. Those who prefer, out of a sense of devout self-discipline, to refrain from the more substantial foods, should not be impeded nor disregarded in any way. Let a regime be prepared for them that will be as they wish. Hot water should also be made available for those who wish to drink it, and some cumin or fennel added.⁹ The first is good against flatulence and prevents the development of wind in the stomach; the second not only has this property, but in addition it has the virtue of making one somehow more alert. Both, when served heated to the third degree, cause no dehydration. They are most helpful, especially fennel, which can be made not only from the seeds but also from the stalks and foliage. Cold water can be harmful for people who drink it constantly, [p. 97] if they do not boast very strong stomachs.

I have learned that among the ascetics it was the custom to eat only once a day, and thus I follow the ancient norm of men who were famous in the ascetic life. However I have consideration for those who are not strong enough to do this and I give them permission to eat a second time in the evening from whatever happens to be available. As instead of long fasts a single very frugal daily meal was preferred by the early fathers, in the sense that satiety and repletion were to be avoided, I agree with this advice of the fathers, and although I impose no obligation, I approve of the monks eating one meal a day with restraint. Such a way of life drives away all self-conceit and provides the body with the strength needed for spiritual activities.

I do not agree with those people who say that occasionally Wednesday and Friday should be counted as a Saturday and Sunday from the point of view of eating well, on the pretext of celebrating the Lord's feast days and refuting the nonsense of heretics. But we who belong to God have been taught that the divine feasts are to be celebrated by the spiritual, rather than corporeal, delights. I have also heard that the fasts of the heretics occur not just on Wednesdays and Fridays, but during the whole of certain weeks during which the Wednesdays and Fridays have been specially distinguished by certain people in some mysterious manner. Among us at any rate let the nourishment on Wednesdays and Fridays continue to be taken cooked without olive oil; but the use of wine is permitted. The latter will ensure a certain bodily well-being—because what is more suitable for rejoicing the heart of man than wine? (cf. Ps. 103 [104]:15) and the apostolic rule¹⁰ concerning Wednesday and Friday will be rigorously observed without any quibbling. [p. 98]

Chapter 13: The recitation of prayers to God without sung hymns and the perfect order to be observed in the church.

Those who have dedicated themselves completely to the God who brought them into being, those who have rejected all things of the world for love of Him who has selected them out of the world, those who have chosen a life in the Lord which is superior to the world, all these should be recognized to be superior to the majority of mortals, and they should lead a life which is more lofty than the usual or the conventional. Those who are named after contemplation¹¹ and who

labor in asceticism are to abandon completely all thought and endeavor for what is pleasurable, and should strive to advance straight and true towards God, given up purely and utterly to his adoration in thought, word and deed. In consequence, let them not hanker after the use of hymns and singing for their prayers, with tunes and the varieties of tones; not because such singing is always to be rejected—for it is surely to be permitted when there are celebrations in public. It is most suitable for a congregation, and especially for the weaker among them, as it dispels sluggishness and drives away laziness, and greatly contributes to arouse attention—but simply because the better is to be preferred to the good, and the more honorable to the honorable. For those who are fervent the most suitable is to strive and struggle with all the unadulterated tension of one's soul towards the Lord, without any distraction of pleasure and relying on spiritual happiness alone and on the joy of compunction. [p. 99]

In the recitation of the hymns and prayers the voice should be neither too low, as if one were on the point of expiring, nor too loud, as if one wanted to crack the vocal chords: moderation is praiseworthy everywhere and in every way. There should be no talking, even if it may seem to be very useful, at any moment during the singing and appeal to the Lord. All common chatter, that is not concerned completely with God, should also be excluded from the most holy church during the intervals. Nobody may remain seated while reciting the holy, sacred office.

It is well known that some in fact nearly all [monks], are accustomed to chant the so-called “*kathismata*” from a seated position, but here everyone should be standing when he recites anything holy and sacred, and nobody may sit down, except at the moment of a reading, even though he be very old or very sick. If anybody is incapable of standing, because he is old or sick or weakened by illness, he should leave the church, when he is absolutely forced to sit down, and he should take a little rest, but avoiding being seen by the congregation.

Nobody should move about in the church while the service is being performed, unless he is absolutely required to do so by the sacred ordo at the moment of the readings alone. A perfect order should be observed, both in the church and in all the holy monastery, by all members of this most holy community of ascetics and contemplatives.

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The translation has been slightly adapted from those previously published in order to fit the conventions of our edition.

1. The term used here is *hesychasterion*.
2. Cf. similar language in the *Diegesis merike* 2.45, ed. Munitiz, *Autobiographia*, p. 65.
3. End of the text for this chapter; the remainder of the page is left blank in the manuscript.
4. John Chrysostom and Basil of Caesarea.
5. Liturgy of St. Basil, ed. F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (London, 1896), 405.
6. Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. 387.
7. *C. Trull.*(692), c. 40 (R&P 2.398).
8. *NJ* 41.
9. For cumin-flavored drinks at part of the Lenten diet, see (4) *Stoudios* [30]; (22) *Evergetis* [10]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [47]; (28) *Pantokrator* [12]; (29) *Kosomosoteira* [25], [26]; (30) *Phoberos* [28]; and (34) *Machairas* [67].

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10. Cf. *Constitutiones apostolorum* 5.20.18; 8.47.69, ed. F. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, vol. 1 (Paderborn, 1905), pp. 299–301, 584–85.
11. *hesychia*.

Document Notes

- [1] Institutional independence; no external investigations or corrections; superior to be judged by the (patriarchal) synod; commemoration of (the founder?). See the declarations of institutional independence in (22) *Evergetis* [12] and related documents; for similar conceptions of monastic “independence” in post-reform institutions, see (37) *Auxentios* [2] and (35) *Skoteine* [20]. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [4], [41], [111] actually welcomes resolutions of internal disputes by the ecclesiastical authorities while (35) *Skoteine* [17], [20] readily concedes to them the right to conduct spiritual investigations.
- [4] Purity of the sacramental elements, incense. (34) *Machairas* [40] and (59) *Manuel II* [9], cf. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [85], likewise show a sensitivity to the purity of the sacramental bread. For Blemmydes’ use of his eucharistic discourse to the Armenians (*Diegesis merike* 2.64–66, ed. Munitiz, *Autobiographia*, pp. 33–34) in this chapter, see Munitiz, *Partial Account*, pp. 7–8.
- [9] Age of candidates for tonsure; disciplinary rules for youths; length of the novitiate for adults; critique of the gradations of monastic garb. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 15, 53 ([LR 15], [LR 53]), *PG* 31, cols. 952–57, 1041–44, also encourages the education of youth within his monastery. The fact that Blemmydes had been accused of the practice of homosexuality early in his clerical career heightens the sensitivity of these provisions; see *Diegesis merike* 1.14, 21, ed. Munitiz, *Autobiographia*, pp. 9, 13, with Munitiz, *Partial Account*, pp. 10, 51 n. 32. For the three-year novitiate, see (22) *Evergetis* [37] and related documents. For the hierarchy of monastic garments, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [12], (4) *Stoudios* [A2], (9) *Galesios* [130], (34) *Machairas* [102], and (45) *Neophytos* [15]. A portion of this chapter (paragraphs 5, 6 and part of 7) is also cited by the sixteenth century Athonite monk Pachomios Rhousanos; see Bees, “Klosterregeln,” pp. 119–20, with Munitiz, *Partial Account*, p. 4, n. 15.
- [11] Dietary regulations. (55) *Athanasios I* [4] also rejects breaking fast days for the celebration of feasts; cf. the sympathetic discussion in (20) *Black Mountain* [52], [53]. For an example of a special diet to refute heretics, see (20) *Black Mountain* [38], [55]; (30) *Phoberos* [19]; (32) *Mamas* [19]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19]; and (34) *Machairas* [78]. (20) *Black Mountain*, (37) *Auxentios* [10], and (45) *Neophytos* [C4] also lend their approval to additional voluntary ascetic observances.
- [13] Regulation of liturgical services. (54) *Neilos Damilas* [12] is hostile to the influence of secular music on liturgical services. (55) *Athanasios I* [4] is likewise concerned with posture during services; (11) *Ath. Rule* [20] forbids the use of staffs and footstools in church, while (9) *Galesios* [139] permits the former and (22) *Evergetis* [4] and related documents permit the latter.

37. *Auxentios*: *Typikon* of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the Monastery of the Archangel Michael on Mount Auxentios near Chalcedon

Date: 1261–1280/81¹

Translator: George Dennis

Edition employed: Aleksei Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rykopisei*, vol. 1: *Typika*, pt. 1 (Kiev, 1895), pp. 769–94.

Manuscript: Codex 85, nunc 79, Theological School, Halki, now in the Patriarchal Library, Istanbul (1749)

Other translations: None

Institutional History

Mount Auxentios (modern Kayisdag) was located in the Asiatic suburbs of Constantinople, about seven miles southeast of Chalcedon.² It was the site of many monastic foundations since its namesake, St. Auxentios, a fifth-century Syrian monk, took up residence in a cave on the mountain during the reign of Marcian (450–457).³

One of the later foundations was a monastery of the Holy Apostles (Sts. Peter and Paul),⁴ whose superior, Leontios Theotokites, became patriarch of Constantinople in 1189.⁵ The present *typikon* states [1] that Michael VIII's grandfather Alexios Palaiologos, who was the son-in-law of Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203), restored a monastery on Mount Auxentios that is usually identified with this foundation.⁶

A brief dedicatory poem addressed to the foundation's new patron, St. Michael the Archangel, indicates that the monastery was ruined during the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61).⁷ The dating of the monastery's rebuilding in honor of this new patron and of the composition of the *typikon* is problematic. On the evidence of the *typikon*, both occurred after the Greek reconquest of Constantinople in 1261. While the *typikon* contains a number of references to Michael VIII's career up to this event, there are none to any later events, and the author's address [16] to an unnamed patriarch of Constantinople seems to presume the latter's recent restoration to his traditional see.

On June 29, 1282, Michael VIII's son, the co-emperor Andronikos II, and Patriarch John IX Bekkos (1275–82) assisted at the celebration of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul (the previous patrons?) at the monastery.⁸ As Pargoire ("Saint-Auxence," p. 561) realized long ago, this event is the only fixed point of chronology for the monastery. Thanks to it, we know only that the monastery was in existence at that date, but not when it was rebuilt, much less when the *typikon* was written for it.

There is only one additional fact known about the foundation after the founder's death in 1282, namely that its superior continued to defend Michael VIII's unionist policy of reconciliation with the Roman church after it had been condemned by the Council of Blachernae in April 1283.⁹

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We do not know when the monastery was abandoned, but it is unlikely to have survived the Turkish conquest of Chalcedon in 1350.

Analysis

A. General Characteristics

1. Utility for Understanding Imperial Patronage

Despite Michael VIII's proclamation [2] of the monastery's independent status, the *typikon* provides some insight on patronal rights in a more traditional imperial monastery. Some other founders of the thirteenth century, like the authors of (35) *Skoteine* [20] and (36) *Blemmydes* [1], were also applying the "independent and self-governing" status as an utilitarian overlay on various earlier forms of organization for Byzantine monasteries without necessarily making the significant structural changes of the sort that once seemed necessary, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, for the sake of ideological consistency.

2. Influence of Earlier *Typika*

The emperor follows [8], [10] the trend, observable in (35) *Skoteine* [12], (39) *Lips* [30], and (45) *Neophytos* [12], [C4], of simply incorporating an endorsement of a liturgical *typikon*, (usually of St. Sabas) in lieu of detailed treatments of liturgy, diet, or both. In other respects, this document could be said to be neo-Evergetian, given the large number of usages and even a few similarities of diction shared with (22) *Evergetis* though there are no actual quotations.¹⁰

3. Original Contributions

In terms of its new materials, the dissonant philosophical content of this document is remarkable, and forms a striking contrast to the precedent-centered outlook of those texts drawn up in the Evergetian tradition. We are told that "slavery is a violent intrusion of tribal law into our lives" [2], that the use of counsel and persuasion is preferable to the use of force [3], that the accumulation of wealth by monasteries is morally indefensible while others live in poverty [9], that it is "not a good idea" for a superior to rule arbitrarily [9], and that generations of rulers have a continuing obligation to honor their predecessors' pious benefactions [15]. Among the monastic *typika*, only (22) *Evergetis* dares to make a similarly bold defense of its author's program, and it is arguable that no other *typikon* challenges so many conventional Byzantine attitudes.

B. Lives of the Monks

1. Number of Monks

There were to be [6] not more than forty monks at this foundation, including sixteen assigned to the performance of liturgy and twenty-four for other services. The latter were to be assigned at the superior's discretion to tasks both inside the monastery and outside in the fields. However, even those assigned to work outside were to attend liturgical services as much as possible, while those devoted to hymnody could also be assigned chores. The emperor rationalizes this unusually flexible deployment of monastic personnel thusly: "my majesty wants everyone to be exercised in obedience."

Aside from the superior himself, the following officials [7] of the monastery are identified: the steward, the ecclesiarch, the treasurer, the cellarer and the provisioner.

2. Liturgical Duties

The ecclesiarch was to supervise [7] the sixteen monks assigned [6] to liturgical duties. The daily and nightly psalmody was to follow [8] the Palestinian model (i.e., the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas) with the exception of the Sunday night vigils, “for it is not possible for those who have been working hard all day to spend the night singing psalms.” Perhaps the expectation that even monks dedicated to liturgical duties should perform [6] some manual labor obliged the emperor to make this concession. The patronal feast of the Archangel Michael, celebrated on November 8, was to be celebrated [14] in splendid fashion along with monks from neighboring monasteries. Memorial services [13] for departed monks were another important responsibility that the emperor interprets as a kind of intergenerational contractual responsibility of the existing monks to their predecessors. Records of those to be commemorated were kept in two sets of diptychs, one kept in the monastery’s library and the other by the ecclesiarch, presumably in the sacristy. The monks were also obliged to conduct daily and annual memorial services for the members of the Palaiologan family who had patronized the monastery over three generations.

3. Manual Labor

The twenty-four monks devoted to manual labors received [6] their assignments from the superior, but many worked [7] under the general supervision of the treasurer, who provided them with the materials needed for their work assignments and collected the products of their labor. Other agricultural laborers (some of whom may have been laymen) were under the steward’s supervision. Specific workers mentioned in the *typikon* include [7] cooks, bakers, farmers, gardeners, vine-dressers, cowhands, shepherds and gatekeepers. The emperor provides [7], cf. [12] for a periodic rotation of assignments, as his wife did later in (39) *Lips* [17]. Those undertaking heavy manual labors were to receive [7] extra allotments of clothing.

4. Length of the Novitiate

The emperor considers [12] a novitiate of six months to be sufficient to determine a candidate’s suitability for enrollment as a tonsured monk. This is a return to the short novitiate initially advocated by (22) *Evergetis* [37], but which had steadily fallen into disfavor during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as succeeding founders, even those in the Evergetian tradition, generally favored longer novitiates. Also, while documents in the Evergetian tradition usually instruct the superior to test applicants by assigning them to tasks suited to their abilities, the emperor here provides that they must be “exercised in every service in the community” regardless of their rank in secular society.

5. Coexistence of Cenobitic and Hesychastic Lifestyles

Although the emperor declares [11] that living in common is “the law of nature,” and that sharing is enjoined by God himself, he was willing to allow the superior to settle a number of monks as solitaries in their own cells in so far as the monastery’s resources should permit. Thus he endorses the recent trend (cf. (34) *Machairas* [152] and (45) *Neophytos* [17]) away from the indifference or active hostility towards non-cenobitic monasticism that was a feature of the Evergetian tradition

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in the twelfth century. The emperor and like-minded founders of the thirteenth century were returning, therefore, to pre-Evergetian conditions of the tenth and eleventh centuries during which time a monk's elevation to the status of a solitary was seen as a deserved reward for especially virtuous living. The emperor intended that the monastery should supply the hesychast solitaries with clothing and footgear, but that they should not be allowed to be a financial burden on the foundation.

For the rest of the monks, the emperor bans [5] private possessions and orders that they be content with the communally provided food and clothing. He announces [7] the termination of the previous practice in this institution of paying a stipend (*roga*) to each monk, which he denounces as "a craze for gold" and "at variance with the monastic manner of life" (cf. the clothing and bathing allowances in (32) *Mamas* [28]). As usual for most documents of this era (but cf. (60) *Charsianeites* [B3]), there is no attempt to defend the cenobitic lifestyle as being morally superior to the alternatives. The emperor's specifications for the articles of clothing that the monastery would provide to each monk suggest [7] equal treatment for all. As in the Evergetian tradition, no new clothing was to be issued until the old items were returned.

6. Diet

The emperor refers [10] to the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas for the regulation of the monks' diet, for fast and non-fast days as well as for feasts of the Lord and those of the Mother of God. This may indicate he preferred to take a stricter approach to the interruption of fasts to celebrate feast days that was a common feature of Evergetian dietary provisions (cf. (36) *Blemmydes* [11]). Some of the emperor's supplementary regulations follow Evergetian usages, however, including his provision of discretionary authority for the superior to relax fasting for the old, the sick, (and here) hard laborers, and his injunction to observe silence at meals so that the readings can be heard. His encouragement of additional self-imposed dietary restrictions was in keeping with the increasingly rigorist spirit of the times.

C. Constitutional Matters

1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

The emperor proclaims [2] the independence of his monastery in a chapter that provides an updated list of threats to institutional autonomy, specifically the protectorate (*ephoreia*), supervision (*epiteresis*), and union (*henosis*) with another monastery (i.e., as a dependency) and all other forms of overlordship "which may [be made to] seem more respectable by being called 'solitude.'" Clearly the emperor's greatest concern was that future public officials, either of the church or the imperial government, might seize ("nationalize," to use a not inappropriate modern term) the foundation, supposedly for its own well-being.

The emperor provides a modern ideological justification for institutional independence on the grounds that "freedom ought to be greatly prized and is clearly the most important thing of all for intelligent people" while "slavery is harmful and oppressive." Joined to this ideological justification is the emperor's practical observation that "monasteries that are self-governing are more flourishing and self-sufficient than those that are subject to various individuals" who are said to siphon off their revenues and exploit the properties "as if they were their own."

2. Leadership

On the grounds that it is “customary and proper for those erecting monasteries and settling a community of monks in them to establish very capable protectors for them,” the emperor designates [16] the patriarch (unnamed) as the monastery’s guardian (*epitropos*). The emperor envisioned the patriarch and his successors upholding the monastery’s interests to his own successors on the imperial throne and seeing to it that none of the monastery’s properties was alienated.

For practical purposes, the monastery was to administer [2] itself under the direction of the superior and the leading monks selected for their age, learning, and piety. As a group they were to be accountable to no one except to God himself. Should the superior be remiss in fulfilling his obligations, however, these same monks were to admonish [5] him privately or, if a standoff should develop, bring the matter to the attention of the emperor for his aid in effecting a reconciliation.

In a passage that echoes some of the procedures and language found in (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14], the emperor provides [3] for the election of the superior “with the participation of the entire brotherhood,” provided that they can agree on one candidate. Orthodox beliefs, ordination, and modesty are included among the qualifications for office. As in (32) *Mamas* [1], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1], and (35) *Skoteine* [17] (though not (34) *Machairas* [148]), an outside candidate (a *xenokourites*) was eligible for election, but such a superior must uphold the *typikon* without change, seeing that “it is not uncommon that a man brought in from outside, once he has assumed authority, might like to change the regulations and substitute them with those he knows from previous experience.” Should the brotherhood lack a consensus candidate, it was to refer the election to the ruling emperor, who would designate a new superior on his own.

The superior was responsible [7] for appointing the other officials of the monastery. They were to be selected on the basis of their expertise in the management of the foundation’s movable and immovable properties. As in (22) *Evergetis* [32], they would enjoy lifetime tenure of office—unless promoted or removed for poor work or dishonesty. The monks were not to quarrel [5] over who was assigned particular positions.

3. Style of Rule

The emperor asserts [9] that “even though the superior is allowed to do what he wants without the consent of the others, still it is not a good idea.” Therefore, the superior should govern in consultation with the monastery’s senior officials, being particularly careful in this respect regarding matters of financial administration. Elsewhere, the emperor urges [4] the superior to adopt a benevolently paternalistic style of spiritual governance, lest he “exercises his authority by force rather than by counsel and persuasion.” He takes this same approach in (38) *Kellibara I* [18].

4. Patronal Privileges

The emperor reserves for himself and his successors a number of important patronal privileges such as might have been seen in traditional imperial or private religious foundations. As noted above, he was to select [3] the foundation’s superior if the monks were unable to make a unanimous choice on their own. The emperor was to conduct the installation of the new superior by granting him the rod and staff of office, which are said to be symbolic of his governing functions of punishment and support, respectively. The emperor also claims [5] the right to resolve disputes

between the superior and the leading monks of the community. Lastly, the emperor and his ancestors who had patronized the monastery for three generations were entitled [13] to memorial services.

5. Reading of the *Typikon*

Following the prevailing trend that had been established since the twelfth century to have more frequent readings of the *typikon* (cf. (32) *Mamas* [16] and (45) *Neophytos* [11]), the emperor insists [13] on a monthly reading of his foundation document.

D. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

The emperor declares [7] that it is necessary for the superior to rely on officials of proven competence to handle the monastery's financial administration "because it is too much for one man to deal adequately with such a variety of matters." Nevertheless, the superior was to take in [9] the annual (cash) revenues of the monastery (preferably in the presence of the steward, ecclesiarch and the treasurer), make payments on the monastery's fixed obligations, and be kept informed of occasional expenditures (presumably by the treasurer). The emperor warmly endorses the policy of open financial administration previously advocated by twelfth-century founders in the Evergetian tradition (cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [24] and (32) *Mamas* [10]). There was also to be a monthly accounting of revenues and expenditures (another twelfth-century Evergetian institution) by the superior, the three officials mentioned above, and any clergy among the monks. Unlike the authors of (23) *Pakourianos* [26], (27) *Kecharitomene* [24], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [94], however, the emperor did not want the superior to store up surplus money in the monastery's treasury. Any unneeded revenue was to be distributed for charitable causes instead.

The steward was to be in overall charge of property management and revenues in kind. He was responsible [7] for supervising agricultural workers, appointing (with the superior's approval) monks or laymen as property administrators, and increasing the value of the monastery's assets.

The emperor was aware that he was devoting state resources to support what was an essentially private religious foundation. He asserts [15] that "we have not emptied out vast sums from the imperial treasury, nor allocated populous villages nor fertile and fruitful fields, proving thereby that the imperial majesty rules and does what it wills" for fear that such allocations might well be canceled by one of his successors. He leaves vague, however, precisely how he made [1] "a more generous provision to supply the monks with the necessities of life" than that which his grandfather had granted the monastery at its foundation, and the inventory once included in the document as [17] is now missing. We can infer, however, that the emperor made annual cash payments from the treasury a more important component of this support than the traditional grants of landed property, and that the monks were henceforth to be self-supporting to some degree on the lands that they already had.

2. Inalienability of Property

As noted, the patriarch, in his capacity as guardian of the monastery, was to assure [16] that the foundation's properties were not alienated. The emperor seems to have been more concerned [15] about the termination of other support, most likely annual cash payments, by one of his succes-

sors. For the sake of argument, he lists and then dismisses possible alternative uses of the money. As a concluding argument, he reminds his successors of how he himself has confirmed the donations of his predecessors to ecclesiastical institutions and other beneficiaries. Therefore, he states, “we request that that principle [of intergenerational reciprocity] be observed regarding our own judgments.”

E. Overall Philosophy

1. Attitude towards Privileges

The document illustrates the emperor’s ambivalent attitude towards the recognition of aristocratic privilege in the context of monastic discipline. On the one hand, there is his requirement, unprecedented in these documents, that each novice be rotated [12] through a duty cycle in all the services of the community “no matter what sort of secular dignity or position he held.” On the other hand, one must reckon with the peculiar philosophy [4] behind his rationalization for the superior’s special treatment of monks based on their “former manner of life,” namely that “because of this, strange as it may seem, a certain wonderful equality comes from inequality, as in other matters one might find that inequality comes from equality.”

Servants and craftsmen are warned [5], on pain of expulsion, not to provide items to monks without the approval of the superior, which suggests that the emperor, even more so than the authors of (32) *Mamas* [34] or (34) *Machairas* [115], did not want to encourage the formation of servile relationships in the community. Also, in an echo of provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [42], the emperor warns [5] against “special friendships and company” which he thought not only cause “scandal and great suspicion” but “are harmful and destructive” in other ways.

2. Misogynist Tendency

The emperor takes [12] an even harder line than was customary in documents in the Evergetian tradition in his ban on access by women to the monastery, even for worship, whereas (29) *Kosmosoteira* [84], for example, permits them to enter for this purpose, and even (27) *Kecharitomene* [80], written for a nunnery, permits men to make carefully supervised visits for the same reason. The only exceptions the emperor would allow in his foundation were women of the imperial family. In the absence of a provision for daily charity, the exclusion of women from participation along the lines of (22) *Evergetis* [38] was superfluous. Women, presumably benefactors, were allowed to be commemorated [13] in the diptychs along with departed monks, yet they could not be buried within the monastery.

F. External Relations

1. Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

The emperor carefully defines [2] the rights of the local prelate, the metropolitan of Chalcedon, and his successors: reverence due them “as shepherds and guardians of souls” (possibly but not certainly a recognition of the right of spiritual correction), commemoration (*anaphora*) in the liturgy, three small honoraria (*kaniskia*) annually, and three pounds of wax. The emperor declares, “let him [the metropolitan] be content with these gifts alone and not put pressure on the brothers to make any further donation,” but the ruler also provides that a newly elected superior should re-

ceive the *sphragis* from the metropolitan as well. This is about as full a concession of ecclesiastical rights as might be expected of any founder acting in a private capacity, and it may be a response to the increasing assertiveness of the patriarchate in asserting its legal and canonical prerogatives (cf. (55) *Athanasios I*, with discussion below in Chapter Nine).

2. Institutional Philanthropy

There were traditional charitable distributions at the gate of this monastery on such special occasions as the patronal feast of St. Michael [14] and the annual memorial service for the founder [13], which were one day apart from one another in November. The superior was also to make [7] routine donations of worn clothing to the poor. The monastery's most significant philanthropic contribution must have been a result of the emperor's return to Studite practice (see (3) *Theodore Studites* [21]) in ordering [9] the monastery not to store up surplus wealth. The emperor alludes to a considerable anti-monastic sentiment in some circles of Byzantine society when he asks rhetorically, "How can they [the monks] enrich themselves while others in the world are poor and worn out by the deprivation of necessities?" Therefore any surplus revenues were to be donated at the end of the year for ransoming prisoners, supporting orphans, and providing dowries for destitute maidens.

Notes on the Introduction

1. The traditional dating is "around" or "before" 1280/81: see Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. xcix; Gedeon, *Typikon*, p. 14; Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 48; and I. M. Konidares, *Nomike theorese ton monasteriakon typikon* (Athens, 1984), p. 60; cf. Beck, *KTL*, p. 696. Internal evidence suggests an earlier date, however; see below, Institutional History.
2. Talbot, "Auxentios," p. 236.
3. For these foundations, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 44–50, and Pargoire, "Saint-Auxence."
4. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 47, and Pargoire, "Saint-Auxence," pp. 448–58.
5. Pargoire, "Saint-Auxence," pp. 452–53.
6. So Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 47, and Pargoire, "Saint-Auxence," pp. 453–54.
7. Papageorgiu, "Zwei Gedichte," pp. 676–77; cf. Pargoire, "Saint-Auxence," p. 454.
8. Pachymeres, 6.28, ed. A. Failler, *Georges Pachymères, Relations historiques*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1984), p. 633.
9. George Metochites, *Historia dogmatica* 1.77, ed. Angelo Mai, *NPB*, vol. 8, p. 102.
10. Evergetian usages: [3] election of the superior, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14]; [5] no "special friendships," cf. (22) *Evergetis* [42]; [7] lifetime tenure of office, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14]; [10] dietary discretion for the sick, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [10]; [10] silence at meals, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9]; [12] short novitiate, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37]; [12] ban on admitting women, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [39]; [13] monthly reading of the *typikon*, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [43].

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Translation

Typikon of the imperial monastery of the supreme commander [of the heavenly armies] Michael on renowned Mount Auxentios in the eparchy of Chalcedon, founded by Emperor Michael, the first of the Palaiologi

[1.] Prologue containing an expression of thanks to God on behalf of the emperor

“Be pleased to receive this prayer of thanks, and bless what we have begun, O Word of God.”

“I will give thanks to thee with my whole heart; I will recount all thy wonderful works” (Ps. 9:1). Now is the fitting time for my majesty to repeat this statement of God’s ancestor to the Lord, and to place it as a comely prologue to [p. 770] the composition of the present *typikon*. For he has multiplied his mercies toward me, and he has been resplendent in manifesting his wonders. Not only has he done this in former times, long ago, but up to the present, indeed every day and every hour he does even more. Each day he floods me with myriad outpourings of his ineffable great gifts. My king and my God first fashioned me as a living being and adorned me with reason. He then deemed me worthy to look upon the light of the sun. He diffused vast amounts of air for me; he poured out the flowing waters. All things, the most beautiful things on earth he has lavishly and graciously granted to me.

In the beginning this Lover of Mankind brought the world into being for the sake of man so that, as a result of the gifts he enjoys, through his sense perception by itself as well as through his higher intellectual apprehension of beings, he should sing praise to his benefactor and glorify him. In addition to other blessings he made me resplendent with earthly nobility. He decreed that I should be born of parents widely renowned for their virtuous and decorous conduct.¹ By his will we were related by blood to those famous and great emperors who preceded us. He made us prosperous with money, property, and other possessions. Through the years he brought us glory and honors in the palace one after the other. He rescued me a number of times through the ministry of the leader of the immaterial beings, Michael, whom, from God and after God, I have been

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fortunate to have as the vigilant guardian of my life in the midst of many dangers, many precarious and fearsome situations, some originating within [the empire] while others were due to external forces. He came to my assistance in time of war and gloriously took me to his side. Many times he led me to victory over both domestic and foreign foes. Why should I say more? If I were to enumerate these, as well as others like them, they would amount to more than the grains of sand on the seashore and the drops of rain, and they would outnumber the days of eternity. He has looked upon me with marvelous great favor, even upon me, last of all and as one untimely born (cf. I Cor. 15:8).

Surely he does this so that his infinite might and power may accomplish their purpose in my weakness. Even to me has he granted sufficient grace as he did to the great Paul, “the vessel of election” (Acts 9:15). He has lifted me up from the depths of my lowliness and has raised me up to my present exalted station. He has favored me with a name which is above every other earthly name (cf. Phil. 2:9). In an unexpected manner and for reasons he alone knows, he has placed in my hands the rudder of the imperial galley.² Ruling together with me up to the present he guides it and preserves it undamaged by any rolling waves or foaming surf of the world. Indeed may you continue to do your part ever more forcefully and show ever more kindness in guiding it, “King of kings, lord of lords” (I Tim. 6:15), O God.

How many tongues would I have to borrow to proclaim in worthy fashion all that the Lord has done for my soul [p. 771] since he first placed me in the imperial chariot of the ruler and autocrat? He hurled to the ground the immensely arrogant Italians, including their princes and counts.³ He dissipated the insolent power of the Persians [Turks]. He confined the Mysians [Bulgarians] to the narrow passes of the Haimos [Mountains]. Every foreign foe conspiring against the Romans he utterly crushed as [though they were] vessels of clay and “ground them to dirt” (II Kings 22:43) which the wind blows off the face of the earth.

There was the unexpected event which astounded all who heard and learned of it, that which emperors and patriarchs of old, senate and people, yearned for but were not allowed to see, I mean the recovery of the famous, the very queen of cities from Italian tyranny, its freedom and redemption from the yoke of slavery.⁴ But “Who shall tell the mighty acts of the Lord? Who shall cause all his praises to be heard?” (Ps. 105 [106]:2). This first occurred in these times when God placed the imperial scepter in our hands and without adding on new and laborious wars, without bloodshed and casualties. Now indeed this great city of Constantine, clothed like a queen in its ancient and splendid raiment, the New Jerusalem, built as a city, can utter the timely words of the psalm: “Its squares fill up, its quarters, its alleys, and its streets.”⁵ But it is not the confused accents of a half-barbarian people [that one hears], but that of the native inhabitants, all of them clearly and precisely articulating the polished Greek tongue and correctly pronouncing it.

Communities of monks and nuns adorn the convents and monasteries and dutifully run in them their course in the monastic stadium. Priests take pleasure in gathering in the holy churches and each day they offer their accustomed prayers and solemn worship to God with thanksgiving. Even greater, there presides in the illustrious temple bearing the name of God’s Wisdom not a patriarch of another race, an intruder, but a native son⁶ and of the same people, one who knows his own and in turn is known by his own.

This was indeed the way things were. Although my majesty has spoken of them in a brief and

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cursory way, other writers have described them in a more deserving manner and in greater detail. Every day my majesty was pondering over this, and it became a matter of intense and serious concern: How could I even briefly manage to acknowledge God's favor or even apportion some tiny recompense to him who had presented me with so many great and magnificent benefactions? Now then I knew very well that what one offers to God's genuine worshipers, he in his great goodness makes his own, and the honor shown to them is ascribed to him.

My majesty called to mind the justly celebrated mountain which bears the venerable name of the holy Auxentios and which was once a [p. 772] second Pelusium, Nitria, Tabennisi, or Sketis.⁷ On that mountain dwelt men dedicated to works pleasing to God, and of whom it may be said that they take the kingdom of heaven by storm (cf. Matt. 11:12). This blessed, illustrious, venerable monastery was founded by the revered grandfather of my majesty, the late *megas doux*, Lord Alexios, who by the great, holy, angelic habit had changed his name to the monk Antony.⁸ In the course of time, rather, because of constant reverses and being caught up in one thing after another, the monastery found itself in straightened circumstances and, as they say, was down on its knees. I would raise it up again, restore its strength, make its beauty shine even more brightly, and make more generous provision to supply the monks with the necessities of life. At the same time, as noted, I would offer some small repayment to God and perform a small act of kindness to my ancestors, if not actually carry out a serious obligation. In any event, my majesty brought it about that this desire, which had existed somewhat sketchily in my imagination, took shape and was translated into reality. My majesty restored this revered monastery to its present condition in all respects as may be seen and with a truly understanding and loyal disposition presented it to the great leader and supreme chief of the powers above, and through him to the all-powerful and exceedingly good God.

This is what my majesty has done. Now it is for you, my champion, my helper and my protector, commander of the heavenly and incorporeal armies, to see that the affairs of the monastery improve and prosper, and to contribute to its increase each day. See that these people of yours conduct themselves in a spiritual manner pleasing to God, being honored by men and admired for their virtues in this life, while in the life to come they may dwell among the just and find their repose in the undefiled fields of paradise. May my majesty then obtain pardon for my many sins and be placed on the right side in that fearful, impartial tribunal and be raised up again with the saved by means of your leadership and by the intercession of this entire holy community to our common Lord and Savior. More than anything else this is my majesty's earnest wish and prayer. I am totally confident of obtaining this by the grace and loving kindness for men of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ. Amen. [p. 773]

[2.] The monastery is to be free and self-governing

“Let those who bear the burden of the gospel be free of the heavy yoke of slavery.”

First of all my majesty which comes from God wishes and prays that this revered monastery should remain independent and self-governing. It should be free of all [external] rule in name and in fact, whether under title of *ephoreia* and supervision, union with another monastery or as an *epidosis*, and of all other forms of lordship, which may perhaps seem more respectable by being called “solicitude.” The monastery is to administer its own affairs and is to be under the direction

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of the superior at the time and certain members of the spiritual brotherhood selected because of their age, way of life and, it may be, surpassing the rest in learning.⁹ They are to be held accountable to nobody except God who alone knows the hidden thoughts of men and to whom they shall render an account of their leadership and administration. But if anyone should attempt to bring any force to bear against it or try to overturn its independence, my majesty subjects such a one, whoever he might be, to the most grievous curses of the holy fathers. For freedom ought to be greatly prized and is clearly the most important thing of all for intelligent people. God himself confirms this since once he had created man, he honored him with independence. It is said in the Old Testament in which divine revelation is communicated by the great Moses, “Cast out the slave and her son, for the son of the slave shall not inherit with the son of the free woman” (Gen. 21:10; Gal. 4:30).

The very fact and the name of slavery is a harmful and oppressive sort of thing and is a violent intrusion of tribal law into our lives. It must then be rejected, and one must hold tightly to freedom for the stability of the monastery and for its continued progress. Monasteries that are self-governing are more flourishing and self-sufficient than those that are subject to various individuals. For these enjoy what they possess without any diminution, whereas the others receive little or nothing of their revenues. All or most of their possessions are appropriated [by their lords] as if they were their own and they distribute them as their own property. That is enough of these matters.

Let the reverence which is rightly due to bishops be granted to the incumbent hierarchs in the holy metropolis of Chalcedon as shepherds and guardians of souls. Let the customary commemoration of them be made in the church in the regular liturgical celebrations and in the customary *synaptai* and *ekteneis*. For we ought to repay them with our prayers and in return for spiritual gifts give back to them spiritual graces. Moreover, each year let them [p. 774] present to this metropolitan three small honoraria worth about one *hyperperon* each and no more than three pounds of wax. He indeed in his turn will be content with these gifts alone and will not put pressure on the brothers to make any further donation. But this should be sufficient about these matters, for now I wish to continue by speaking about the selection of the superior.

[3.] The choice and installation of the superior

“I apportion the choice to the monks and the installation to the rulers of the Romans.”

What does my majesty desire as far as the superior is concerned? In the first place and above all else, he should hold the correct faith in the divinity. He should be of blameless life, adorned with the dignity of the priesthood, of firm judgment, either as the result of training, which would be better, or if not, as part of his nature, so that he may discern what is good and what is not good. He should be [endowed with] modesty, gentle disposition, and appropriate zeal. His speech should be suitable. His manner should be adorned with the most noble distinction of virtue. His own manifest virtue should make him appear as a light before men (cf. Matt. 5:15–16). He should be the perfect stamp upon which the entire assembly of monks under his authority may model themselves. They may thus make excellent impressions and, closely following his example, be imprints of virtue pleasing to God. For what the depictions of the archetype are to painters, so the superior should be to the monks.¹⁰

My majesty wishes the choice of the superior to be made according to merit with the partici-

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pation of the entire brotherhood. From the depths of their souls they should search out the one they want. As impartial as a stone let them conduct their scrutiny and pass on the one who shall preside over them. Let favor and friendship, which blind them in relation to the one they love, find no place here. Let any indication of ill will also be far removed. But let the truth speak out freely, and let it scrutinize and approve the deserving candidate. For it would be no small misfortune for those sitting here in judgment to bring about their own destruction by rejecting what is beneficial for souls, one of which is of the same value as this whole world (cf. Matt. 16:26; Mark 8:36).

If, therefore, all the brothers agree upon one man, all choosing him with one accord, this is pleasing to God, and is also what my majesty desires. It would be a great step toward that peace which is sweeter than pure honey. But if—my majesty prays this will not happen—[the monks] take sides during the election with some of them joining forces with other brothers, each one proposing a different candidate and supporting him on the pretext of friendship or any other convincing pretext which is generally used to conceal the truth, [p. 775] the choice of the superior should then be brought to the attention of him who, with God's assistance, then wields the scepter of empire. He, [after being informed about the matter] by delegates from the entire brotherhood, shall in person, if he is present in Constantinople, or by letter should he be away on a journey, select one who is clearly outstanding for intelligence and virtue and quite capable of governing people. The man so chosen shall without any reservations accept his election, and he shall be entrusted with the authority over the monastery. For in such situations inflexibility is not without danger.

Then shall follow the customary installation by the emperor. He shall be handed by the emperor the rod and the staff of office, with the first so that as a father he may chasten those who are acting in a childish manner and by fear turn them to the straight path, and with the other he may provide support for those who have grown gray with age or who may be failing in mind and those who have grown old laboring in the field of virtue. As best he can he shall encourage them as a good shepherd and not as a hireling. He shall guide his flock toward verdant pastures with abundant water (cf. Ps. 22 [23]:2–3), and he shall drive the wolves far away, quickly and effectively warding them off (cf. John 10:11–13).

After his installation by the emperor, the superior is also obligated to receive the accustomed *sphragis* from the prelate then presiding over the most holy metropolis of Chalcedon. This is what my majesty wholeheartedly wishes and approves. Then each one of the monks from the first down to the last shall genuflect in the monastic fashion and shall embrace the superior. All shall thus recognize their common shepherd and without hesitation submit themselves to his commands.

These instructions apply when the superior is a native and has been found there in the house, which my majesty considers very important. But—may it not happen—it might be necessary to select the superior from outside. A brother residing in the monastery may regard the exalted dignity with such awe that he refuses the leadership for himself. For indeed there is nothing more difficult than directing souls. Or there may be no one who is qualified, not because he lacks the vigor needed to concern himself with the monastic profession or because he does not care enough about virtue and serious guidance, but because in addition to these there is something else, which belongs here, and that is the charisma of governing. A proven soldier may not automatically assume command of an army, nor does a competent oarsman, no matter how expert, make a helmsman.

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If, therefore, we have to bring in a superior from another place, which is the second best way, we should not refuse. One must be careful, of course, to place a teacher of virtue in charge, not an exemplar of wickedness, one who will stand watch and not an enemy, a good shepherd and not a raging wolf. For not only is unalloyed virtue a major consideration in selecting a person who is to have higher authority, but also one must reject a staged appearance of a praiseworthy way of life. Such staging presents one man externally while concealing another man within. [p. 776] This man could reasonably be likened to the whitewashed sepulcher in the gospels which gives the false impression of beauty, but within is filled with clammy bodies and lets out a most disagreeable stench (cf. Mark 5:2–5; Matt. 23:27). In this connection one must therefore be on one's guard against being misled by deceptive appearances. For this can happen to those who are not very carefully on the lookout for such things. This is what happens to fish, for when their mouths are already wide open to take in food they are caught in fearful destruction.

Therefore, as said, let the superior from outside be proved. Let him produce clear assurance of his conduct and monastic way of life. For if evidence of these is lacking, [our monks] coming under his instruction will find themselves learning other things in place of what they had previously learned, and perhaps what seemed to be safe was in reality—rather because our powers of discernment fell short—destructive and unsure. A superior of this sort must sincerely hold fast to the customary order and constitution of this monastery in its entirety and without any change just as this regulatory arrangement of my majesty decrees. For it is not uncommon that a man brought in from outside, once he has assumed authority, might like to change the regulations of the monastery he is put in charge of and substitute them with those he knows from previous experience, thus overturning the ancient, established constitution.¹¹ Enough has been said about these matters.

[4.] To the Superior

“Before all else you who are superior of the monastery accept this counsel and for my sake master it.”

In the series of topics to be discussed my majesty next turns to address you directly, the superior, for there are a number of things I must say to you also. You must certainly be well aware that the governance of the monks is entrusted to you as their teacher and instructor. You have been designated from on high to shepherd the holy flock of Christ. By no means ought your position as superior be a pretext for repose, nor ought you grow slack in your spiritual, salvific labors, for which a reward many times greater is laid aside for you in the future. For if the superiorship had been presented as a prize for virtue, then all those authorities, once such authority had been conferred on them, would have a right to take their rest. But if labors commensurate with authority are also added on, and authority is nothing else than the test of virtue, then one must give proof, as on the sea of serious, straight sailing, so in the spiritual profession of salvific governance of souls. The helmsman in particular stands in need of great sobriety. For when a good helmsman slacks off even a little, he threatens the rest of the crew [p. 777] with great calamity.

Governance is in fact a single thing but becomes many-sided because of the diversity among those governed. The person who assumes such office may have to take various titles to fit each situation. Sometimes he is addressed as father, at other times as superior, at times of course as shepherd, helmsman, guide, guardian, teacher, salt, lamp, and light. As a father he ought to suffer

along with those who are weak. As a person in authority he ought to be a shield to those who are under attack. As a helmsman he ought to sail over the dangerous waves. As a shepherd he ought to settle his flock in verdant pastures and provide them with the water of spiritual repose (cf. Ps 22 [23]:2–3). As a guardian he ought to give timely warning to those he guards of the approach of something harmful. As a teacher he trains those whose understanding is like that of children. As salt he seasons what is lacking in spiritual flavor with virtues, or he causes what is frivolous and starting to decay to tighten up. As a lamp and a light he shows his flock the unencumbered path of virtue. In a word he “becomes all things to all men” (I Cor. 9:22), according to the holy apostle. A superior who is bereft of these may indeed govern but it will not be in a Christian or spiritual manner, but as the nations and the flesh do. He exercises his authority by force rather than by counsel and persuasion. Such a superior does the opposite of what the leader of the apostles Peter declares: “Tend the flock of God that is your charge, overseeing it not by constraint but willingly, not for shameful gain but eagerly, not as domineering over those in your charge but being examples to your flock” (I Pet. 5:2–4).

The office of superior over the brothers has been placed in your hands. Govern therefore in accord with the apostolic precept. Confirm those who are in good condition. Raise up as best you can those who are falling. With fatherly compassion take care of all of them equally. Provide what is required for each one according to his special needs, depending on his age, his physical condition, and his former manner of life. Because of this then, strange as it may seem, a certain wonderful equality comes from inequality, as in other matters one might find that inequality stems from equality. For what kind of equality would be found in the judgment of the superior if the young and the old, the man from the city and the one from the country, the healthy and the sick, all enjoyed the same thing? You have surely heard, superior of this monastery, what the Lord said to his chief apostle: If you love me, Peter, “Tend my sheep” (John 21:16). He said this not once, but three times, repeating it more than twice. Therefore, comprehend the burden of spiritual authority. Wholeheartedly imitate the model of the apostolic shepherds and carefully tend the flock of Christ. In this way you will prepare the “special people” (cf. Tit. 2:14) for the day on which you may boast with Christ: “Behold myself and the children whom God has given to me” (Heb. 2:13). In all these matters preserve yourself blameless in every respect. [p. 778] Free yourself of every bodily kinship and become attached only to your brothers and children in Christ.

My majesty then has now delivered this address, and desires you to know that you have a strict obligation to observe the regulations affecting the entire monastic order of life, and the duties incumbent on both superiors and subjects.

[5.] Address to the Monks

“If you carefully observe, O monks, the rules in force you will be saved, to my [joy].”

The prayer of my majesty for you, my brothers in Christ is that recorded of the believers in the Acts of the Apostles: “They were of one heart and soul, and no one said that any of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had everything in common” (Acts 4:23). Let this be the model for our own community. This union of souls with one another should characterize the monastic life and should be such as to unite in their hearts those who are different in body. With harmony of mind they should race together in the monastic struggles and contests. They should

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delight in one another's progress and improvement, and they should be saddened by those who go back on their promises and slouch in disarray along the road of the monastic life. They appropriate nothing on earth for themselves but, as the holy apostle says, are content only with the food and clothing provided from the common store (cf. I Tim. 6:8). Let no one ever turn back because he wants more, as the dog to his own vomit (Prov. 26:11; II Pet. 2:22). Do not adopt the attitude of the wife of Lot or of the man at the plow in the gospel, who because he turned back fell short of the kingdom of heaven (cf. Gen. 19:26; Luke 9:62). For what is most important and admirable is not making vows but fulfilling one's vows to God. As much as one who worships God even before making his vows to him is worthy of rewards, by so much is he who gives the lie to his profession and promise bound to condemnation. This is also alluded to by the wise Solomon. "It is better that you should not vow than that you should vow and not pay" (Eccl. 5:4). Again: "A snare for a man are his own lips" (Prov. 6:2).

The renowned apostle Paul recommends obedience to your superiors. "Obey your leaders," he says, "and submit to them" (Heb. 13:17). Adding the reason, he continues as follows: "For they are keeping watch over your souls, as men who will have to give account." Listen to my Lord when he says: "I have come down from heaven, [p. 779] not to do my own will, but the will of the Father who sent me" (John 6:38). From this then learn the measure of ready obedience and follow along behind Christ, through Christ obeying your fathers in Christ. For he stated: "He who hears you hears me, and he who rejects you rejects me" (Luke 10:16).

While originally addressed to the apostles, after them [they were also intended] for all those who have received the apostolic office of teaching and who profess their manner of life. In every respect, therefore, obey your fathers either out of genuine love, like sons who love their fathers, or out of respect. As servants of Christ all of you together give constant evidence of your obedience to them. Shove disobedience so far away from you that you can barely see it. Our forefather [Adam] himself bears witness as to how great an evil it is, since he was condemned for disobedience, and as a result brought upon himself and upon you the loss of the divine paradise and a wearisome and laborious life which you provide for by the sweat of your brow.

Among the many things which are possible, it might happen that the superior is remiss in one of his obligations. For it is only the divinity that is remiss in nothing. If this occurs, let the majority remain silent and be, as the holy David said, "like a man who does not hear, and in whose mouth are no rebukes" (Ps. 37 [38]:14). But let those who are distinguished in learning, virtue, and seniority gently remind the superior of his duty to correct the matter. This ought not to be done in a quarrelsome and argumentative manner but in a kindly and friendly one. For the superior ought to accept this admonition as a grace, and he should thank those who have brought this failing to his attention. By his deeds he should correct the unfortunate mistake. But if, which my majesty prays will not be, a standoff develops between the superior and the brothers, then the matter should be brought before the man who is emperor at that time. For the sake of the good itself and for our sake, the emperor should, by himself or by one of those men who have a special, spiritual relationship with him and who are experienced in discerning spiritual matters, reconcile the separated parties and put a peaceful end to the controversy, or in some other way, relying on his holy intelligence, he shall straighten out the unfortunate occurrence.¹²

But each one of you, my brothers, should certainly not seek to go beyond the position allotted

to you in the body of the community but gratefully observe its harmonious arrangement. Let nobody show any indignation toward another monk, even though he himself might have been assigned a position corresponding to that of the hand, or even to that of the foot, while another occupied a place [like that] of the tongue, or the ears, or the eyes. For God beneficently grants his favors to all according to their merits. He apportions our rank in accord with our conduct. This we learn from the distribution of the talents in the holy gospel (cf. Matt. 25:15). Let each one therefore [p. 780] willingly reckon himself among the least and give way to those above him. But if there be one who is not so wise and has an opinion he should not have and regards everyone as equal so that he, although the least, may number himself among the better; if he shall keep silence let him be pardoned, but if he continues in the same conduct, after being severely admonished, let him be cut off from the community, and let him also be expelled from the monastery, so he might not pervert the more simple and cause confusion within the community. “Bad company ruins good morals,” according to the holy apostle (I Cor. 15:33). A pestilential disease also causes injury to the persons it comes in contact with. In addition to other things affecting the community you will guard against particular friendships and company, for these not only cause scandal and great suspicion among the brothers, but they are harmful and destructive in other ways.

The servants and the experts in certain crafts should not provide anyone with anything, not even the tiniest amount, without the approval of the superior or of the steward. But if a person be apprehended doing this, first let him be admonished two or three times, then let him be punished. If he continues unabashedly in the same conduct and does not mend his ways, let him be expelled from the monastery as unable to assume the yoke of good order and ready obedience.

[6.] The Number of Monks

“The company of the monks should be fourfold ten, the number of days that my Lord fasted.”

At this point now my majesty recognizes that arrangements should be made concerning the number of monks. My majesty therefore decrees that the most revered brothers in Christ who have taken it upon themselves to lead the monastic life in this monastery shall never exceed the number of forty. Of these, now, sixteen shall continually devote themselves to the church and shall wholeheartedly concern themselves with the holy service of praise in the customary manner. The remaining twenty-four will perform all the duties of service within the monastery and in the fields. At various times they must be free for certain tasks both inside and outside the monastery, and there will be times when they will be assigned by the superior to service or work either individually or in a group, depending on the needs of the monastery and on each one’s expertise and competence. Those so assigned shall not delay, or grumble, or murmur under their breath, or dispute the decision of the superior. But they shall obey without hesitation and proclaim that which is so often sung by monks: “Bless.”

Still, my majesty does not wish those assigned to work to leave the [p. 781] liturgical services when it may not be the time for their work. But neither should those assigned to devote themselves to the hymnody in the church make use of their being occupied, perhaps even their excellence in singing psalms, as an excuse. But if the superior assigns one of them to do some chores, he shall heed the command of the superior without delay and shall readily carry out his orders. For my majesty wants everyone to be exercised in obedience. The holy, divine Akakios,¹³ the blooming

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and fruitful plant of the monastic meadow, is an obvious witness of the importance of obedience for the monks. Noted for his virtuous accomplishments, he specifically deserved to be called a child of obedience.

[7.] The appointment of officials

“Then, superior of the monastery, after inquiry make prudent appointments of officials.”

Let officials who are serious and qualified for their tasks be appointed by the superior in the accustomed fashion. They should share in the concerns and the labors of the superior. They should also have some expertise in the proper care and management of all the movable and immovable property of the monastery. It is too much for one man to deal adequately with such a variety of matters, doing his work amidst so many distractions, soon burning himself out, and not being able to get a firm grasp on anything.

First of all, then, a steward, reliable and intelligent, should be designated. He should be distinguished for his practical knowledge of many things and conduct all the material business of the monastery. He should involve himself and those under him in all aspects of the administration of affairs. They should struggle in every way to increase the assets of the monastery, secure what has not been secure, and make what is unsuitable become suitable. The steward, with the knowledge and support of the superior, shall enjoin upon the farmers and the vine-dressers the tasks belonging to their work. He shall urge on the shepherds of cattle and sheep to do better in their allotted tasks, and he shall frequently supervise and examine them. He shall select for himself monks, or otherwise laymen free of any suspicion, and, with the approval of the superior, he should place these in charge of the possessions of the monastery.

In addition to these let an ecclesiarch be appointed, well acquainted with the order of services in the church, and fervently devoted to them, a man of knowledge and virtue, watchful and sober. His vigilance and sobriety are to guide the rest in awakening and getting up so that day and night [the monks should], to speak in the manner of the psalm: “Bless God in the congregations” (Ps. 67[68]:26). [p. 782] He should apportion the time for sleep in relation to that for the holy psalter and he should determine the time for striking the wooden semantron for assembling. He shall regulate the measures of the voices for the liturgical services. He should take thought that the prayers be undistracted and undisturbed. In the psalmody he shall favor the clarity of voice which comes from slowness and he shall reject the confusion which comes from going too fast.

Together with these officials let a treasurer be appointed, trustworthy and of good reputation, to watch over and to give an account of the things entrusted to him. He shall take under his charge everything which might be useful or beneficial for the monastery, in addition to whatever else may be committed to him by the superior. Whenever the men are engaged in manual labor he shall provide them with the materials needed without even the slightest show of favoritism, and he shall receive back products of their labor. He shall make purchases as occasion demands and store what is customary and useful for the community, with the approval of the superior. Then at the time of distribution when they receive all their new things they may not find that they do not have enough inner and outer garments and shoes for the monks.

Each year they should be given one tunic, two undergarments which are worn right next to the skin and in popular parlance are usually called undershirts, every two years one vest and one

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cloak. They should not, however, put on any new clothing until each one has first handed in the old to the [common] store, even down to their footwear. The superior will then judge how to use these in a way which will meet some need. He may use them to clothe the poor in their nakedness or he may give them to certain monks who are burdened with heavy and laborious work. For to be furnished with extra clothing after their regular needs have been met may incline the monks to think of the love of possessions and lead them to be attached to the things of this life.

Thus does my majesty wish the affairs of the monks to be administered. At the same time we put an end to the so-called allowance among them, utterly rejecting it in the belief that it has nothing to do with management, but is a craze for gold and is a practice at variance with the monastic manner of life. For with the regular possession of gold their thoughts are never at rest, and we know that its use by monks descends into abuse.

Let a cellarer also be designated, who should be responsible for the daily food and drink of the monastic company, prudent, steadfast, fair in his distributions, doing everything according to the judgment of the superior, placing the same amount of bread on the table for everyone, and wine the same in taste and amount for everyone, cooked food and not cooked according to what is required each day, the same fare in common, except that in the case of some infirmity the superior may permit that something else be served to a person.

With the above-mentioned officials should also be numbered a provisioner, who shall guard the storage room in which are kept the grains, wine, oil, and the other edibles. [p. 783] At the required time he should provide the items needed to the cellarers and those needed in the bakery for the bakers. Let him be concerned not only with dispensing foodstuffs and drink but he should also plan ahead to have a secure and continual supply. He should dispense the supplies in an appropriate manner, measuring, so to speak, the amount by the need. For extravagance and inappropriate liberality inevitably result in prodigality.

This is what has to be noted about the leading officials. Those who work at the chores assigned to them shall do so throughout their entire lives, unless they advance to a higher position, or if one should be found who does poor work or who is dishonest, without question he should be removed. Those who are always occupied in services or laboring at their tasks such as cooks, bakers, farmers, gardeners, and gatekeepers, should be replaced by others at intervals. In this way, "Bear one another's burdens" (Gal. 6:2) as the holy apostle says.

[8. Psalmody]

"Let the *typikon* of the monks of Palestine provide the complete order of church service."

Let the service of daily and nightly psalmody which has from old customarily been observed in the monasteries of Palestine be carried out, except for the all-night vigils on Sundays. My majesty wishes that the monks must not be compelled to overburden themselves in such matters. While they should omit nothing that is within their capabilities, at the same time they should refrain from added burdens. For it is not possible for those who have been working hard all day to spend the night singing psalms, but either by day they should rest from the work of night, or at night they should rest from the day's labor. For [this body of] earth which we carry around cannot go without rest; it cannot be active continuously but only at intervals. Prayers must therefore be offered to God from the depths of the soul according to one's strength, for praying according to

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one's strength is pleasing to God, who is well aware of our natural weakness, and whose rich and abundant mercy comes to us with kindness and true preference.

[9.] The revenues of the monastery

“Next the regulation about the revenues of the monastery, including a monthly accounting of its expenditures.”

All the usual revenues of the monastery which are collected each year must be received by the superior, along with three prominent brothers, the steward, the ecclesiarch, and the treasurer, if they are present, but if not [p. 784] then by someone else. Let the necessary payments be made by him and let them be kept informed of the expenditures. For if this is not made known, evil suspicions arise and a good deal of quibbling and murmuring against those directing the finances. This gets arguments started; factions rear their heads; accusations are made; and finally there is confusion, the terrible, dark night of dissension, and the sacrifice of the peace and quiet of the brothers. Besides, it is burdensome for one individual to be in charge of the common business without anyone else having knowledge of it. One of two things happens in such cases; either there are accusations of stealing or of contempt for the brothers, or very often both, which is an unwarranted cause of temptation to those with a weak conscience, and a not unreasonable pretext for scandal. Even though the superior, because of his authority, is allowed to do what he wants without the consent of the others, still it is not a good idea, for it causes problems for many.¹⁴ While such criticism [of the superior] often arises from suspicion rather than from truth, it is praiseworthy to avoid such suppositions, false though they may be.

My majesty commands that the accounting of revenues and of expenditures be made each month with the three prominent brothers meeting together with the superior, and in addition those who because they have ecclesiastical care and responsibility we are accustomed to call ecclesiastics. They should all receive an exact report of expenditures. In like manner my majesty commands that the superior should not be eager to store up money in the monastery. This is ascribed to the Mammon of iniquity, and it is a treasuring up not of money but of worms that do not die, not of gold but of burning fire that is not quenched (Mark 9:48). For getting involved with money even for those who carry on their lives in the world, who are all caught up in the snares of life, and who are constrained by the needs of a wife and children is forbidden as leading to eternal punishment.

Further proof of this is provided by that rich man in the holy gospel who was being fried in the insufferable fire. He had previously dismissed Lazarus as a disgusting object, but later begged for his finger to provide some relief for his burning mouth (cf. Luke 16:19–24). To those then who have renounced the world and those in the world and for this reason also the bitter ruler of this world, and who have promised to live on a higher plane and to partake of the angelic manner of life to the best of their strength, how much pardon would this practice deserve? Or what defense will those who, after their holy monastic promise, have engaged in such practices make to the implacable, fearsome judge? How can they enrich themselves while others in the world are poor and worn out by the deprivation of necessities?

For these reasons, my majesty wishes [p. 785] that at the end of each single year everything that remains in the possession of this revered monastery be given for the ransom of prisoners, for

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the support of orphans, for the lawful joining of destitute maidens in the bond of marriage, as the superior and the leading brothers shall determine. If things are done in this way, my majesty still trusts in God that in place of these moneys you shall receive a hundred-fold for each, my brothers in the Lord, and you shall inherit eternal life (Matt. 19:29; Mark 10:30).

[10.] The diet of the monks

“The ordinances of the monasteries in Palestine form the model for the nourishment of the monks for all time.”

Since it has already been made clear¹⁵ that the *Typikon* of Jerusalem is also in force in this revered monastery and it has been so decreed by my majesty above, one must attend to the diet of the monks as prescribed therein. This must be strictly observed on the other days and also on Saturday, on Sunday, on the feasts of my Lord and Savior Christ, of his most pure Mother, the ever virgin and Mother of God, my Lady, and of all his genuine servants, the continual allies and helpers of my majesty. Nonetheless the superior has authority to relax the strict interpretation, and there may be occasions when he has to excuse the monks. He will give way a bit to one who appears ill. He will cheer up another who is worn out by age. He will lighten the labor of another who has worked hard in one of the public services of the monastery. So much for these matters.

When the brotherhood takes nourishment all disturbance and all noise should be far removed while they are eating or performing their services. Let strict silence be observed, so that everyone may listen with understanding and be receptive and attentive to the reading as [if it were] a full-course spiritual banquet. As bread is to the body, so to the soul is the word of the God-inspired Scripture. My Lord Christ, the bread of life which came down from heaven, confirms this thought (John 6:35–41). “[Man shall not live] by bread alone,” he says, “but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God” (Matt. 4:4) Indeed, “let not him who eats abundantly despise him who abstains, and let not him who abstains pass judgment on him who eats,” as the holy apostle says (Rom. 14:3). But let both of them give thanks to God, the one because he has had his fill, the other because of the grace granted to him. As they leave the table, let all depart in silence. Let one go off to his own cell and his handiwork, and another to the duties incumbent upon him. The above suffices concerning the diet of the monks. [p. 786]

[11.] Solitaries and their dwellings

“The solitaries use force against what is on high; you, superior of the monastery, take care of their needs below.”

My majesty wishes the cells for the solitaries to be subject to the monastery and that they should always remain as cells for the solitaries. These should only be men eager for solitude, lovers of being alone, who have given proof of venerable conduct, of an excellent way of life, rejoicing in the simplicity of Christ. Let them not be crafty, full of guile, and keeping their disposition hidden, such as some who are found in irons and wearing sackcloth or wrapping themselves about with sheepskins, hiding as “the wolf in sheep’s clothing” according to the proverb.

For some of the solitaries in their cells it is recommended that they receive everything they need in the line of clothing and footwear from the monastery gratuitously, and without any sort of remuneration at all being accepted. As much as possible, therefore, the monastery will not be

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burdened by debts in their regard, nor will the solitaries be troubled at all on the part of the monastery. But the grace deriving from love will be shown to each other, and an excellent course of life and voluntary sharing. By the law of nature man is a being living in common, and by the Lord's command each one is urged to share what he has with the one who does not have (Luke 3:11). If, at any rate, these recommendations are followed, neither side will be troubled by any additional burden or scandal. It is possible for the superior to settle many monks in the solitary cells if the monastery prospers and possesses enough to be able to do this.

[12. Receiving laymen and women]

“Without trial let no one be tonsured. All women should be kept far from the monastery.”

My majesty is insistent that those who come from the lay state to the monastic manner of life and who have the hair they wore in the world cut off in this monastery ought not to be received straightaway and without strict probation. This is to prevent a mischievous man or one of evil ways from being received. Aided by the evil one, his very presence would introduce corruption among the brothers. This is indeed the way of Satan, to sneak evil into the good obliquely, as weeds among the wheat, as thorns among the vines, as a ravening wolf among the sheep. Just like these is a troublesome man in the spiritual assembly. [p. 787] Care must therefore be had in putting the [novice's] rags on anyone before getting to know what he is like by time and experience. Have him brought in with the brothers and let him remain, wearing his customary garments for a period of at least six months. In that amount of time a fairly good, if not complete, estimate of the man's character can be formed. He can then be clothed with the monastic habit or sent away in peace without being approved. He was hospitably received into probation; after his trial he was hospitably sent forth, but nonetheless separated from the community as a brother. The one who has been chosen must be exercised in every service in the community, no matter what sort of secular dignity or position he held. For all the precious things of the world are little or nothing compared to the magnificent poverty of Christ.

Women may not be admitted into the monastery at all in order to worship in the church or for any other reason, unless they are pious ladies who are related to the Christ-loving emperors who may succeed us in inheriting the imperial scepter, although they must leave the same day, by no means staying behind in the monastery.

[13. Commemorations]

“Let the commemorations for the blessed founders and for the monks be fervently performed.”

My majesty's blessed grandfather and grandmother, the late *megas doux*, Lord Alexios, who on taking the holy, angelic habit was renamed Antony the monk, and his wife, the Lady Irene Komnene, who on taking the monastic robe changed her name to Eugenia, and my majesty's revered parents, the late *megas domestikos* Lord Andronikos, who on taking the great, angelic habit was renamed Arsenios the monk, and my majesty's mother Lady Theodora Komnene, who after her monastic profession was called Theodosia the nun, shall receive now and in the future, as long as this revered monastery remains by the grace of God and the protection of his genuine servant, the supreme commander of the heavenly powers, the customary daily remembrance with the *trisagion* and the rest of the psalmody.¹⁶ On the ninth of November let the commemoration for

these be celebrated together carefully and befitting the founders. Let there be candelabra with twelve candleholders and two large tapers. Let forty *hyperpera* be expended for these, for the purchase of wax and other necessities and for distribution. There shall also be a refreshment at table in the form of lighter bread than usual and choice wines. [p. 788] There should be distribution at the gate in the form of bread, wine, and coins as the superior shall decide and order.

A great proof of brotherly love is to hold annual commemorations for the departed. Not only ought the brothers to help and support one another while they are alive, but they ought to show similar favor to those who have died and to keep them in remembrance. This benefits the souls of the departed, as we have learned from various writings, and it is a pledge that we too shall share in the same remembrance and benefit. He who does not lie has said: "The measure you give will be the measure you get back" (Matt. 7:2; Mark 4:24).

Let the obligatory commemoration of the dead be celebrated first in connection with the funeral service for each one according to the prevailing custom, then on the third day, the ninth, and the fortieth. In the evening the commemoration should include the *kollyba* and the canon of the dead, and on the next day a more complete memorial service should be held with the *kollyba* and the liturgy.

Let two identical panels of diptychs contain the names of the brothers which have been inscribed thereon for the sake of remembrance by the various superiors or ecclesiarchs. Let one copy be kept in the library of the monastery and the other in the care of the ecclesiarch. No one will be permitted to add any other name at all to the list of brothers to be commemorated without the knowledge and approval of the superior. My majesty consents and agrees that a woman may be commemorated in the monastery, but prohibits and absolutely forbids that one be buried there.

We decree that the present *typikon* of my majesty be read twelve times in the year at table while the brothers are eating, that is, on the first day of each month except in November, when it should be read on the day the founders are commemorated.

[14. The patronal feast]

"Sing the hymn for the first of the feasts, the feast day of the angels, then for the strange wonder at Chonai."¹⁷

The principal feast is to be the splendid office of the supreme commander Michael and the other incorporeal powers. According to the prevailing custom this falls on the eighth of November. In the evening [before] the monks shall keep vigil all night performing the entire service harmoniously. Let candles be lit in a festive manner on the *templon* and [before the icons which] are to be venerated. In the middle of the nave set up four candelabra with twelve candleholders. In addition, have free-standing incense bowls giving off aromatic odors. A magnificent banquet, moreover, is to be prepared at table [p. 789] with fare corresponding to the feast, including bread lighter than the ordinary and choice wines.

On this feast too the superior ought to call the other brothers from the other monasteries.¹⁸ They ought to join together with the other psalm singers in the psalmody. In a spiritual manner they will concelebrate the holy feast with a joy pleasing to God. On this occasion, of course, they shall spend fifty *hyperpera* for the purchase of candles, of food, and of choice wine, and for the

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distribution at the gate. They shall keep all these in mind, as the superior may determine, and so do something dear to God, to the supreme commander of his immaterial forces Michael, and, speaking respectfully, also to my majesty.

On the sixth of September the miracle of the supreme commander Michael which took place in Chonai shall be celebrated. Not only should all the brothers present [in the monastery] come together to celebrate this feast, but also the solitaries of the monastery. On this feast twelve *hyperpera* should be spent on the purchase of candles, on food and wine, and on corresponding items for the distribution at the gate. These words are sufficient concerning the feasts.

[15. Allocution to future rulers]

“Princes crowned by God, listen to me and bring what I ask of you to its fulfillment.”

At this moment my words must be directed to you, Christ-loving emperors, who shall succeed and inherit the imperial scepters after us. It is our earnest request that you whom we love in Christ ought to listen to what we have to say and put it into practice, for it is just and pleasing to God. How many benefactions, therefore, my majesty has enjoyed from God through the supreme commander of his immaterial servants have already, although numerous, been rapidly summarized and written down in the preface as though on a tablet. Even in this document we have inscribed as on unerasable tablets only partial accounts, for if my majesty were to spin these out at greater length, time would fail us, and even the incentive to write. His many great gifts have enabled us to preserve undiminished what we have inherited from the blessed emperors before us and to acquire more which had not even been ours, all of which we, let it be said, with God’s help have transmitted to you. For these gifts we have offered extremely little in return to his highest power. Among these we have established the monastery [dedicated] to the leader of his immaterial ministers, adorned it properly to the best of our ability, and gathered together a company of revered monks, making provision for them to be self-sufficient. [p. 790] You too are obligated to take to yourselves this offering of ours to the divinity, to continue to foster it, and to improve it in a royal and truly fitting manner.

If then these things were begun in gratitude for God’s benefactions to me, and they have now been handed on to you, who are our successors and heirs in the imperial rule, then what we have dedicated to God is surely also to your benefit. Moreover, we have not emptied out vast sums from the imperial [treasury] for this revered monastery. We have not allocated populous villages to it, or extensive farm lands or fertile and fruitful fields, proving thereby that the imperial majesty rules and does as it wills, for in time some person might allege this as an excuse to begin to hack away at it and cause irreparable damage. But we have made thorough plans that it shall have solid possession of as much as an intelligent person might reasonably judge a fair return for a favor, or which could even be regarded as a recompense for our struggles and daily labors on behalf of Romania, those undertaken with God’s help before our imperial [accession] and those we continued after [attaining] the rule.

From the first hour, as they say, we were raised in the imperial court so as to obtain a good education, a matter not easily attainable, especially without intense and constant toil. But when we were well into our eighteenth year,¹⁹ as God furnished me with the strength—if I have to boast, according to the holy apostle, I shall boast in the Lord (cf. I Cor. 1:31), so that his works

may be magnified in me—we were clothed with a tunic of scale armor, we placed an iron helmet on our head, and we bent our arm to hold a long spear, and we put a warrior’s shield over our shoulder. I was appointed as commander and at various times, with God’s help, in both East and West directed an army of many men. There were battles against the Mysians [Bulgarians] and at other times against the Triballians [Serbians], as well as against our own fellow-Romans²⁰ whose hostile machinations against us knew no bounds. At other times we clashed with the Persians [Turks] and with the haughty Latins, the tyrants, [then] ruling over Constantinople. We then returned to the palace and eagerly and loyally continued to perform the various services imposed on us. I spent nights in deliberations, especially from the time when I was designated as chief of the senate. I spent days out in the sun so that what had been approved in the council might be successfully carried out in deed. Sometimes speed was required while at other times circumstances or the season of the year compelled [us to move] slowly.

But envy, which the ancients believed followed men as shadows follow their bodies, soon appeared and pulled taut its special bow, aiming at us to shoot bitter arrows in the dark (cf. Ps. 10 [11]:2). It would quickly have done something terrible, if the Lord had not [p. 791] become my protector and my refuge (cf. II Kings 22:3). God is my help; in him I have hoped. I must, as is fitting, sing the verse of the psalm. “I have not feared the terror of the night, nor the arrow that flies by day, nor of the evil thing that walks in darkness” (Ps. 90 [91]:5–6). I had, therefore, to leave my native land, that of the Romans, I mean, and I fled to a foreign country.²¹ I entered Persian [Turkish] territory, facing many dangers along the way, it should be noted, from all of which I was rescued by God. I remained for quite a while with the ruler of the Persians.²² There I often led a contingent of our Persian enemies nobly into battle against the Attarioi [Mongols]. This people migrated from lands to the East not a long time ago. They have been raised to war, gladly shed blood, and are spirited like a herd of cattle. Borne along by the situation and yielding to necessity, I endured. What was accomplished there let others say. I feel no obligation to speak about such things myself. But I shall sum up everything by saying just one thing, and let the all-watching eye [of God] be witness to my words. During the time I spent in Persia I engaged in absolutely nothing, in word, in deed, in plot, or in attempt against the ruler of the Romans at that time, the blessed late emperor, my cousin [Theodore II Laskaris] or against the realm of the Romans. Rather, with God’s help, I intended and carried out in practice only what would benefit them. The spirit of envy soon dissipated and in a short time I left Persia and again returned to the land of the Romans, subjected myself to the ruler and again loyally performed the services he commanded. These things then happened before I became emperor.²³

What came after that as, guided by the Lord’s right hand, we attained the summit of imperial power? His might worked wondrously in me. Practically everyone who lives in these recent times, of various fortune, age, or dignity, are my most truthful witnesses in the Lord and my crown of boasting. “I did not give sleep to my eyes, nor slumber to mine eyelids, nor rest to my temples” (Ps. 131 [132]:4). I did not rest my buttocks upon the imperial bench until the time when, by a variety of actions, I had driven away from the Roman lands the lustful, greedy enemies raging with barbaric spirit and delusion, their head raised against us, their heel lifted up. They had eaten the bread of the Romans and lifted their heel against them (Ps. 40 [41]:10). Those Latins dashed out of Constantinople like the “progeny of flying asps”—for here too it is appropriate to quote the

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prophet (Is. 30:6)—feeding on the region near by and very close, as well as far away, inland and on the coast.²⁴ I shook [them] off as chaff from the [p. 792] threshing floor of the Romans in the summer. These men who drove my own people from their homes could find no place at all to dwell. Well done! Well done! Leading us and fighting on our behalf was the hand of God which Isaiah calls “mighty,” for the reason, I believe, that it strikes down the insolent.²⁵ With [the guidance of] God who connects bones and joints (cf. Ezek. 37:7), I made the empire strong and sound of limb. As much as was in my power I expanded its borders. Because of this it now enjoys peace, the nurse of children, within and about it, and right to the present it instills fear in all its enemies. May it always increase and grow stronger, God and Lord of mercy.

Since, therefore, it is I who have led the struggle on behalf of the Romans, I who because of human weakness bear the heavy burden of so many sins on my soul, for the expiation of which I have presented this small offering to God, I ask you too, God-loving emperors, to cherish it. I ask that you take care to preserve it inviolable, without making any innovations, whether in time it happens to prosper and increase or falls into decline and suffers deterioration and the last steps toward the worst. For what contribution could the monastery make to the public treasury or how could it augment the repository of imperial funds? For what nobleman’s upkeep would [its revenues] be sufficient or how would they increase the daily rations of the soldiers, or anything else of the sort? Even if there were such, it is still necessary that what has been dedicated to God be preserved in its entirety without any diminution, unless of course a person regards the charge of sacrilege as of small account, rather than harmful and dangerous to one’s soul.²⁶

Since we have assumed the imperial rule we have honored and confirmed the donations made in the chrysobulls of the revered emperors, our predecessors, to monasteries, churches, cities, rulers, and other persons in very similar terms.²⁷ With God’s help we have added to many of them. We request that that principle be observed regarding our own judgments which we have observed in dealing with those made by others. We ourselves have not wavered in observing the law which has come down to us, inasmuch as it is an excellent one and bears the profound venerability of age, and we recommend and we urge that our successors also observe it. We request that our small offering which we presented as a perfect sacrifice to God remain unaltered and unshaken, lest, as falling short of the law or as sacrificial animals which have lost their tails or ears and thus prove unacceptable, they may be disregarded by God (Lev. 22:23). Moreover, we desire this monastery which we have lit up as a lamp from the burning fervor of our heart to the supreme commander Michael, to the second and great light [p. 793] after the first and greatest light to remain forever, and such is our prayer from the depths of our soul, comforted by the oil of the good deeds of you our heirs and successors in the imperial rule, my sons as Scripture would have it. May this light, this brilliant lamp, escort my majesty and you to the tents of the just (cf. Luke 16:19) and illuminate the entrance to that most holy country, I mean the divine paradise. As “sons of the day” (I Thess. 5:5), and illuminated by the light of holy baptism as well as by our imperial anointing, may we be worthy to see that day which is not followed by night.

[16. Allocution to the Patriarch]²⁸

“Venerable excellency, Patriarch, with God’s help enforce the rule of the monastery.”

Now that my majesty has addressed all these words to the Christ-loving emperors, I direct my

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discourse to you who preside in the position of principal overseer, I mean the patriarchal throne of the renowned queen of cities. I place [these words] as a sort of holy confirmation upon the present document and even a most fitting conclusion to it. How many and what kind of benefactions God, the “king of kings” (I Tim. 6:15), has conferred upon my majesty, and how in return for so many good things we apportioned a small gift to him by raising up the revered monastery honored with the name of the supreme commander of the powers above, your virtuous self may learn about in detail from what we have briefly recalled in the preface and in the allocution to the emperors.

Since, therefore, it is customary and proper for those erecting monasteries and settling a community of monks in them to establish, in addition to other things, very capable protectors for them, which is exactly what my majesty is doing. Indeed, knowing full well that spiritual matters must by no means be referred to those who are concerned with bodily matters, it is to your virtuous self, to whom belongs spiritual authority, and whose constant care and aim is to be concerned about the salvation of souls, that my majesty makes this request. Please recall our struggles on behalf of the Romans which we recounted in the above chapters.²⁹ As from God, from whom everything comes, it was by our strenuous labors that you without trouble were seated upon the throne of Constantinople and that you are acclaimed by all, not only your own, but by strangers and foreigners, [p. 794] specifically and by name as patriarch of Constantinople. The patriarchs who preceded you outside the queen of cities were named by some as “Patriarch of Nicaea” and by others as “Patriarch of the province of Bithynia,” just as the most devout and truly blessed emperors who ruled before us were at times called simply “alleged rulers of Romania” or at times emperors, but not of all the Romans but only of those to the East. A person might not believe what we have been saying if he had no knowledge of the driveling of the Latins, their iron, unbending neck, if he did not know the terrible raging against us of the apostates who are of the same Roman race as we, all these faithless enemies, savage beasts, all but breathing destruction against Romania.

If not for other reasons, at least for those just mentioned, accord us this favor and protect this monastery and all its possessions in accord with the present decree of guardianship of my majesty. Indeed, not only this but, if necessary, recall these matters to the various rulers who shall be the heirs and successors of my majesty. Remind them of its founding and the contributions made to have the monastery prosper, and to guard all the possessions of the monastery as absolutely inalienable down to the smallest one which in any way has been included. In short, call upon them to show constant mercy to this monastery and to keep the monks from disturbance and distraction. Living in peace and solitude, therefore, they may pray on behalf of my soul and those of the Christ-loving emperors, for your virtuous self, and for the entire assemblage of people bearing the name of Christ.

You must know that if you do not carry out these matters as set down, you shall have to render an account to my majesty in the fearful day of judgment. You will have to explain why you did not choose to carry out the most reasonable request of a religious emperor and, by the grace of Christ, an orthodox one, who has also, as noted, bestowed great favor upon you. [But if you do carry out] everything, you will receive in return from the supreme commander of the powers above a substantial reward and a gift many times larger.

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[17. Inventory]

“Although few, nevertheless the monastery’s possessions must be listed here in detail.”

[Missing Chapter]

Notes on the Translation

Editors’ note: The assistance of our translator, George Dennis [GD], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. Andronikos Palaiologos and Theodora Komnene; see [13] below and (38) *Kellibara I* [2].
2. A discreet allusion to the author’s successful usurpation of the throne in 1259. [GD]
3. The reference is to the battle of Pelagonia in 1259 in which Michael’s brother, the *sebastokrator* John Palaiologos, captured the Prince of Achaea, William II Villehardouin (1246–78), and other Latin nobles; see Deno Geanakoplos, “Greco-Latin Relations on the Eve of the Byzantine Restoration: The Battle of Pelagonia—1259,” *DOP* 7 (1953), 99–141, and (38) *Kellibara I* [7].
4. A reference to the recapture of Constantinople from the Latins by Michael’s general Alexios Strategopoulos on July 25, 1261; see also [15] below and (38) *Kellibara I* [8].
5. Not in the Septuagint. [GD]
6. Impossible to identify with certainty in the absence of firm evidence for dating the *typikon*. If an early date is proposed, this might be Arsenios Autoreianos (1261–65); if the traditional dating of the document is preferred, this might be John IX Bekkos (1275–82); see also [16] below.
7. Sites of the heroic era of Egyptian monasticism in late antiquity. [GD]
8. For Michael’s paternal grandfather, see [13] below and Pargoire, “Saint-Auxence,” p. 455.
9. For *esti d’hon* read *esti d’hote*. [GD]
10. Cf. (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [30].
11. Cf. (32) *Mamas* [43] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [42].
12. See the introductions to (12) *Tzimiskes*, (15) *Constantine IX*, and (59) *Manuel II* for the exercise of this imperial prerogative.
13. A sixth-century monk of Asia Minor cited by John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, col. 720, as a model of obedience. [GD]
14. Cf. the same sentiment in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [16].
15. In [8] above.
16. For Michael’s family, see Alexander Kazhdan, “Palaiologos,” *ODB*, pp. 1557–60.
17. For this miracle by St. Michael, see A. Weyl Carr and N. P. Ševčenko, “Chonai, Miracle at,” *ODB*, p. 427.
18. Cf. (31) *Areia* [T12].
19. 1242 or 1243; cf. (38) *Kellibara I* [4].
20. Probably a reference to Michael II Komnenos Doukas (1230–66/68), despot of Epiros, and his uncle Theodore Doukas, the former emperor of Thessalonike (1225–30).
21. 1256; see Geanakoplos, *Michael VIII*, pp. 26–32.
22. Perhaps Kilij-Arslan IV (1248–65), the Seljuk sultan of Rum.
23. In 1258.
24. A reference to the recovery of Constantinople from the Latins on July 25, 1261; see also [1] above.
25. Or “upraised”: Isaiah 5:25; 9:12; 14:27 et al. [GD]
26. Cf. (22) *Evergetis* [19] and related documents.
27. See Rouillard, “Politique.”
28. Impossible to identify with certainty; see [1] above with note.
29. In [1] and [15] above.

Document Notes

- [1] Founder's motivations; foundation history. See also [15] below and the even more elaborate autobiographical introduction to the author's (38) *Kellibara I* [1] ff.
- [2] Independent status; rights of the metropolitan of Chalcedon. Among thirteenth-century documents, (34) *Machairas* [21], (35) *Skoteine* [20], (36) *Blemmydes* [1], (38) *Kellibara I* [15], (39) *Lips* [1], and (40) *Anargyroi* [3] also assert institutional independence. For the rights of the local hierarchy in documents of this century, see (34) *Machairas* [9], [16], [19], [20], [140]; (35) *Skoteine* [16], [17], [20]; (35) *Blemmydes* [1]; (38) *Kellibara I* [15]; (39) *Lips* [1]; and (45) *Neophytos* [12], [15].
- [3] Election of the superior. Cf. the language and provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [13], [14] and related documents; see also contemporary provisions in (38) *Kellibara I* [18] and (39) *Lips* [5]. For the eligibility of outside candidates for the superiorship, see (32) *Mamas* [1], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1], and (35) *Skoteine* [17].
- [4] Exhortation to the superior. Cf. (38) *Kellibara I* [18]; for the form if not the content of this chapter, see (22) *Evergetis* [17] and related documents as well as (45) *Neophytos* [15]. For the rationalization of inequality, see also (39) *Lips* [14] and (52) *Choumnos* [B20].
- [5] Address to the monks: no private possessions; correction of the superior; no quarreling over positions or special friendships. Cf. similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [14], [16], [22], [42] and related documents.
- [6] Number of monks. See also discussions of limitations set in (38) *Kellibara I* [17], (39) *Lips* [4], (40) *Anargyroi* [6], and (45) *Neophytos* [9], [C16].
- [7] Officials of the monastery and their duties; communal wardrobe; equality in food and drink; lifetime tenure of office. See discussions of these officials in (34) *Machairas* [80], [96], [100] and in (39) *Lips* [24], [25]. For the communal wardrobe, see (34) *Machairas* [102], [103] and (39) *Lips* [36]. For the periodic rotation of work assignments elsewhere, see (20) *Black Mountain* [78] and (39) *Lips* [17]. For lifetime tenure of office, see (22) *Evergetis* [14] and related documents.
- [8] Regulation of psalmody. For the endorsement of the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas in other thirteenth-century documents, see (35) *Skoteine* [12], (39) *Lips* [30], and (45) *Neophytos* [12], [C4].
- [9] Financial administration. Cf. arrangements in (27) *Kecharitomene* [24], (32) *Mamas* [10], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [10], (34) *Machairas* [100], and (39) *Lips* [22], [23]. For the prohibition on storing up wealth, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [21].
- [10] Diet of the monks. For the endorsement of the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas, see [8] above with cross-references to other documents; for refectory procedures, see (22) *Evergetis* [9]; for the superior's dietary discretion for the sick, see (22) *Evergetis* [10]; for additional self-imposed dietary restrictions, see (20) *Black Mountain* [72], (36) *Blemmydes* [11], and (45) *Neophytos* [C4].
- [11] Relations with hesychasts. Cf. arrangements for solitaries in (24) *Christodoulos* [A24]. For similarly tolerant sentiments towards alternatives to cenobiticism in other thirteenth-century documents, see (34) *Machairas* [152] and (45) *Neophytos* [17] (missing).
- [12] Length of novitiate; exclusion of women except members of the imperial family. For the novitiate, see provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [37] and related documents. For the exclusion of women, see (22) *Evergetis* [38], [39] and related documents; cf. terms for the exclusion of men in (27) *Kecharitomene* [80].
- [13] Commemoration of the founders and departed monks; no burial of women; reading of the *typikon*. For these commemorations in thirteenth-century documents, see (34) *Machairas* [154], [157]; (35) *Skoteine* [9], [10]; (39) *Lips* [30], [52]; (40) *Anargyroi* [6]; and (45) *Neophytos* [12]. For burial restrictions elsewhere, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [76], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [86], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C2]; for reading of the *typikon*, see (22) *Evergetis* [43] and related documents, (39) *Lips* [8], (55) *Athanasios I* [8], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [120], (58) *Menoikeion* [9], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C10].
- [14] Celebration of patronal feasts. Cf. provisions in other thirteenth-century documents: (34) *Machairas* [27], [29]; (35) *Skoteine* [19]; and (39) *Lips* [37], [38].
- [15] Appeal to future rulers. For other arguments against the annulment of a founder's *typikon*, see (39) *Lips* [1] and (40) *Anargyroi* [1].

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- [16] Appointment of the patriarch as guardian. Cf. the much more limited patriarchal role in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [4], [111] as well as the broad claims for patriarchal rights of oversight in (55) *Athanasios I* [9].
- [17] Inventory of landed properties. Missing, but cf. other such inventories in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 9], (27) *Kecharitomene* Appendix A, (28) *Pantokrator* [65], (35) *Skoteine* [31] ff., and (39) *Lips* [44] ff.

38. *Kellibara I: Typikon* of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the Monastery of St. Demetrios of the Palaiologoi-Kellibara in Constantinople

Date: 1282¹

Translator: George Dennis

Edition employed: Henri Grégoire, “Imperatoris Michaelis Palaeologi de vita sua,” *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60), 447–76, with text at 447–74.

Manuscript: Moscow, State Historical Museum, graecus 363, fols. 440r–447r (14th c.)

Other translations: French ([1]–[14] only) by Grégoire, “De vita sua,” pp. 448–70; French ([2]–[12] only), by Conrad Chapman, *Michel Paléologue, restaurateur de l’Empire byzantin (1261–1282)* (Paris, 1926), pp. 167–77; Russian, by I. G. Troitskii, *Autobiographia imperatora Mikhaila Paleologa* (St. Petersburg, 1885), pp. 21–43.

Institutional History

A. Prior History of the Kellibara Monastery

The older of the two institutions being joined into one foundation in this document was the Monastery of the Mother of God *Acheiropoietos* “not painted by human hands” (probably a reference to its patronal icon) or Kellibara. It was located at the modern Jediler, close to medieval Herakleia and to the south of the summit of Mount Latros, site of the Monastery of the Mother of God *tou Stylou* for which Paul the Younger wrote (7) *Latros* back in the tenth century.² Kellibara’s origins are unknown, but the monastery was already in existence, supposedly populated by refugee monks from Mount Sinai, before Paul began his own community on Latros ca. 920–930. Kellibara was apparently a mixed community of cenobitic monks and solitaries, like Paul’s foundation and Athanasios’ Lavra monastery on Mount Athos.³

A certain Methodios was superior of Kellibara in 1049 when he assisted in a patriarchal inquest over the property rights of Paul’s Stylos monastery.⁴ In the thirteenth century, the superiors of Kellibara and Paul’s Stylos monastery hotly disputed the right to the archimandritical authority over the monasteries of the Latros confederacy.⁵ Patriarch Manuel I Sarantenos (1216/17–22) removed this honor from Kellibara and bestowed it on Stylos, but his successor Germanos II (1223–40) annulled this decision by providing that Kellibara should reclaim the archimandritical authority after the death of the current incumbent from Stylos. Yet Stylos seems to have provided the next archimandrite anyway. There was also an active scriptorium and library at Kellibara in the thirteenth century.⁶

The despot John Palaiologos, brother of Michael VIII, is recorded [17] in the *typikon* as the donor of a property (location uncertain) on which the Kellibarene monks built a church and a monastic dependency. John represented the imperial government in this region of Asia Minor until his death in 1274.⁷ Janin (*Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 231) supposed that Kellibara fell to the

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Turks shortly after John's death, i.e., even before the issuance of the *typikon* in 1282, but the neighboring Stylos monastery is attested as late as 1360.⁸

B. Prior History of the Monastery of St. Demetrios

According to the *typikon* itself, a church of St. Demetrios of the Palaiologoi, the newer of the two institutions united in this document, was founded [12] by Michael VIII's prominent ancestor, George Palaiologos, a general of the early Komnenian era who played a major role in Alexios I Komnenos' seizure of power in 1081.⁹ His foundation of St. Demetrios, which is not otherwise attested, probably took place in the early twelfth century after the end of his military career. The *typikon* charges [12] the Latin occupiers of Constantinople with razing this foundation to the ground, supposedly out of personal spite for its founder.

C. Creation of the New Unified Foundation

Unlike the foundation described in (37) *Auxentios*, which Michael VIII apparently endowed with public resources, the new joint foundation of St. Demetrios-Kellibara probably received its support through the device of union (*henosis*) with the surviving assets of the old Kellibara monastery. That monastery's monks feared [13] the Turks would soon overrun the site of their original foundation, but they retained [17] a considerable number of dependencies in Constantinople and its vicinity as well as in Prousa (Bursa) and Nicaea. Their need for resettlement coincided with the emperor's plans to add a monastery to the church of St. Demetrios, and evidently they were able to trade their remaining assets through an administrative union with St. Demetrios for a new, more secure home in the capital.

D. Subsequent History

The foundation reappears in 1315, when the ordained monk Theodore, perhaps its superior, was condemned by the patriarchal synod and deposed.¹⁰ In a much later patriarchal act of 1400, the foundation is described as an "imperial and patriarchal" monastery.¹¹ Perhaps by then the foundation had lost the independent status that is claimed for it in the present *typikon* [15]; it might have become a public institution even before 1315. The administrative reorganization may have led to the issuance of (56) *Kellibara II* by Michael VIII's son and successor Andronikos II (1282–1328), as either a replacement or supplement to the present document.

On his visit to Constantinople, perhaps in 1349, the Russian traveler Stephen of Novgorod describes the foundation as an imperial monastery and records his veneration of the body of "the holy Emperor Laskariasaf."¹² Ihor Ševčenko has suggested that this is a corrupted form of Joasaph, a possible monastic name of the deposed emperor John IV Laskaris, who may have been buried at the foundation as part of a reconciliation between the supporters of the new and the old imperial dynasties promoted by Andronikos II in 1284.¹³ The names of two of the foundation's later superiors are known, both of whom served as ambassadors for John VIII Palaiologos: Isidore, the future metropolitan of Kiev, who is attested in 1433, and a Gregory, in 1448.¹⁴ This makes it likely that the foundation survived down to the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

Majeska (*Russian Travelers*, p. 267) locates the site of the foundation near the sea walls "between the port of Contoscalion and the Jewish Gate at Vlanga, near the old port of Eleutherius."

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No remains have been identified. At Kellibara's site in southwestern Turkey, however, Wiegand uncovered considerable ruins at the turn of the century that were as imposing as those of the neighboring Stylos monastery.¹⁵

Analysis

A. Importance of the Document

Previously, this document has attracted attention in the guise of the "Autobiography" of its author, Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, but despite the unusually lengthy elaboration in the first eleven chapters of the personal element in the customary foundation history, this is in fact a founder's *typikon*, the manuscript of which abruptly terminates in the middle of [18]. It is important for its exposition of the hereditary obligations of patronage, which the emperor has acknowledged through his reconstruction of the church of St. Demetrios erected in Constantinople two centuries earlier by his ancestor George Palaiologos. This document, along with its predecessors (5) *Euthymios* [1] and (19) *Attaleiates* [12], is also useful for its illustration of the mechanism of union by which two monasteries or other religious foundations were joined—theoretically on equal terms—into one new foundation.

B. Lives of the Monks

1. Number of Monks

The emperor fixes [17] the number of monks at the principal monastery of the new foundation at thirty-six, of which fifteen were to be literate monks devoted to performance of liturgical services while the remaining twenty-one monks were to provide the necessary supportive services.

In each of the foundation's seventeen dependencies, many of which were quite small, one of the monks was also a priest, except for the two which had sub-dependencies, which must have needed more priests to handle services. The total number of monks reported to be in the dependencies is eighty-one, which added to the thirty-six at the main monastery falls twenty-one short of the one hundred thirty-eight reckoned by the emperor himself; perhaps the refugee monks from Kellibara accounted for the difference.

2. Other Disciplinary Matters

Additional information about the daily lives of the monks of this foundation at a later stage of its existence can be found in (56) *Kellibara II*.

C. Constitutional Matters

1. Free and Self-Governing Status

The emperor grants [15] the foundation free and self-governing status. Lest the same fate overtake the newly created foundation as the old Kellibara monastery, he takes the precaution of specifically exempting it from being joined to another monastery, a church, hospital, or home for the elderly.

2. The Protectorate

The emperor designates [16] himself as the monastery's guardian (*ephoros*) "so that the indepen-

dence of the monastery may be maintained and it may not be subject to harassment.” He provides that his successors on the throne will inherit “the care and responsibilities of a founder,” just as he himself has done from his ancestor George Palaiologos.

3. Leadership

The emperor declares [15] the monastery’s superior “together with the rest of the community” competent to administer all the material and spiritual affairs of the foundation, subject only to the regulations in the *typikon*. As he did also in (37) *Auxentios* [4], the emperor indicates [18] his preference that the superior should rule his community by “persuasion, not force.”

The monastery’s officials, including the treasurer, the cellarer, and the baker, were to be appointed [17] by the superior. The *typikon* was also to govern the lives of the monks in the 17 dependencies and the two sub-dependencies subordinated to the new foundation: the emperor instructs that they too “must bring themselves into line with it in every respect.”

4. Election of the Superior

The emperor leaves [18] the choice of the superior up to the community. The text breaks off as the emperor seems to be about to provide the protector with a role in either installing the new superior or, perhaps, resolving disputed elections (cf. (37) *Auxentios* [3]).

5. Patronal Privileges

As benefits of his patronage, Michael VIII asserts [16] that a future emperor will receive the assistance of St. Demetrios as a mediator with the Almighty and as a protector in combat; God will also be disposed to honor his requests and favor him with salvation. The implication then is that no material privileges were to be expected, but note the protector’s possible role [18] in the election or installation of the superior.

D. Financial Matters

There is no direct discussion of financial matters in the portion of the *typikon* that has survived, nor is there any in (56) *Kellibara II*. Presumably the Kellibarene dependencies had endowed properties that made them valuable bargaining chips for the reconstitution of the Kellibara community within the framework of the union with the St. Demetrios monastery.

E. External Relations

The emperor explicitly denies [15] the patriarch any rights of overlordship over the foundation, including any right of spiritual correction that he may have conceded to the metropolitan of Chalcedon in (37) *Auxentios* [3]. Instead, the patriarch was to be content with liturgical commemoration (*anaphora*) and registration in the sacred diptychs.

Notes on the Introduction

1. Since the *typikon* mentions the outbreak of the Sicilian Vespers against Charles of Anjou on March 30, 1282, in [9], it must have been composed between that date and Michael VIII’s death on December 11 of that same year; see Troitskii, *Autobiographia*, p. 45.
2. For the location, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 231.

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3. *Vita S. Pauli Iunioris* 8–10, ed. H. Delehaye, “Vita S. Pauli Iunioris in monte Latro,” *AB* 11 (1892), pp. 34–37.
4. MM 4.315–17 (1049).
5. Act of Manuel I (1222), ed. MM 4.295–98 = Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1231, confirmed by John III Vatatzes, ed. MM 6.429–30 = Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1712, and Act of Germanos II (n.d.), ed. MM 4.298–300 = Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1295, with Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 230.
6. See Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, pp. 230–31, and Volk, “Klosterbibliotheken,” pp. 163–66.
7. Pachymeres, 6.20, ed. A. Failler, *Georges Pachymèrès, Relations historiques*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1984), p. 591.
8. See (7) *Latros* Institutional History.
9. See B. Skoulatos, *Les Personnages byzantins de l’Alexiade* (Louvain, 1980), pp. 99–105.
10. Act of John XIII Glykys (1315), ed. MM 1.42 = Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2053.
11. Act of Matthew I (1400), ed. MM 2.325–26 = Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 3091.
12. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, p. 267.
13. I. Ševčenko, “Notes on Stephen, The Novgorodian Pilgrim to Constantinople in the XIV Century,” *SF* 12 (1953), 165–75, at 173–75.
14. Dölger, *Regesten*, nos. 3430 and 3515.
15. Th. Wiegand, *Milet*, vol. 3, pt. 1: *Der Latmos* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 25–29.

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Translation

1. “Lord my God, I will glorify thee.” Now is the fitting time for my majesty to recite the sublime words of Isaiah: “Lord my God, I will sing hymns to thy name, for thou hast done wonderful things for me” (Is. 25:1). You have magnified your mercy toward your servant and you have been lavish with your compassion. Lord, is there even one of those things which your merciful heart had done for me that does not surpass the very notion of miracle? Right from my birth you honor me with your own hands. You create me from nothing, and you create me according to your image and likeness. Together with my soul you place within me reason and intelligence, capable of finding the noblest things and of guiding me toward knowledge of you. You honor me with free will and you order me to rule over all creatures on earth. You fashioned me, a man that is, as a

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sovereign nature truly in imitation of you, the only God and lord. But these benefactions are common to the entire race. Everyone partakes of them. Every human being is well aware of these and professes gratitude for these gifts and gives praise to the creator.

But to list what I in a special manner, apart from the others, have received from your providence, one could more easily count the grains of sand by the sea and the drops of rain than draw up such a list. For some men may boast of an illustrious family or wealth. Others may be admired because they have sired valiant sons, others because of their influence with emperors. Others have been outstanding because of their military leadership and trophies of battle. While some have been privileged to possess one of these qualities, others have sometimes possessed several. But [as] for me, why should I not speak [p. 449] the truth, for it is known to all? In talking of these matters I am not simply bragging about myself or being proud or ostentatious. I am not boasting as a man usually does, but I am doing it in the Lord so as not to hide in silence the great deeds of God. On the contrary I shall relate them fully not to praise myself but to glorify the creator. But for me God has heaped together all those things which individually would have made a person illustrious.

2. Let me begin straightaway with my parents.¹ My father can trace his family to ancestors who were related by marriage to emperors and empresses, whereas my mother traces hers directly to emperors.² From far back then God established our illustrious family and laid the foundations for my present rule. For the moment I pass over my maternal and clearly imperial ancestry. Concerning my father's side, the Palaiologos family, investigation shows that their ancient noble repute only increased with time, and that the fathers continuously handed on to their sons a greater repute than they had received. As to how the members of the family placed the prosperity to be found here below second to their concern about living in a manner pleasing to God which would lead them to inherit the life hidden in Him [God], we shall refer [the reader] to the discourses and books composed by the learned. For these give an account not only of their dignities and honors, the great influence they had with rulers, and how they accumulated vast riches, no less than of their combat in wartime, their generalship, and their valor, but they also inform us of their erection of religious houses, holy convents and monasteries, their donation of property, their aid to the poor, their concern for the infirm, and their protection of the indigent of all sorts, and all their pious deeds which bore fruit before God. By proclaiming the donor of these, at the same time they purchased goods in heaven in exchange for ephemeral and perishable ones.

3. This good reputation as well as the piety, which increased greatly, as mentioned, with the contributions of each succeeding generation, were inherited by the *megas doux* my grandfather and the *megas domestikos* my father.³ Even if their abundant hope in God and their love [of him], as well as their prominence, their glory, and their unswerving constancy in all circumstances cannot be read about in books, there may still be many people alive [p. 451] who have seen these with their own eyes, while many have also heard about them from witnesses. Thus, our account of them is not without corroboration, and what we say is by no means wide of the mark. It is not right, moreover, to make up stories on such subjects, because we have recalled them in recognition of the benefactions of God to us in the past and up to the present, and not because of some conceit or the need to triumph or show off.

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4. Now that I have given an account of this great and noble heritage, how much I have enriched it—this is your gift, Lord God, from your goodness and not from me—indeed how much I have enriched it the very facts proclaim. Before I had completely outgrown my infancy my uncle, the revered emperor John [III Doukas Vatatzes (1222–54)], introduced me to the palace. He had me carefully raised and instructed as though I were his own son. He was anxious that I should be well educated in all subjects and endeavors, and he seemed more loving than a father in my regard. If indeed I derived profit from being initiated by that great spirit and proved myself a worthy disciple of that master, let others judge. As for myself, from adolescence as soon as I was capable I was called to bear arms.⁴ I was judged suited for command by the emperor himself, not to mention that I was selected over those who had followed such a career for many years. I was indeed assigned to command and found myself posted to the West.⁵ With God’s help I overcame the hostile forces arrayed against us, overcoming no less the expectations of the emperor who had sent me. There was nothing that did not deserve to be recounted, and at that time the emperor listened with pleasure to reports of my achievements. Then, as though through multiplying proofs of love and desirous of attaching me to himself by all sorts of ties, he became my father-in-law by betrothing to me his own niece whom he loved as his daughter.⁶ She in turn became the mother of my children, the mother of emperors.

5. Then I was again placed in command, and again there were battles. Once more God granted me victory and complete success. At that time I was entrusted with the war against the Latins for whom, to its misfortune, the queen of cities served as a fortress.⁷ From my camp on the Asiatic side opposite the city I can say that, with God as my ally, I drove them to the last extremities. On all sides I prevented them from landing, I repelled their assaults, and I cut off their vital supply lines. All this took place [p. 453] while that man [John III Doukas Vatatzes] was still alive. We advanced “from glory to glory” (II Cor. 3:18) and from great beginnings became ever greater, with God guiding us along the path of prosperity. But when the government of the Romans passed from him to his son [Theodore II Laskaris (1254–58)] our time came to be tested by the arrows of jealousy which have tested many others.

How did God deliver us at that time and how from such oppression did “He brought me out into a wide place” (Ps. 17 [18]:19)? To put it succinctly, he saved me [by sending me] to the Persians [Turks].⁸ There he took me by my right hand and gloriously added to what he had given me. Even now one can still hear them singing the praise of our battle line as it faced the Massagetai [Tatars], its morale as it charged into battle, and its great victory over warriors who were up to then regarded as invincible. This was achieved in the midst of Persian territory, not by us but by God working through us. After this, therefore, a vast number of delegations and letters were sent to us from the emperor, recalling us to our fatherland and to our family, who were also entreating us to return. This would please the emperor as nothing else I can think of, for he knew that while I was with the Persians in body, I was (I swear by God that this is true) with him and the Romans in spirit. This would also please the dignitaries and all of ours. But since my discourse has other goals, I think I should hasten to attend to them and leave these topics.

6. Thus we returned home. “Come hear and I will tell all ye that fear God what great things he has

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done for my soul” (Ps. 65 [66]:16). Then came the consummation of God’s many and great benefactions; then came the conclusion of his interventions, the gold crown of the good things received from him. What transpired? After a short time the autocrat Theodore [II Laskaris] passed on, bringing his allotted span of life to a happy end.⁹ “Who shall tell the mighty acts of the Lord; who shall cause all thy praises to be heard?” (Ps. 105 [106]:2). I was raised up to be emperor of your people.¹⁰ The proof of this is clear and unambiguous. For it was not the many hands coming to assist me or their frightening weapons which elevated me above the heads of the Romans. It was not any highly persuasive speech delivered by me or by my supporters which fell upon the ears of the crowd, filled them with great hopes, and convinced them to entrust themselves to me. No, it was your right hand, Lord, which did this mighty deed. Your right hand raised me on high, and [p. 455] established me as lord of all. I did not persuade anyone, but was myself persuaded. I did not bring force to bear on anyone, but was myself forced.

7. This then is what happened up to the present, to select a few things from many as typical. Such have been the graces of God. There are many, I believe, who would like to write about subsequent events, but the very number of them should overcome their eagerness. For we accomplished mighty deeds in you our God, and it was you who reduced our enemies to naught. Just as I was beginning my reign I was victorious in Thessaly over those¹¹ who had been in rebellion against Roman rule for many years and who had developed more hostility to our interests than had our natural enemies. Along with them I overcame their allies who were under the command of [William II Villehardouin (1246–78)] the prince of Achaia. Who were these allies? Germans, Sicilians, Italians, some who came from Apulia, others from Iapyges [Calabria] and Brindisi. There were also some from Boeotia, Euboea, and the Peloponnesos who joined them on campaign not so much in observance of their alliance as motivated by their own ambition to set themselves up as masters, so they intended, of the situation in the region.¹² There was a large number of them, more than could be easily counted, and greater than their number was their strength. Even more [impressive] than these was their arrogance, their insolent and outrageous audacity, and more than these, their terrible hatred toward us. Trusting in you, my king and my God, I counterattacked and was victorious, and drove all of them together into bondage.

With the army under my command I then went and subjugated Akarnania, Aetolia, and the region about the gulf of Krisa.¹³ I also forced the one and the other Epiros to submit, and brought Illyria under my control. I advanced to Epidamnos [Durazzo], and then from another direction I attacked all of Phokike. I then ravaged the country of Levadia and moved against that of Kadmeia [Boeotia]. Our forces encamped in Attica and enjoyed themselves as though it were their own land. I passed through Megara and its strait. I coursed through the entire Peloponnesos, pillaging some areas and forcing the submission of others. The remnants of the tyrant’s rule in that land, those who had escaped battle and the Roman manacles, I convinced that they must of necessity prefer to fix their dwellings in the sea rather than on dry land.¹⁴ [p. 457]

I think it well to pass over the vast number of deeds effected at that time by the right hand of the most high [God] through us both in Greek lands and elsewhere. At that time in fact the Mysians [Bulgarians] in Europe tried to put us to the test, and so did the Scythians [Mongols]. The former found that we were allies, helpers, and to sum it up, saviors, whereas the latter found us to be the

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opposite as we defeated, scattered, and destroyed them. The Persians [Turks] also had some experience of us, for while our gaze was on the West, they decided not to keep the peace, but considered it a golden opportunity. What did they find? We destroyed them, took them captive, and made those evil men depart this life in an evil way. But there is no need to dwell on these topics. All those things must be put aside, and we must turn our attention to what came next and which it is impossible not to call to mind.

8. Constantinople, the citadel of the inhabited world, the imperial capital of the Romans, had, with the permission of God, come under the control of the Latins. By God's gift it was returned to the Romans through us.¹⁵ All those who had previously attempted this, even though they made their attempts with noble enthusiasm and with faultless military skill, appeared to be shooting arrows straight up into the sky and to be attempting the impossible. All the peoples surrounding us, instead of being struck with astonishment at this and living in peace and realizing that this deed had not been accomplished by the hand of men but was a triumph of God's great power, struck by envy set themselves in motion. We attacked the Persians in the region of Karia and the sources of the Maeander and the nearby region of Phrygia. Even if we refrained from utterly exterminating these upstarts, we reduced many of them to slavery to us. In the other direction, the Bulgarians, in return for having been saved by us acted in a senseless manner by granting the Massagetai (Tatars) passage, thus allowing them to overrun the part of Thrace under our rule. They rose up themselves to join in the attack, but not many days later we gave them back sevenfold.

We purged the sea of its pirates by sending our triremes into the Aegean, where they had not been seen for many years. In this manner we liberated the islands which had been tyrannized by the tyranny [of the pirates] and at the same time we made it safe for people to sail anywhere on the sea. We brought all of Euboea, which possessed large [p. 459] land and naval forces, over to our side, except for one very small area. We won a brilliant naval victory over a huge fleet of triremes from Euboea, leaving only one ship to bring back news of the defeat.¹⁶

9. [Charles of Anjou (1266–82)] the king of Sicily who ruled over that part of the mainland opposite Sicily and who also ruled over Italy from Brindisi to Tuscany including Florence and as far as Liguria, had already made an attempt on Greek territory and had rendered assistance to the Latins in Euboea as well as to those in Thebes. He fought valiantly and without stint on behalf of the remnants of his race in the Peloponnesos, coming to their aid with a force one could not treat lightly, and dispatching his soldiers all over Greece. Twice and even three times we defeated his troops when they were all assembled together in Euboea on orders to concentrate their forces there for the purpose of recovering that place from us. Several times, moreover, we were victorious in the Peloponnesos against those who wanted to regain that land.¹⁷ One of our naval squadrons gained a victory over the rulers of Thebes and Euboea when they had assembled their armies together. Our men disembarked from the ships and engaged them in a cavalry battle, with the result that one of the rulers died and that the other one trying to escape did not, being led [instead] in chains before us.

With God as our ally we destroyed that king whom we mentioned [Charles of Anjou], as well as that force advancing toward the Illyrians with the intention not so much that they would engage

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large numbers in battle and would overcome all those they encountered, but that their forces were strong enough to gain a victory over ten times that number. But this army destroyed itself along the sea coast. Well inland in that region another much larger and more impressive army fell apart and was given over into our hands by God. The barbarian king grew more insane and intensified the war against us. All the hostility which a person might feel against another would be much less than that which he, outdoing his hostility, displayed against us. Although defeated at every encounter, he did not give up, and the continual disasters only made him more quarrelsome. Each new army he sent was stronger than the one before it. Surely it was God who drove him on to the fatal blow. [p. 461]

The result was that he sent this very last army. Most impressive it was with a large number of elite fighting men, with no expense spared, with an abundance of horses, weapons, and all the equipment for war. This army, vaunting its obvious superiority, marched inland a day's journey from the sea and began a siege of a city that was still Roman. A palisade was erected all around and the siege began. The king refused to lift the siege until God had taken his camp by siege and delivered it to us. That is what happened to his army.

As far as the rest of his forces were concerned, the Sicilians scorned them as though they did not exist. They boldly took up arms and freed themselves from slavery.¹⁸ If I were to say that their present freedom was brought about by God, and were to add that he brought it about by means of us, I would be saying only what confirms the truth. But if I were to list our other victories such as those we gained in Europe against the Triballians [Serbians], after having defeated the Bulgarians in Mysia, and in Asia against the Persians, defeated these peoples several times, my words would be transformed into a discourse much longer than the present one.

10. With the aid of the above, therefore, and with many others of the same sort God made my life a happy one. In addition he has granted me a gift of fine children, something which surpasses the prayers of all men. "Kings have come forth from me" (Gen. 17:6). Now, my God, I gaze upon my son who is emperor and upon his son also an emperor, seated upon my throne (cf. Ps. 131 [132]:11).¹⁹ The valor of the one has gained many victories, and he is concerned about the salvation of his people rather than his own life, which is indeed what I most desire, and he makes this the object of all his cares, study and labors. His son furnishes us with noble hopes that he will soon arrive at the same lofty goal.

11. There are so many proofs of the great mercy of God to me, and I owe them to the supplications of all my holy patrons, but especially to those of my great defender, I mean Demetrios [whose body] exudes scented oil. As an ambassador he is always, I am certain, presenting my case to God. I know too that from long ago and up to the present God has sent him as a shield to protect my life and the empire, and I have no doubt that he bestows his own favor on me. [p. 463] Of all the things I have done as emperor, particularly those which were truly imperial inasmuch as they affected the common good, there is not one in which when I called upon him to come he did not immediately give me the sensation of his actual presence and assistance. Because he has so often and in such significant ways come to our aid, we have continuously been mindful of him and have expressed our gratitude to the Martyr of Christ. But one thing was still lacking, and that was for us to trans-

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pose our good disposition into deeds and to express in a more substantial manner the great love we nourish in the depth of our heart for the divine Demetrios. In the same way as his acts of intercession, so should our thanksgiving when put into deeds “bear fruit for God” (Rom. 7:4). For whatever one does out of reverence to his servants, that veneration obviously passes on to him.

12. Now then, in times long past the blessed George Palaiologos²⁰ was preeminent because of his burning religious zeal and great love of God, as well as because of his intelligence, courage, and military experience which he displayed in the conflicts and wars of that period and which earned him abundant honors from the emperor and covered him with glory. He was the first to erect from its very foundations a venerable, holy house dedicated to this Martyr of Christ inside this imperial city. This [saint whose body] exudes scented oil appears to have been the ancestral patron of the house of the Palaiologoi. But the tyranny of the Latins, directly opposed to what he had built, razed it to the ground and reduced it to fine dust so one could barely make out a few faint traces of what it had once been. With the grace of God and the aid of the divine martyr Demetrios my majesty raised up again this building which had fallen and was lying there in ruins, and with a liberal and generous hand restored it to its former splendor. We also established a monastery and settled monks therein to [perform service] pleasing to God. We allocated property to them and sources for adding to their income so they could meet their expenses and provide for the rest of their bodily needs.

What we accomplished was most praiseworthy for two reasons. We satisfied our love for the Martyr by glorifying God, which after all was what had motivated my majesty in the first place. The second result was that we renewed the memory of the blessed founder, our ancestor, which men had already consigned to oblivion. To add a third, my majesty established this new monastery which would permit [p. 465] many to come together in it to lead a religious life which would be most pleasing to God; the number of those praying for us would increase, and in return our reward and recompense would be the greater. For if a person who gives even a glass of cold water does not lose his reward, according to the truthful words of my God and Savior (Matt. 10:42), then by providing those who love the ascetical way of life with the opportunity of doing something pleasing to God and by so arranging matters that they might more conveniently attain their chosen goal, how shall this go unrewarded by him who said that the whole world is not worth as much as one soul (cf. Matt. 16:26). For these reasons, therefore, my majesty has built up again this shrine to God and to his martyr Demetrios. By the intercession of this gloriously triumphant saint may it become a veritable paradise, filled with monks who, like magnificent, ever blooming plants, every day produce in great abundance the fruit of virtue, to the glory of the one God, to the glory of the great Martyr whose name it is privileged to bear, and for the expiation of my many failings, for it should be no surprise that I too have sinned inasmuch as I am human and thus of a quickly changing or fluctuating nature.

13. My majesty has now acknowledged its gratitude to God, and has recounted God’s loving kindness toward it, faintly perhaps but as best we could. Now it is time to pass on to our real purpose, and that is to set forth for this monastery erected by us in honor of the holy martyr Demetrios in Constantinople the directives and regulations according to which you who shall run

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the ascetical race in it shall conduct your lives and shall administer your, that is to say, the monastery's affairs and possessions.

Before beginning this subject, however my majesty has decided to make one thing very clear. Let everyone know and hold for certain that with this monastery of the renowned martyr Demetrios my majesty, for reasons to be explained later, unites and makes one the very great and revered monastery of Kellibara in Asia, which in ancient times was built and was venerated under the title [of the icon] of the most holy Mother of God "not painted by human hands." As a result of this union its entire [community] is brought to settle in this one and so changes its abode. All the monks of Kellibara earnestly desired this and so beseeched my majesty. Nor was my majesty at all unwilling, [p. 467] but was most anxious to effect such an act of union between these monasteries. For I was fearful that, in addition to other difficulties, the monks of Kellibara might suffer something terrible which could easily lead them into the worst of dangers, for they were dwelling on the limits of the Roman border and exposed to all the barbarian assaults. The result is that there is no longer one monastery of Kellibara and another of the great martyr Demetrios in Constantinople, but there is only one and the same monastery from the present through all the years to follow. Even if our enemies now on the offensive should be scattered to the ends of the earth by the protection of the most holy Mother of God, and Kellibara should find itself in the middle of the Roman dominion, the [two monasteries] should not for this reason be separated or divided.

14. To achieve this my majesty declares and proclaims that its rule, which is given below, made for both monasteries will be regarded as really the rule for one monastery, and the Hagiodemetrite monks and the Kellibarene monks will be equally subject to it. From now on the latter are no different from the former, and these no different from those. My majesty orders and desires that there shall be no difference among them even in their names. But one and the same monk, whether he resides in the monastery of Kellibara or in that of St. Demetrios here, shall be considered as a Kellibarene and likewise as a Hagiodemetrite; the appellation of either monastery shall be applied to him indiscriminately. My majesty has also decreed that all their possessions are held in common, movable and immovable. This does not belong to Kellibara and this to the monastery of St. Demetrios, but everything belongs to the monastery of Kellibara and everything to that of St. Demetrios.

There shall be one superior for both, and he shall be put in charge of the two as though they were one. The same person shall be spoken of as superior of Kellibara and when necessary he shall so affix his signature, and he shall also be spoken of as superior of St. Demetrios in the same manner, and shall so sign. He shall use the name of either monastery or of both together when and in the circumstances he wishes. For these reasons indeed my majesty orders this rule which we are about to promulgate as common to these monasteries. Even if the name of one is given, for example, if I speak of the monastery of St. Demetrios, nonetheless the regulations shall be received by the monastery of Kellibara as though they were addressed to it, [p. 469] and shall carefully be observed by it, for it is not a different monastery.

May these regulations be observed by you as exactly as possible, which will benefit both of you and what you have, and may they never be neglected by anyone. Observe these so that you may stand by yourselves in all sincerity and free of danger before the great tribunal of Christ

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(Rom. 14:10; I Cor. 5:10), and so that my majesty may be able to justify such standing by reason of your good reputation. May this come about by the mercy of our great God and Savior himself, by the intercession of his all holy Mother, and by the entreaties of Demetrios who shed his own blood for him and to whom the aforesaid monastery erected by my majesty is for a second time dedicated.

15. The monastery ought to be free and self-governing. “Render to Caesar,” says my Christ, “the things of Caesar, and to God the things of God” (Matt. 22:21). My majesty has established this holy shrine, by the grace of God, as an abode for men who are making every effort to free themselves of the things here below and to attach themselves solely to the Powerful One. My majesty therefore consecrates it to the gloriously triumphant martyr Demetrios. Through him this monastery is further offered to God by my majesty and from now on becomes sacred property. As a result, it ought to be free from servitude here below, clearly having as lord he who is the Lord, and not acknowledging any lords on earth. Let it be self-governing and exercising authority over itself, not dependent on men. Nobody has a right to impose the yoke of constraint upon it. For this reason nobody shall exercise any lordship over it, certainly not anyone who knows and fears God. Nobody shall subject to himself either the monastery or anything belonging to it, nor shall he place it under the control or authority of another. Neither, in truth, shall he add it or join it to any person, secular or spiritual, not to a holy monastery, not to a church, not to a hospital, not to a home for the elderly, absolutely not to any one of these. But it will be itself alone and by itself for all time. It alone will be lord of itself. It will administer its own affairs, spiritual as well as temporal, by reason of its having authority over itself. It shall accept no person coming from the outside and giving orders or examining its affairs, not even the most holy patriarch then in office. The patriarch shall not have any claim whatsoever to lordship here, nor shall he enter the monastery to inquire into its affairs, not [p. 471] even in spiritual matters. He shall be content with what is due to him, that is, the commemoration and proclamation of his name in the holy diptychs. We are obliged to grant him such acknowledgment in all our holy and sacred rites.

The man who has been appointed as superior of this monastery, together with the rest of the community, shall be competent to give directions in every aspect of the administration. As their norm for what must be done, both [superior and community] have at hand the regulations given by my majesty in this *tyikon*, and they shall deal with small matters as well as with those of greater importance. In their desire to serve God alone they shall submit to its [prescriptions], so that their freedom may be preserved unsullied and secure. For truly it is only submission and service to God that gets rid of every form of human constraint, and makes those who practice it completely free. May you embrace it for all time and may you appear as servants of God, as by nature, so also in your mind and in every movement of your free will.

My majesty then establishes this monastery and erects it as free and subject to nobody. May it be so preserved forever, and let no one attempt to take away its dominion over itself. If anyone dares to take such a step my majesty is unable to call down curses. Instead it does offer special prayers that all men may find themselves worthy of experiencing God’s loving-kindness. Still, even if we should spare him, that person, whoever he might be (may there be no such person!) should know that he is subject to the condemnation of those who fight against God. If this does not

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appear to frighten him, let him be bold, let him stretch out his hand against what is sacred, let him act like a tyrant toward God by appropriating the monastery to himself and choosing to enslave it.

16. The *ephoreia* of the monastery and the person who should be its *ephoros*. So that the independence of the monastery may be maintained and that it may not be subject to harassment, my majesty does not refrain from taking thought and making arrangements for human protection and *ephoreia* of the monastery. For if all men, just as they know God and call upon his name, also feared him and dared to do nothing except what they have been commanded, perhaps it would not be necessary for us to provide help for the monastery from our resources here below, since it is surely an offering to the God of all. However, those living according to the divine laws are few, while the majority [p. 472] behave otherwise. Because there are those who would act unjustly, it is necessary for my majesty to come to this decision and to seek for some assistance from men. But who is there capable of repelling every onslaught against it? Assuredly there is none other but the emperor. God has made him more powerful than all because he has placed him over all.

The emperor therefore will be the *ephoros*, and with a mighty hand he will rescue it from all harm. He has endowed the monastery with a certain power to enable it to keep out of harm's way. Rather he has lent it to God from whom he received the greater power. His assistance will be effective, for he knows that these men of God will bear fruit to God. Not only that, but with this very purpose in mind the emperor will be doing the right thing by caring for it under the title of *ephoros* and preserving it. For if we as emperor according to the good pleasure of God have become its builder, [our son the emperor] has become by God's [grace] our heir and successor. Just as he has inherited all else, so let him inherit the care for the monastery and the responsibilities of a founder. Let him sincerely take his stand as though he were the one who first erected it. In this way he might have the great athlete of Christ, Demetrios, as his legate and intermediary to attain those other things that men stand in need of, especially an emperor, and he might have him as a protector in his combat with the foe, and he might have God himself rewarding him and bestowing gifts on him, granting his other requests, and favoring him with the salvation of his soul, which is, after all, more important and what we pray a man may attain above all else.

17. Just as my majesty believes it necessary to make regulations about the other things pertaining to the monastery, so we should do so about the actual number of monks who shall dwell in it. For the community of these monks should not be allowed to be unlimited [in size]. Since it would not be well to let it be in disarray and out of order, sometimes containing a larger number than is fitting, at other times reduced to a very small number. But the whole body must comprise a certain fixed number, so that its good order may assure that it will also be in good condition. Beings which have no limits know no moderation and do not keep themselves from doing what is not good. For [p. 473] these reasons my majesty commands that the brothers who are monks in the principal monastery shall be thirty-six, and this number should never be exceeded. Of these, fifteen should know letters and psalmody. In place of any other type of communal work, they should be occupied in performing the service in the church and shall be the church monks [choir monks]. The remaining monks, twenty-one in number, shall minister to the corporal needs of themselves and the church monks. They shall perform the tasks of treasurer, cellarer, and baker, according as the superior shall decide and shall assign each one. So much for these monks.

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There is the dependency near the gateway, the monastery, that is, which is called Lykos after the ancient name of the place, but which is privileged to bear the great name of my Savior Christ. In this and in its dependency of *Kyriotissa* my majesty decrees that there be twenty-four monks.²¹ Seven should be church monks, including three priests, so that two may celebrate the liturgy in the monastery and one in the dependency. Seventeen should perform all the services, inside and outside, carrying them out by themselves.

In the dependency which is called that of the Despot, since the dearly beloved brother of my majesty, the most fortunate despot of blessed memory, the late Lord John, had donated it to the monastery of Kellibara in memory of the parents of my majesty. The Kellibarenes have also constructed a church and a monastery on the site. In this monastery and in the dependency of Phlethra belonging to it there shall be nine monks, two of them priests. One shall sing psalms and celebrate the liturgy in honor of the Mother of God in the [church] of the Despot, and the other in honor of the great martyr George in that of Phlethra. In the dependency of Tzympa there shall be four monks, one of whom shall be a priest. In that of St. George the Kouperiototes likewise four including one priest. In that of the Theologian,²² which is within the town of Vizye, two monks, one of whom is a priest. Another monk who is a priest in the dependency of *Makariotissa*, which is situated near Vizye. In that of Chenolakkos two monks, one of whom is a priest. In that of Raiktor six, one of whom is a priest. In that of Tima six, one a priest. In the dependency of Patras, which is in Pylopythia, six monks, one of whom is a priest. In that of *Hexapterygon* within Prousa [Bursa] one monk who is a priest. In that of the Holy Trinity within [p. 474] Nicaea two monks, one of whom is a priest. In the dependency of Kabalos near Prousa three monks, one of whom is a priest. In that of Manikophagos two monks, one of them a priest. In that of St. Nicholas four monks, one of them a priest. In that of the holy Theologian three monks, one of them a priest.²³ In the one near [the place] of Manias two monks, one of whom is a priest.

My majesty orders and decrees that all those listed above are monks of this monastery of St. Demetrios-Kellibara. (Because of the union between them they should be referred to in this fashion.) All together they should total one hundred and thirty-eight monks, and they shall all owe obedience to the one superior of St. Demetrios-Kellibara, and they shall follow the one *typikon* of my majesty, for its prescriptions are to be observed by all our subjects both high and low. The *typikon* must be read to the brothers in the dependencies, and they must try to bring themselves into line with it in every respect.

18. Different men have given different definitions of the science of sciences.²⁴ But one of the blessed men inspired by God who thought and spoke the truth said. "This would undoubtedly be," he said, "to guide a man, the most complicated of beings, by virtue and a more spiritual way of life."²⁵ Persuasion, not force, is called for. This may be realized if one's words and way of life run along the same course, for when these are joined with one another they are most efficacious in persuading. Whoever is going to be the superior will need to be competent in this science and will lead men by virtue. You must, then, brothers, seek out and choose such a man as your superior, one who possesses both qualities, way of life and words. Following his teaching, you may also look to him as a model. He may readily instill in you a love of what is good and attain his goal. My majesty requires that the search and the choice of your superior is up to you and not to others. If

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you act in this fashion, then the one to whom God has allotted the task of piously governing the empire, the heir and successor of my majesty, and your *ephoros*. . . .

Notes on the Translation

1. See Alexander Kazhdan, "Palaiologos," *ODB*, pp. 1557–60, and V. Laurent, "La généalogie des premiers Paléologues," *Byzantion* 8 (1933), 125–49.
2. Michael's parents were Andronikos Palaiologos and Theodora Komnene; see also (37) *Auxentios* [1], [13]. His paternal grandfather Alexios (for whom see [3] below) married Irene, a princess of the Komnenian dynasty, while his maternal grandmother Irene was the daughter of Alexios III Angelos.
3. Michael's paternal grandfather Alexios, who was responsible for rebuilding the probable predecessor institution to the monastery for which (37) *Auxentios* [1] was built, and Michael's father Andronikos.
4. In 1242 or 1243 at the age of eighteen, according to (37) *Auxentios* [15].
5. At Vodena in 1253.
6. Theodora Doukaina Komnene Palaiologina, actually the granddaughter of John III Vatatzes' brother Isaac Doukas, and author of (39) *Lips* and (40) *Anargyroi*, who was married to the future emperor in 1253–54; see Alice-Mary Talbot, "Empress Theodora Palaiologina, Wife of Michael VIII," *DOP* 46 (1992), 295–303, at 295.
7. Presumably in 1253–54.
8. For Michael's flight to the Seljuk Turks, see (37) *Auxentios* [15].
9. On August 16, 1258.
10. He was crowned co-emperor with John IV Laskaris (1258–61) sometime after January 1, 1259.
11. An allusion to the battle of Pelagonia (1259), in which Michael's brother John Palaiologos beat a Latin coalition led by Michael II Komnenos Doukas, despot of Epiros (1230–66/68), and William II Villehardouin, prince of Achaia (1246–78); see also (37) *Auxentios* [1].
12. On all these people and events, see Deno Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959).
13. Present-day Gulf of Itea, south of Delphi. See P. Soustal, F. Hild and J. Koder, *Hellas und Thessalia, Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1976), p. 195. Actually Michael's brother John Palaiologos marched into Thessaly after the victory at Pelagonia and his general Alexios Strategopoulos invaded Epiros, capturing Arta.
14. After the battle of Pelagonia, the despot Michael II and his son Nikephoros were forced to seek refuge with Matthew Orsini in Kephallenia.
15. On July 25, 1261, thanks to its occupation by Alexios Strategopoulos; see also (37) *Auxentios* [1], [15].
16. Euboea was regained for Byzantium by the Italian-born grand duke Licario, ca. 1277.
17. Conquered by Michael VIII's brother Constantine with an army of 5,000 Seljuk mercenaries.
18. Starting on March 31, 1282, with a revolt in Palermo; see Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers* (Cambridge, 1958).
19. Andronikos II Palaiologos, Michael VIII's son and co-emperor from 1272, and Michael IX Palaiologos, his grandson and co-emperor from 1281.
20. Michael VIII's great-great-grandfather, husband of Anna Doukaina, younger sister of Irene Doukaina, author of (27) *Kecharitomenē*; he is commemorated in (28) *Pantokrator* [8].
21. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 293, and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [145].
22. Either St. John the Evangelist or St. Gregory Nazianzen.
23. In this section of the manuscript a number of words are not clear or are missing.
24. See Ammonius, *In Porphyrii Isagogen*, ed. A. Busse, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, vol. 4, pt. 3 (Berlin, 1891), p. 6, where the reference is to philosophy.
25. Quotation not identified

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Document Notes

The first eleven chapters of the *typikon* are autobiographical; cf. equivalent discussions in (37) *Auxentios* [1], [15]. They are listed here to facilitate reference.

- [1] The founder's indebtedness to God.
- [2] The founder's illustrious ancestry.
- [3] Piety of the founder's grandfather and father.
- [4] The founder's upbringing, military career, and marriage.
- [5] Exile among the Turks; his recall.
- [6] His elevation to the emperorship.
- [7] Early military accomplishments of his reign.
- [8] Recovery of Constantinople from the Latins.
- [9] Successful war against Charles of Anjou.
- [10] The founder's son and grandson.
- [11] His devotion to St. Demetrios.
- [12] Rebuilding of the ancestral church of George Palaiologos. For this individual, who in his day was a supporter of the reformer Leo of Chalcedon, see (28) *Pantokrator* [8] and P. Gautier, "L'obituaire du typikon du Pantokrator," *REB* 27 (1969), 254.
- [13] Declaration of the union of the two monasteries. See discussions of such unions in (5) *Euthymios* [1] and (19) *Attaleiates* [12]; our author himself forbids the imposition of a union in (37) *Auxentios* [2].
- [14] Terms of the union. The provisions of (19) *Attaleiates* [12] are similar.
- [15] Free and self-governing status. For assertions of institutional independence in other thirteenth-century documents, see (34) *Machairas* [21], (35) *Skoteine* [20], (36) *Blemmydes* [1], (37) *Auxentios* [2], (39) *Lips* [1], and (40) *Anargyroi* [1].
- [16] Role of the emperor as guardian. For a contemporary imperial guardianship, see (39) *Lips* [3], cf. the patriarchal guardianship in (37) *Auxentios* [16] and the private protectorate in (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [18], [19].
- [17] Number of monks; list of dependencies. See also discussions of limitations set in other thirteenth century documents in (36) *Auxentios* [6], (39) *Lips* [4], (40) *Anargyroi* [6], and (45) *Neophytos* [9], [C6]. For a similar list of dependencies intended to support a large foundation, see (28) *Pantokrator* [27], cf. (35) *Skoteine* [10], [11].
- [18] Rule by persuasion rather than by force; internal choice of the superior. For the former, see (37) *Auxentios* [4]; for the latter, see (37) *Auxentios* [3].

39. *Lips*: *Typikon* of Theodora Palaiologina for the Convent of Lips in Constantinople

Date: 1294–1301¹

Translator: Alice-Mary Talbot

Edition employed: H. Delehay, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), pp. 106–36.

Manuscript: British Library Additional 22748 (14th c.)²

Other translations: None

Institutional History

A. Prior History of the Foundation

Constantine Lips was the founder of the original monastery on the site of this foundation in the Lykos valley in west-central Constantinople.³ A frequently unreliable source indicates that a hospital (*xenon*) was attached.⁴ The dedication of a church named in honor of the Mother of God in June 907 was attended by Emperor Leo VI (886–912).⁵ It is not known whether the foundation housed male or female religious at this time. The founder was killed fighting the Bulgarians in 917. Nothing more is known of the monastery until its restoration in Palaiologan times.

B. Restoration and Expansion under Theodora Palaiologina

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, Theodora Palaiologina, widow of Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, undertook the restoration of this foundation. She contributed a second church dedicated to St. John the Forerunner which was joined to the south side of the original church erected by Constantine Lips and a twelve-bed hospital. The new church, like the middle chapel dedicated to St. Michael at the Komnenian *Pantokrator* monastery, was intended to serve as a mausoleum for the imperial family.

The *typikon* for the foundation, while professedly composed by the founder herself, was actually drawn up by an anonymous ghostwriter.⁶ The founder became a nun in her own foundation with the monastic name of Eugenia.⁷ She died in 1303, and her passing was noted in a still-unedited funeral oration by Theodore Metochites that refers to the construction of her tomb that is also mentioned [42] in the *typikon*.⁸ After her death, her son the former emperor Andronikos II (1282–1328), who died in 1332, was buried at the Lips foundation, as was another son, Constantine, in 1306.⁹

C. Subsequent History of the Foundation

In 1324, Irene of Brunswick, the wife of the founder's great grandson Andronikos III (1328–41), was buried at Lips.¹⁰ In the middle of the fourteenth century, a perambulatory exonarthex was built around

the south and west sides to allow for additional burial sites.¹¹ The last recorded burial at Lips was of the Russian princess Anna, bride of John VIII Palaiologos, who died of the plague in Constantinople in 1417. The deacon Zosima, during his visit to Constantinople a few years later, notes Anna's burial at Lips (which he calls "Lipesi") and identifies it as an imperial convent.¹² The Russian Anonymous, writing in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, also mentions the Lips convent, so it is likely that it survived down to the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453.¹³

D. The Fenari Isa Camii Mosque

The structure that housed both of the foundation's churches has survived down to our own times in modern Istanbul. Circa 1460–80, Alaeddin Ali of the Fenari family converted the south church of St. John into a *mescid*, a mosque without a pulpit, under the name Fenari Isa Camii, to which a minaret was added on the southwest corner.¹⁴ The tombs located in the former south church were cleared of human remains, while those in the nave, narthex, and exonarthex of the former north church were left undisturbed until they were rediscovered by Theodore Macridy in 1929. A general conflagration that swept through Constantinople in 1633 damaged the building. In 1636, the Grand Vizier Bayram Pasha restored the *mescid* as a regular mosque, instituting some important changes to the exterior architecture and removing the interior decoration. The former north church was put to use as a *tekke* for dervishes. There was another fire in the eighteenth century, perhaps in 1782. The damages were not repaired until 1847/48. A final fire damaged the structure in 1917 and left it in ruins. The Turkish Ministry of Mosques began the work of restoring the interior of the structure in 1960, and the work on the exterior was continued by the American Byzantine Institute under Arthur Megaw. In recent times the building has been returned to use as a mosque.

Analysis

A. Sources of the Typikon

Like most Palaiologan documents, this *typikon* is a work of diverse conceptual and ideological ancestry. Certain features of traditional (pre-reform) imperial monasteries reassert themselves here, such as the extraordinary elaboration of privileges conceded [40], [41] to members of the imperial family and the nobility who might want to join the convent. Naturally, this *typikon* invites comparison to (27) *Kecharitomene*, the only previous document in our collection written for a nunnery. There are similar treatments of many usages and institutions in these two documents.¹⁵ Many of these can also be traced back, through (27) *Kecharitomene*, to (22) *Evergetis* itself. There are, however, only a few possibly independent links to (22) *Evergetis*.¹⁶ In addition to their shared usages and institutions, the close organizational parallelism between the present document and (27) *Kecharitomene* makes it highly likely that the author had the *typikon* of the Komnenian nunnery, or one derived from it, at hand as this *typikon* was composed. Indeed, a document of the next generation, Irene Choumnaina Palaiologina's (47) *Philanthropos*, contains an actual quotation that can be traced back to (27) *Kecharitomene*, suggesting that the latter document was still circulating in Palaiologan times. The many permutations in the long history of the Evergetian reform tradition have also had a detectable impact on this document.¹⁷ Finally, the present *typikon* incorporates some contemporary institutions and approaches to problems.¹⁸

B. Composition of the Typikon

Talbot (“Theodora Palaiologina,” p. 299, n. 40) has established that this *typikon* was actually written by an anonymous “ghostwriter” rather than by the empress herself, based on verses he wrote in the margins of a manuscript of Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, Vaticanus graecus 1787, folio 4v. The chapters indicated by Roman numerals in Delehaye’s edition are original to the document.¹⁹ The first six chapters observe the order, with some omissions, of the equivalent chapters in (27) *Kecharitomene*.²⁰ Of the twenty-one original chapters in the document, all except Chapter 20, which regulates the foundation’s hospital, have easily identifiable equivalents in (27) *Kecharitomene*.²¹ It is entirely possible that this *typikon*’s ghostwriter was utilizing a now lost intermediary document closely related to (27) *Kecharitomene*, if not that Komnenian *typikon* itself. In any event, the ghostwriter appears to have employed his model to determine the structure of his own *typikon*, then to have drawn up his own regulations that are textually independent of (27) *Kecharitomene* and frequently somewhat different in content as well. The result was a generally well-ordered and edited document which, like (37) *Auxentios*, can be considered an exemplar of the neo-Evergetian monasticism that was popular in various Byzantine monasteries of the Palaiologan era.

C. State of the Manuscript

There are some gaps of varying length in the text of this document as it has come down to us. There is a gap of uncertain length at the beginning [1] that may have contained important information on the constitutional status of the convent and perhaps also on the unalterability of the cenobitic life.²² There are lacunas of about three lines in [3] and in [5] as well as a brief one at the end of [4]. The lacuna in [3] may have had some important additional information on the election of the superior. There is about one folio missing in both [25] and in [27]. The former must have provided more details on the responsibilities of the steward as well as a discussion of the requirements of the cenobitic lifestyle, while the latter may have once contained an exhortation analogous to (22) *Evergetis* [33].

In the documentary analysis which follows in sections D–G, it is assumed that the provisions of the anonymous ghostwriter reflect the wishes of the formal author, the empress Theodora Palaiologina.

D. Lives of the Nuns

1. Number of Nuns

There were to be [4] fifty nuns at this foundation, including thirty assigned to the performance of the canonical hours and twenty for various household duties. In addition to the superior, the officials mentioned in the *typikon* are the steward [25], [26], the sacristan [23], the ecclesiarchissa and two assistants [24], the treasurer [22], [24], and the gatekeeper [21].

2. Liturgical Duties

The primary function of the nunnery was [4] the performance of the canonical hours by the nuns assigned to this task. The hymnody was to follow [30] the prescriptions of the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas, which this document describes as “both moderate and the royal road” (cf. (57) *Bebaia*

Elpis [79]). The liturgy was to be celebrated [30] simultaneously in both of the foundation's churches on Sundays, four other times during the week, on feasts of the Lord, and on the feasts of major saints, just as in (32) *Mamas* [32], but less frequently than the daily liturgies prescribed in (22) *Evergetis* [5]. There are also detailed provisions for celebration of the patronal feasts, the birthday of the Mother of God [37], and the feast of St. John the Baptist [38] as well as for the illumination [39] of the churches. On the other hand, the observances [38] for feasts of the Lord and for the feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God as well as the illumination [39] of the churches during the liturgical performances were matters left to the discretion of the superior and the leading nuns.

Four priests, two for each church, were salaried [6] for the performance of the liturgies. The *typikon* obliges them to summon replacements if they fell sick, an indication of how important the author thought it to be that the liturgies were performed as prescribed. Ordinarily, the professional psalm-singers known as *kalliphonoi*, whose counterparts were also banned in (27) *Kecharitomene* [75], were to be excluded [39] from participation in services, except when the emperor was scheduled to attend.

3. Manual Labor

There is no specific regulation of manual labor in the document as it has come down to us, but it must have been an important part of the lives of the twenty nuns assigned [4] to household duties (cf. also [17]).

4. Length of the Novitiate

The ordinary term of the novitiate was to be [18] a year, during which time a novice would be tested [17], as in (37) *Auxentios* [12], by being rotated through the various duties of the convent. A mature woman, such as a widow, was allowed to serve an accelerated novitiate of six months. Girls brought up in the convent as infants or children should be examined [18] in the presence of all the nuns when they reached the age of sixteen and either tonsured or dismissed at that time. Young women wishing to join the convent were not to be tonsured [17] before reaching the age of twenty, prior to which time they should serve a novitiate of three years. Thus the *typikon*'s provisions on this subject are even more complicated than those laid down in (27) *Kecharitomene* [30], probably because the present document envisions internal recruitment as an important source of supply of nuns for the convent. Nuns of a "seemly and irreproachable life" tonsured in other convents were welcome [20], but should be read the *typikon* and give assent to it.

5. Sacramental Life

There is no regulation of the frequency of communion, but the nuns were to have a spiritual father, to whom they were to make [11] their confessions exclusively, on the analogy of the provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [15] and most of the documents in the reform tradition. He was to be a virtuous monk, either cenobitic or hesychastic, who would visit the convent for three days every month. He would be boarded in some small rooms in the monastery's guest house and hear confessions in the morning in the narthex of each of the churches. Echoing (22) *Evergetis* [7], the *typikon* urges [12] the nuns to make their confessions unreservedly to him. He would also make [11] special visitations to the convent as required.

6. Cenobitic Life

The *typikon*'s prescriptions for the cenobitic life of the community are lost in the large gaps in the text of [25] and perhaps also [2]. Elsewhere, the description [29] of refectory procedures, including the common table, a ban on secret eating, and an instruction that the nuns should keep to the prescribed seating order "so as not to quarrel over places at table," is close to the regulations found in (22) *Evergetis* [9]. Although we cannot be certain about the rest of the *typikon*'s provisions for the common life of ordinary nuns, it is clear that the empress wished to exempt her daughters, granddaughters, other female relatives, and women "of distinguished families" from the obligation to participate, for all these the *typikon* allows [40], [41] to abstain from communal meals and be waited on by personal servants, either their own or nuns supplied by the convent.

7. Diet

Generally speaking, the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas was to be [29] authoritative for the regulation of the nuns' diet: nuns were "to eat what he permits and abstain from what he forbids," except for the elderly [34] and the sick [29] who would follow their doctor's recommendations. This *typikon*, like that of the empress' husband Michael VIII, author of (37) *Auxentios* [8], asserts [32] an Aristotelian awareness of the organic needs of human beings, and does in fact provide specific dietary guidelines: three dishes of fish, cheese, and legumes on non-fast days (Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays); for the fast days, legumes, vegetables and seasonal shellfish (on Mondays) or vegetables and legumes only (on Wednesdays and Fridays). Moreover, unlike (36) *Blemmydes* [20], this *typikon* permits dispensations from the usual diet of the day on feasts of the Lord and other major feasts.

8. Clothing

Old garments were to be returned [36] to the storeroom and new ones distributed in April and in October. Some durable garments were to be handed out every other year, while others, along with shoes, were to be distributed annually (cf. the similar provisions in (37) *Auxentios* [7], (56) *Kellibara II* [8], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [98], [99]).

9. Bathing

Generally, nuns were to bathe [34] only four times a year, "especially if they are young," immediately before Lent and before the fasts of the Holy Apostles, the Dormition of the Mother of God, and Christmas. As in diet, elderly nuns were to follow their doctor's recommendations. There were to be no restrictions on bathing for the sick.

10. Relations with Family

The *typikon* advances [15] a strict interpretation of monastic law requiring the nuns to spend their entire lives within the convent, but as a concession it permits the virtuous to visit their relatives unaccompanied in times of dire necessity. Others needed to be accompanied by elderly nuns and return before sunset. Visiting relatives had to be met at the gate house in the company of "respected" nuns, but they could not enter. Entrance to the convent was generally forbidden [16] to visitors of either sex, except for the emperor and his retinue and the founder's own relatives, who were allowed to visit the churches in order to worship or to see the tombs of family members. A

mother, sister, or other female relative who was “without reproach in her conduct and way of life” could visit a seriously ill nun, but the visitor could not stay in the convent overnight, even if the nun’s death was imminent. Overall, the regulation of visitations is considerably stricter than that found in (27) *Kecharitomene* [17].

11. Servants Permitted to Privileged Nuns

The empress’ daughters [40] and granddaughters [41] were permitted to bring their personal attendants with them on entrance to the convent. Alternately, the convent would assign nuns for their service, three for one of the founder’s daughters or two for one of her granddaughters. Other female relatives of the imperial family and women of the nobility were to be allowed [41] one attendant or one nun for their service.

12. Care of Sick Nuns

A doctor was to visit [35] the convent once a week, except during Lent when no visitors were allowed, but even then the doctor could come to treat a medical emergency. Nuns who were ill would be put [33] on a special diet as prescribed by their doctor and approved by the spiritual father. The hospital storehouse would supply salves and bandages as needed. Care was to be taken to assure that nuns were genuinely sick and not just feigning illness (cf. (56) *Kellibara II* [5]).

E. Constitutional Matters

1. Independent Status of the Convent

The *typikon* makes [1] the customary proclamation of the convent’s independence even though in many respects this institution is structured more like a traditional imperial monastery. The inclusion of treasury officials on the short list of potential threats to this independence is instructive. The *typikon* likewise warns against either the emperor or patriarch joining it (through *henosis*) or subordinating it as a dependency to another convent, both of which were common administrative practices in this era (cf. (38) *Kellibara I* [13], [17]).

2. The Protectorate

The *typikon* justifies [3] the imposition of a protectorate on the convent on the grounds that women need strong protection “inasmuch as they are accustomed to staying at home and the silence which is most appropriate to [them].” The empress’ son, the emperor Andronikos II, is nominated for the office of guardian (*prostates*) and protector (*ephoros*), to be followed in turn by his successors in perpetuity. Her husband Michael VIII, implicitly in (37) *Auxentios* [3]. [5] and explicitly in (38) *Kellibara I* [16], also endorsed the notion of a powerful imperial protectorate, even for male monasteries.

3. Selection of the Superior

The *typikon* provides [5] for the internal selection of the superior. She is to be chosen “amicably” from among the choir sisters (i.e., the thirty nuns devoted to hymnody) during not more than a week’s deliberations, our first indication in these documents of how long the process of selecting a superior might take. Accompanied by the oldest priest and twelve of the most worthy nuns, the superior-elect was to present [7] herself to the emperor who would give her the superior’s staff of

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office. On her return to the convent, the priest would conduct a ceremony marking her installation including entrusting her with the box containing the *typikon*.

4. Role of the Superior

The superior's authority was restricted in several ways. She was obliged [21] to consult with the spiritual father, who was evidently more than a confessor at this institution, in the appointment of the convent's most important officials and their discipline, should they require it. She was also to share most of her discretionary authority with the convent's "leading nuns" in such matters as relaxations of diet [32], the illumination of the churches during liturgical services [39], the celebration of feasts [38], and the lending out of documents [23]. She needed only to inform [10] them of her appointments to the convent's lesser offices. Moreover, should she behave "in a manner unworthy of the *typikon*," these same nuns were to report [10] her to the spiritual father. With their concurrence, he could remove her from office and designate a successor. As in (22) *Evergetis* [14] and its close copiers, the deposed superior was allowed to remain in the convent if she accepted the judgment. The new superior was to treat her with "appropriate kindness and respect." This may indicate that the latter was thought to have some sort of abiding property interest in lifetime maintenance in the convent.

The superior, the spiritual father, and the leading nuns were jointly to select [25] "a man or a eunuch" as the steward of the convent's properties. The *typikon* includes a description of his duties [25] as well as those of the sacristan [23], the ecclesiarchissa [24] who was subordinate to her, and the treasurer [24].

5. Style of Rule

The *typikon* stresses [27] the importance of the superior and the leading nuns reaching a consensus on the governance of the community. While they are obliged to deal considerately with the other members of the community, the *typikon* instructs the latter to "be content with your lot and be obedient." The efficacy of the community's prayers for themselves, the founders, and the Christian community at large were thought to be dependent on the existence of harmonious relations among the convent's inhabitants. Elsewhere, the *typikon* [9] orders that nuns may not leave the convent or receive anything from someone outside, even a remedy for a disease, without the superior's permission, thus endorsing the authoritarian approach to leadership also seen in (34) *Machairas* and (45) *Neophytos*, on the grounds that the superior is directly accountable for them to God on the Day of Judgment.

6. Patronal Privileges

The *typikon* boldly asserts [11] the empress' prerogative to order the foundation as she sees fit "for I am permitted to decree my wishes in my own affairs, especially since I happen to be a *despoina* by the mercy of my all-powerful God." In this spirit she claims [40] preferential admission privileges for her daughters and granddaughters. If one of her daughters chose to join the convent, she was to receive the provisions of four ordinary nuns, have her personal attendants tonsured along with her, and have three nuns selected by the superior and the leading nuns assigned to her for her service. Moreover, it was to be up to the daughter herself to decide whether she would eat at the common table with the rest of the nuns or observe the other provisions of the *typikon*. If she chose to live by herself "on account of ill health" and join the rest of the nuns only for church services,

her personal attendants or any accompanying relative were still to be supported [41] by the monastery; otherwise a nun was to be assigned to live with her while two others attended to her household affairs. The empress' granddaughters were entitled [41] to the same privileges, but with only two of their own attendants or two nuns supplied by the convent.

These provisions far exceed the comparable regulations of the empress' distant predecessor in (27) *Kecharitomene* [4] in their indulgence of an extraordinarily privileged and essentially separate residence within the convent for her descendants.

The *typikon* also provides that the empress, her ancestors, her mother, her son the emperor and his wife, and her other children were to be [30] the beneficiaries of eucharistic offerings made on their behalf during the liturgies celebrated in the foundation. The empress asks [52] the nuns to remember her in their common and private prayers. Finally, the foundation is to serve [42] as a place of burial for herself and her family "for all of whom there are to be annual commemorations."

7. Reading and Preservation of the *Typikon*

As usual in independent foundations, the regulatory authority of the *typikon* is recognized and perpetuated by providing [8] for its being read aloud at the dinner hour, here three times a year on the two patronal feasts and at Easter. The sacristan was responsible [23] for the preservation of all paper documents that were, like the *typikon* (cf. [7]) kept in sealed boxes.

F. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

As in (27) *Kecharitomene* [14], it was apparently thought impractical for a cloistered nun to serve as the convent's steward. There is a provision [25], however, for an installation ceremony in which the newly chosen steward—a layman of some sort (a eunuch is suggested)—kneels before an icon of the Mother of God and receives a blessing from the spiritual father and the attendant priest. He was responsible for the appointment of property administrators for the convent's estates, the management of its fields and vineyards, the prevention of theft and damage, and for building maintenance. He was not to be resident at the convent, but to consult [26] instead with the superior in the presence of the leading nuns in the morning, departing, ordinarily, before the midday meal.

As in (27) *Kecharitomene* [19], [24], both the cellarer [24], here assisted by an assistant ecclesiarchissa, and the sacristan [23] were nuns. Among other responsibilities, the sacristan was to guard the foundation's reserve funds, including money donated by the founder, surplus revenues, and any subsequent bequests by benefactors. This *typikon* fails to endorse Michael VIII's command in (37) *Auxentios* [9] that his monastery should not stockpile surplus money but should donate it to charitable causes instead. The official with the title of cellarer, on the other hand, seems to have functioned both as a cellarer and as a provisioner, being primarily concerned with the supply and preparation of food and wine.

Following practices similar to but less stringent than those established by post-Evergetian institutions like (27) *Kecharitomene* [19], [24] and (32) *Mamas* [9], [10], the *typikon* provides [22] that both the sacristan and the cellarer were to receive a written record of the property

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entrusted to them and subsequently provide an accounting for it, the cellarer annually, and the sacristan at the end of her tenure of office.

The empress endowed her foundation with numerous landed properties in [49] and around [44] Constantinople and near Smyrna [44] in Asia Minor. Her son Andronikos II had given her many of these properties ([44] through [47]), while others came from her mother [48]. They included villages, arable land, vineyards, olive groves, mills, a fish pond, a pier, and various rental properties.

2. Inalienability of Property

As usual for foundations created after the monastic reform movement of the late eleventh century, the alienation of landed property was strictly prohibited [43]. Like (27) *Kecharitomene* [10], however, this document allows the foundation some flexibility with movable property. In the event that poor harvests or an enemy attack should lead to a decrease in revenues, it permits the foundation to pawn one of the sacred vessels, provided that it is redeemed after a few years or a better one is bought to replace it.

3. Entrance Gifts Not Mandatory

The *typikon* orders [14] that postulants are to be given “sufficient necessities” immediately so that no contribution will be required of them, “not even the usual so-called entrance gift,” i.e., *prosenexis*. This suggests that some other foundations expected postulants to live off their own resources, whether self-administered or turned over to the monastery, from the moment of their arrival. Here, the empress follows the traditional distinction of (22) *Evergetis* [37] permitting voluntary offerings, which, however, should not serve as an excuse for boasting or vanity on the part of the donor. Elsewhere in the *typikon* there is a record [49] of a small convent of St. George “called Trapeza” at Skoutari which the nun Tzakalina donated to Lips as her entrance gift. As in the traditional Evergetian formulation, nuns who have been tonsured could not reclaim [18] any entrance donations they may have made should they decide to leave later, or (here) be dismissed for cause.

4. Other Gifts Welcome

Unlike some earlier documents (e.g., (27) *Kecharitomene* [8] or (31) *Areia* [M10], [T6]), this *typikon* expresses [19] no reservations about unconditionally accepting gifts of property, money, sacred vessels, or other furnishings offered “by anyone whosoever with pious intentions.” While the particular reasons for the more critical policies of her predecessors may no longer have been relevant by the late thirteenth century, the contemporary document (46) *Akropolites* [7], [8] illustrates the potential extent to which conditions that benefactors might place on their donations could still make a serious and quite possibly disruptive impact on the operations of the beneficiary institution.

G. Overall Philosophy

The extent of the founder’s willingness to acquiesce [40], [41] in extraordinary privileges not only for her daughters and granddaughters but also for other noble ladies who wanted to join the monastery is unprecedented among the documents in our collection written since the monastic reform movement made the rejection of such privileges one of its most important principles. Most likely this is a revival, unconscious or otherwise, of an accepted institution of traditional religious foun-

dations, in this case of the imperial nunnery, in which it was accepted as a matter of course that a founder-in-residence or her close relatives, would be a special case exempt from the rules applicable to others.

That said, the empress' *typikon* still shows the impact of the egalitarian ideology of (22) *Evergetis* and of cenobitical monasticism in general. It declares [18] the empress' willingness to bring up infants and children offered to the convent regardless of whether they were nobly born or not, and all would have to wait till they reached age sixteen before being offered tonsure. There is also the traditional refusal to tolerate [29] quarrels over seating or demands for better food from noble (but presumably non-imperial) nuns or those who have made large donations to the convent. The latter, in fact, are told to behave [14] as if they "had made no contribution, respecting equality of privilege (*isotimia*—a new technical term) and submitting to this rule [the *typikon*] and abiding by the commandment (*kanon*) which is common for all nuns." These provisions are not unnoticed, mechanical survivals from (22) *Evergetis*, but either original contemporary ideas (as in [14] and [18]) or (as in [29]) evidence of a creative re-use of Evergetian diction in a new context. Therefore, they need to be interpreted as evidence of the author's own heartfelt, if hardly consistent, belief in the value of monastic equality for the assurance of good order in her convent.

H. External Relations

1. Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

The patriarch had no role in the installation of the convent's superior. Perhaps he could be more readily excluded seeing that the superior, unlike the superior of a male monastery, did not need ordination in order to hear confessions, a function handled here by the spiritual father. The *typikon* limits [1] the patriarch's privileges to his inclusion in the liturgical commemorations (*anaphora*), the customary memorial commemoration (*mnemosynon*), and the right of spiritual correction "if any situation should arise that required greater discernment than that possessed by the superior and the nuns' spiritual father." The last concession is significant, particularly in view of its explicit denial in (38) *Kellibara I* [15].

2. Institutional Philanthropy

The foundation's principal philanthropic contribution was its maintenance [50] of a hospital capable of bedding down twelve patients. The hospital was supported by revenues derived [46] from certain specially earmarked properties that Andronikos II had donated to his mother. These sufficed to pay [51] salaries for three doctors, an assistant, a nurse, a head pharmacist, two apothecaries, six attendants, a bloodletter, three servants, and a cook, as well as to pay a laundress for her services.

Notes on the Introduction

1. See Talbot, "Theodora Palaiologina," p. 299.
2. According to Talbot, "Theodora Palaiologina," p. 301: "a deluxe codex, probably the original version of the *typikon*"; see also Delehay, *Deux typica*, pp. 14–16, and Nelson and Lowden, "Palaeologina Group," pp. 65–67, with plates 9, 11, 13.
3. For Constantine Lips, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 307, with references to sources in notes; Mango

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- and Hawkins, "Additional Notes," pp. 299–300; and Anthony Cutler and Alexander Kazhdan, "Lips," *ODB*, pp. 1232–33. The sources for the original Lips foundation are especially problematic.
4. *Patria Konstantinoupoleos*, ed. Th. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* (Leipzig, 1901; repr. New York, 1975), p. 289.
 5. See Mango and Hawkins, "Additional Notes," p. 300.
 6. Talbot, "Theodora Palaiologina," p. 299, n. 40, based on a marginal note in Vaticanus graecus 1787, fol. 4v.
 7. Talbot, "Theodora Palaiologina," p. 300, based on J. Gouillard, "Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie," *T&M* 2 (1967), p. 101.
 8. Theodore Metochites, *Monodia epi te basilidi Theodora te tou basileos metri*, in Codex Vindobonensis philologicus graecus 95, fol. 184v; see H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, pt. 1 (Vienna, 1961), p. 203 (giving fols. 179r–189r for the entire text); cf. Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB*, vol. 2 (Bonn, 1835), p. 377.
 9. Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, ed. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, *CSHB*, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1829), p. 463; Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo*, ed. Bekker, p. 425.
 10. John Kantakouzenos, *Historiarum libri IV*, ed. L. Schopen, *CSHB*, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1828), p. 193.
 11. See Macridy, "Monastery of Lips," pp. 267–69.
 12. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, p. 309.
 13. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 310–11.
 14. For the Fenari Isa Camii, see Macridy, "Monastery of Lips," pp. 253–54 and Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, p. 127.
 15. [14] no mandatory entrance gifts, cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [7]; [15] visitation privileges, cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [17]; [16] reception of visitors, cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [17], [80]; [18] length of the novitiate, cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [30]; [18] entrance gifts not reclaimable, cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [7]; [23] treasury of stored-up money, cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [24]; [23], [24] duties of the sacristan and the treasurer, cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [24]; [25] external steward, cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [14]; [29] special diet for the sick, cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [44]; [34] frequency of bathing for the sick, cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [58]; [39] psalm-singers, cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [75]; [40] special privileges for relatives, cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [4].
 16. [10] role of the leading nuns in removing the superior, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14]; [10] respect for the deposed superior, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14]; and [12] unreserved confession, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [15].
 17. [4] liturgical and servant monks, cf. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3]; [8] less frequent reading of the *typikon*, cf. (32) *Mamas* [16]; [30] frequency of the liturgy, cf. (32) *Mamas* [32].
 18. [1] patriarchal privileges, cf. (37) *Auxentios* [3]; [3] choice of the emperor as protector, cf. (38) *Kellibara I* [16]; [33] precaution against feigned illness, cf. (56) *Kellibara II* [5]; [36] cycle for exchange of garments, cf. (37) *Auxentios* [7], (56) *Kellibara II* [8].
 19. Our cross-references, however, utilize exclusively the chapters with Arabic numerals devised by Delehaye for his edition.
 20. (39) *Lips I* and (27) *Kecharitomene* [1]; (39) *Lips II* and (27) *Kecharitomene* [3]; (39) *Lips III* and (27) *Kecharitomene* [5]; (39) *Lips IV* and (27) *Kecharitomene* [11]; (39) *Lips V* and (27) *Kecharitomene* [13]; (39) *Lips VI* and (27) *Kecharitomene* [16].
 21. For details, see the Document Notes.
 22. A conjecture based on the possibility that (27) *Kecharitomene* [2] as well as [1] and [3] were utilized in the document's first two original chapters.

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Translation

I. [Concerning the independence of the convent.]¹

I. . . . [lacuna] . . . I entrust [the convent to] our common Mother and Protectress and Mistress, and, as I know clearly from many indications, my own special Protectress and Lady, and I forbid anyone else to control anything therein. For if these nuns, who have rejected the whole world and disregard all worldly things, have promised to serve God alone, and “have taken up the cross” and chosen “to follow him throughout their life,” (cf. Matt. 16:24) and for such a purpose indeed my [plan] has proceeded, what just cause remains for anyone to assume authority, or who would be so bold and daring as to appropriate the rightful property of God and oppose him in any way? I hesitate to say this, but whoever did such a thing would be fighting against God. Therefore let no one in authority or any treasury official ever have any opportunity to remove any monastic property or transfer anything at all or take it away or give it to another [monastery]; not even the emperor or the patriarch may subordinate it or add² it to any convent, as they provide for this or that convent.

For it is my will and decree that [the convent] remain independent, [p. 107] connected to no [other monastery] in any way, attached indivisibly only to the hospital which I built nearby, and making as much provision for all the patients therein as for its own [nuns]; and if our successors in power exercise good judgment, they will certainly decide that they should respect the wishes of

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their predecessors, and confirm their decrees even more strongly, in the knowledge that it is inevitable that someday they, too, will die—for they are human and share in the transitory nature common to all mankind—and that, if they observe the rules laid down by their predecessors, they will provide an example for their successors to treat their decrees in the same way.

To the divine and ecumenical patriarch we grant this privilege alone at the convent, the mentioning of his name at the holy services, and the traditional commemoration if he attends, as well as the [right to] investigate spiritual faults and [impose] an appropriate penance, if any situation should ever rise (I certainly hope not) that required greater discernment and ability than that possessed by the superior and the nuns' spiritual father.

2. Concerning all other matters my imperial majesty will ordain and set forth a prescribed form of appropriate behavior, according to which [the nuns] should conduct themselves and manage all their own affairs, and make amends for their own benefit and salvation. I have made clear my wishes for both my contemporaries and my successors. If anyone at all should wish to act contrary to my regulations, I myself would say nothing against him, carrying out the commandment (cf. Matt. 7:1–12), and refraining from cursing him, but it is my fervent wish that nothing be changed, so that no accounting need be given for this person on the Day of Judgment. Whoever it may be, let him fear lest he make himself subject to a curse thereby and, so to speak, liable to the ultimate [punishment], or, as they say, lest he encounter horrors worse than the curse . . . [lacuna of at least one folio] . . . [p. 108]

II. [Concerning the *ephoreia* and protection of the monastery, and its *ephoros*.]

3. . . . and disputes to trouble their quiet and tranquil way of life, and especially in the case of women of a gentle and weak nature, who need strong protection, inasmuch as they are accustomed to staying at home³ and the silence which is most appropriate for women. Since then there is thus need for guardianship, we have decided that this holy convent of ours should be subject to a guardian and *ephoros*, and the weaker we acknowledge the nuns to be, the stronger guardian will we choose. What other man on earth could this be than the one who has received authority and power from God the only Ruler? It is clear to everyone that I mean the emperor, whom God, who is before all and above all, has placed over all men. Now, through God's favor to me, it is my son,⁴ my support and ornament, who previously ruled together with his father, the emperor,⁵ but now, as we prayed, has assumed sole power and rules alone over the Roman Empire, ably and more powerfully than I ever thought possible; together with him rules my second ornament and my consolation, his son and the heir to his power and crown;⁶ and so will the successors to the empire and inheritance forever [protect the convent]; for we entrust its *ephoreia* to the emperor in perpetuity. Wherefore his successors as emperor must take hold of the monastery with both hands, as they say, and defend it worthily and treat it properly, so that they may persuade the Mistress of all and Mother of God, and in addition [St. John] the Baptist of the Lord and Forerunner, to guard and maintain them in this world and preserve them from any grievous occurrence, and in the death which is to come to present them warmly to God, and entreat him not to deem them unworthy to enjoy "the kingdom prepared from the foundation of the world" (Matt. 25:34). [p. 109]

III. Concerning the requisite number of nuns.

4. After this introduction I will now make known my wishes to the women whom this present document concerns, and who understand all of my purpose herein. It is my wish that the total number of nuns come to fifty and no more, of whom thirty should concern themselves with the divine sanctuary, all of them together unceasingly rendering up to God the divine hymns and holy doxologies prescribed for monastic life, [the services] at midnight, dawn and after sunrise, at the third, sixth and ninth hour, vespers and compline. The remaining twenty should be assigned to different household duties. All [of the nuns] should be subservient to the single mind and will of their spiritual leader, [the superior], who is entrusted at all times with their protection. Her election should proceed as follows . . . [brief lacuna] . . .

IV. Concerning the election and installation of the superior and about the assignment of four priests to the convent.

5. One of the thirty choir sisters, who is preeminent in wisdom and virtue . . . [lacuna of three lines] . . . should be chosen and selected in an amicable fashion; an entire week will suffice for her election. For I do not think [the nuns] will require more time, as they are seeking a protectress for the benefit of their souls and wish to root out, even before they begin, the scandals which love to spring up from [long deliberations]. [p. 110]

6. After the election a prayer service should be conducted all night and day for them by the priests—and I ordain that the convent always have four of them, of whom two should be assigned to the old church, and the others to the new, and each of them should receive an annual salary of 12 gold pieces, 50 *modioi* of grain and 36 measures of wine. All of these then should celebrate the bloodless sacrifice individually and separately in the church of our Lady the Mother of God in honor of her all-holy name, in the church of my revered [St. John the] Forerunner and Baptist in his name, in the [chapel] near the old [church] dedicated to St. Irene, whose venerable relics are found in the convent, and in any one [of these churches]⁷ in the *katechoumenia*, in honor of the saint of the day. Since there are four priests, they should perform the above-mentioned services unceasingly; but if one of them should be absent because of illness or has some other excuse, another should be summoned as a replacement.

7. On the next day twelve of the most worthy nuns and the priest who is most distinguished by his white hair and wisdom should escort the superior-elect to the emperor, so that she may be entrusted with the staff of the superior. After she receives it, they should return immediately to the convent. After blessing the church, the priest should make the customary prayers on behalf of the emperors, and should also pray on behalf of the new superior. Then he should take the box containing this *typikon*, which has been placed before the icon of our Mistress and Protectress, the Mother of God, and should entrust it to [the superior] after she has knelt three times; and after making the sign of the venerable cross, he should pray for God's assistance to protect her. Finally, after partaking of the consecrated bread from the altar, he should proceed home, and the nuns and the superior should go to the refectory. I direct that on this day ten gold pieces' worth of victuals

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be purchased, with the addition of legumes, olive oil and other sorts of condiments from the monastic stores. [p. 111]

8. Then the reading of this testament of mine should be instituted: on the first day it should be read for the length of the dinner hour, and on subsequent days be read through to the end. It is my wish and command that the *typikon* be read aloud at least three times a year, beginning each time on a feast day;⁸ first on the feast of the birthday of the venerable [St. John the] Forerunner and Baptist,⁹ second on the salvific birthday of the eternally Virgin Mother of God,¹⁰ and third and last after the feast of the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ and the closure of the feast of the *enkainia*.¹¹ I ask that all the nuns proclaim “Eternal be the memory of the founders” at the conclusion of each reading.

V. About the necessity of rendering honor to the superior, and how the incompetent superior is to be relieved of her position.

9. The superior will thus direct you in accordance with God’s will, and care for your souls and your salvation . . . [lacuna of two lines] . . . For this is her duty, for this she was selected and proclaimed before God and men, for whom she will have to give reckoning on the Day of Judgment; but all of you, young and middle-aged, elderly and aged, have the obligation to devote yourselves to her as to a mother, and to rely on her will and judgment. You should do nothing independently, neither leaving the convent without permission (for let me say this first), nor receiving anything from outside without asking her permission, whether a remedy for disease, or treatment for the body; nor should you do anything else (to speak once and for all) without the knowledge of the superior. [p. 112]

10. But if (and I pray this may not happen) she should appear to behave in a manner unworthy of this *typikon* of mine, or indeed of the monastic condition, one or two nuns [alone] should not take the opportunity to rebel against her or cause any sort of scandal for the convent, but if the witnesses are among the preeminent nuns, they should consult with each other, and make known the charges against her to their spiritual father. If, on the other hand, they are of lesser rank, they should report the facts to those of higher rank, and together with them they should refer to their spiritual father their thoughts on this matter. After he examines the charges against her, with the concurrence of the leading nuns he should remove her from the position of superior, if he deems this right, and should entrust the position to another in accordance with the aforementioned procedure. He will command the [deposed superior] to accept the decision against her, or threaten her with terrible punishment and dishonorable expulsion. If she agrees, he will instruct her successor as superior to render her the appropriate kindness and respect, so that the nuns may thereafter lead a quiet and truly spiritual life.

VI. Concerning the rule that all the nuns should have one spiritual father, and conditions for his visits to the convent.

11. This is my wish, and I bid you as a mother, so to speak, or rather I command it as your mistress.

For I am permitted to decree my wishes in my own affairs, especially since I happen to be a *despoina* by the mercy of my all-powerful God. It is my wish that all the nuns be subject to one spiritual father, so that they may thus appropriately be called “sisters.” He should be a man who is distinguished and known for his virtue, but it makes no difference whether he is a solitary or lives in a cenobitic monastery. [p. 113] I order that he come every month for a stay of three days and no more, and that he should reside in the small rooms assigned for this purpose in the hospital. From early morning he should sit in the part of the narthex of one of the churches to receive the confessions of each nun. If some necessity befalls a sister so that she requires his visit sooner, then he should be notified, come [to the convent], and leave as soon as he has made a proper visitation. Since the [spiritual father] is an eminent man, as we have said, he will not need advice or counsel from anyone else in order to diagnose and heal in the best way the sufferings of a soul, but the sisters will perhaps have need of instruction and counsel.

12. O daughters, mothers and sisters—for I will call you each by the name your age assigns you—or rather sisters in God, the Father and Creator of all—your spiritual father holds forth a model of Christ the Judge and Lord of us all. Therefore, just as “when we present ourselves before him, naked and laid bare,”¹² our secrets will be revealed, I mean our temptations, struggles, beliefs and deeds, so you should reveal your deeds and thoughts unreservedly before the one who is chosen for us as a model of Christ, so that you may be healed of them. As John of the Ladder says, “Faults which are publicly proclaimed do not get worse,” and again, “A soul which intends to confess is thereby checked from sin as if by a bridle.”¹³

13. Therefore you must tell him your words, deeds and plans, everything except for the so-called “secret thoughts,” which the holy fathers bid us leave unspoken.¹⁴ Thus you should receive from him the cure for your sins, that is penances and forgiveness, as if from Christ himself or one of his apostles and disciples, in the belief that “whatever he looses [on earth] shall be loosed in heaven, and whatever he binds [on earth] shall be bound in heaven” (Matt. 16:19). So many times a year should the spiritual father visit the convent. [p. 114]

VII. That in every case postulants need not offer gifts to enter the convent.

14. In any event I should indicate my wishes about postulants. My imperial majesty decrees that, in my opinion, the nuns should immediately be given sufficient necessities, so that no contribution, either large or small, need be asked each time of postulants, and not even the usual so-called “entrance gift.” If anyone wishes to make a contribution of her own accord, the offering will be accepted, but she should not therefore have any excuse for boasting and vanity, so as to act in an overweening manner towards the sisters in any way or to be excused from the prescribed way of life, but she ought to behave as if she had made no contribution, respecting equality of privilege and submitting to this rule and abiding by the commandment which is common for all nuns.

VIII. That the nuns should not go out, and how their visitors should meet with them, who and when and where.

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15. All the nuns alike should refrain throughout their lives from leaving [the cloister], except in the case of a nun whose virtue is long proven. In the event of dire necessity, she may go to visit one of her male or female relatives, and return immediately. But if she has not proven her reliability, she should be accompanied by elderly nuns and return before sunset. If one of her relatives should wish to visit her, he should meet with her as she stands in front of the gatehouse in the company of respected nuns. After she has held sufficient conversation in their presence, she is to bid farewell [p. 115] and return with them [within the convent]. My imperial majesty enjoins this rule, making a concession to the weakness of human nature. For I am well aware that monastic law makes different provisions, separating [nuns] completely from their parents, and enjoining renunciation even of their children, let alone their siblings or other relatives or friends and acquaintances of long standing.

16. Thus the gates will be completely shut to those who approach the convent. No one except the emperor and the respectable and eminent members of the emperor's retinue are to enter the convent, except in the case of one of my relatives who wishes to see and venerate the holy churches in a pious manner, or to see the tombs of our dear departed out of love for them. If it should be one of my daughters or grandchildren or great-grandchildren, or any other kinswoman or noblewoman, she may enter, but only eunuchs or women of mature years may accompany her. If one of the nuns should be stricken with a serious illness, then she may be visited by her mother or sister or another kinswoman who has given evidence that she is without reproach in her conduct and way of life. After sending to the superior through the gatekeeper a petition to enter, she is to be admitted. After she gains entrance, she should spend the day with the ailing nun, but depart in the evening. Even if the nun's death is imminent, she should come back in the morning and depart in the evening, providing absolutely no hint of scandal for the convent, until it is clear that the patient will recover or die.

IX. How long the novice should wait before receiving the tonsure.

17. It is also the will of my imperial majesty that this rule be followed in my convent: if a woman who enters the convent to receive the tonsure is still young, and has not yet attained her twentieth year, [p. 116] [she should remain in the convent, wearing the monastic]¹⁵ habit for three years, living in exactly the same way as the nuns, being assigned to various duties, willingly switching from this duty to that one, and from that one to this, if she is so ordered by the superior. For not only do I forbid nuns who have not yet taken their final vows to beg off from duties assigned to them without her approval, but even those of advanced age and monastic career. When the three years are completed, she should be examined in the presence of all the nuns, and if she accepts the renunciation of the world with all her heart, she should immediately perform the customary rite, take off the [novice] rags and gloriously become the bride of Christ. Otherwise, excuse her and urge her to return home.

18. If she exceeds the above-mentioned age [of 20], but has no experience of life and worldly affairs, then she should wait a full year. But if she is mature or has experience of misfortune, I

mean widowhood or the loss of children or some other of the woes of the world, she need spend only six months [in the convent] before being consecrated in the holy and angelic [monastic] habit. If a girl is brought to the convent during infancy or as a child (I do not care whether she is of noble or common birth), on account of some misfortune such as is wont to occur, or on the other hand because of her love for God, she should wait until her sixteenth year, and then, after being openly examined and making responses in the presence of all the nuns, she should be consecrated in the customary manner. Otherwise she should be dismissed to do as she wishes. In the case of those who do not choose to receive the tonsure, whether they came as minors or adults or were dedicated from infancy, it is possible for them to recover their property without the revenues, but not their money. As for those who are tonsured and accept obedience, they should not receive anything whatsoever if they leave or are dismissed for a fitting cause and justifiable reason. [p. 117]

X. Concerning the acceptance of gifts offered by others with pious intentions.

19. It is my will that gifts offered by anyone whosoever with pious intentions be accepted, property and money, vessels and liturgical cloths, for the adornment of the houses of God, and the memory of the donors.

XI. About receiving nuns from other convents who give evidence of a seemly and irreproachable way of life.

20. We give permission that nuns from other convents who give evidence of a seemly and irreproachable way of life should be admitted, after this *typikon* of mine has been read to them, and they promise to abide by the rules of conduct laid down therein.

XII. Concerning the procedure for appointment of the officials; and about the duties of the ecclesiarchissa, the sacristan, and other officials.

21. Perhaps I should speak about those nuns who are appointed to offices. Some are entrusted with the most important offices: the stewardship, responsibility for the church, the security of the treasures and sacred vessels (and I will add the guarding of the gates. For I think it is important that a gatekeeper be chosen, since I wish to keep the convent secure). The superior will appoint all these with the knowledge of the spiritual father, and, [p. 118] if they should deviate from proper conduct, together with him she will punish them, disciplining them in proportion to their offense, with the approval of the spiritual father and the knowledge of the preeminent nuns. The superior alone is responsible for the assignment of the other offices, after notifying the leading members of the convent.

22. Each of these officials ought to receive a written record of the kind and amount of goods entrusted to her, and to note the quantity and quality which she received, so that she can give an accounting and be found above reproach at the time of reckoning. As for the others, the nuns who are entrusted with the safeguarding of the [sacred] vessels and the purchase of necessary supplies

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(it is customary to call these the sacristan and the cellarer) each of these will have two assistants under her who will know exactly what has been entrusted to them. It is my wish that both be openly assigned to their separate positions, and be granted a receipt and give a receipt in return, which includes the same information about the same matters. But the former [should do this] only once, when she receives and hands back the [vessels] entrusted to her, the other [should do this] on a yearly basis, because she receives [the provisions] annually and should dispense them annually.

23. The sacristan will have responsibility for the sacred vessels and liturgical cloths, that in good weather as many of them as necessary are warmed in the sun and exposed to the air, and that the paper documents of the convent are securely stored in boxes. With the permission of the superior and in the presence of the preeminent nuns, she should produce the necessary [document], and then ask for it back, and, after receiving it in the presence of the same nuns, she should shut it up in a basket and affix a seal. The same is true for the reserves of coins and vessels, both what is deposited now by my imperial majesty and whatever further acquisitions are made in the future, through the good will of God, out of surplus revenues or from the contributions of certain pious souls.

24. Subordinate to her will be the ecclesiarchissa, who receives her appointment from the superior; she is to ask the sacristan, however, for the vessels and for the psalters and lectionaries which are used daily, [p. 119] and also for the precious vessels and cloths which are used on the great feast days and especially on those that we order the convent to celebrate, as well as at the commemorations of the founders. She will also be in charge of their safekeeping, and their occasional issuance and return, and she will be responsible for the illumination of the churches, by both oil and candle. The sacristan will provide these services with the assistance of her two subordinates; for I wish her to have two assistants.

The cellarer will provide [the following] services: she will have beneath her an assistant ecclesiarchissa, who is privy to all her knowledge, and joins her in every action. The cellarer will be responsible for all the other administration of the interior of the convent: thus she will be concerned with what the nuns eat every day and what is served for meals, how it is prepared and portioned out, the quantity and quality of wine that is consumed, instructing the servants in detail about all of these matters.

XIII. Concerning the steward, and how the convent must be cenobitic, and that the nuns are to have no personal and private possessions, and that the *typikon* of St. Sabas should be followed in the convent.

25. There is to be one steward for all the convent's property, both near and far away, and he will appoint other subordinates over the estates in various locations, in accordance with his judgment, either one for each estate, or one for many. I order that he be paid a salary of 36 gold pieces, 100 *annonikoi modioi* of wheat and 100 of barley, and 100 measures of wine. It makes no difference whether he is a eunuch or not, but it is my wish that a man with a respectable way of life and [p. 120] irreproachable behavior be selected by the superior and the leading nuns and their spiritual

father. I ordain that he be installed in the stewardship in the following manner: he is to enter the church in the presence of the spiritual father, and, accompanied by one of the priests, he is to kneel three times in front of the icon of the Mother of God; then, after receiving a blessing from the spiritual father and the attendant priest, he will henceforth bear the title of steward, and will be responsible thereafter for the monastic estates, managing fields and vineyards in a proper manner, sometimes replanting them, and demonstrating worthy consideration for all the property, supervising both the interior and exterior of [the convent] as is fitting, so that there is no damage to the roof of the church, or the roof of the living quarters, or the wall around the hospital. He is to restore all the dilapidated buildings of the convent, and not permit the appropriation or theft of land, or loss or damage of anything else, but should hang on tightly to the monastic property, and eagerly care for it like a truly “faithful and wise steward” (Luke 12:42) . . . [lacuna of perhaps one folio]

26. [He¹⁶ should] make the necessary consultations with the superior in the presence of the leading nuns and on an appointed day, and leave before the midday meal. But if he needs to consult further, he should eat in one of the rooms of the hospital, and visit her again in the afternoon, and depart before nightfall, offering no opportunity for base suspicion.

27. Now that I have discussed the election of the superior and the appointment of officials, I wish to give some advice both to those who are entrusted with offices and those who are not. Those of you in the former group know that you have the obligation to undertake your responsibilities with honesty of purpose and earnest consideration; for you should carry out the responsibilities entrusted to you, as if you had received them from Our Lady herself, the Mother of God, through the intercession of [St. John] the Forerunner and Baptist, and as if you had to render her an accounting of your stewardship. As for those of you who have been allotted the contemplative life, [you should] be content with your lot and be obedient, as the divine Paul counsels, exhorting you to “obey your leaders and submit to them,” and giving the reason, “for they [p. 121] are keeping watch over you and will give account for your souls” (Heb. 13:17). As another Father said, “If those who have charge of us will have to give an accounting for us, how should we not obey them in all affairs?”¹⁷ For the preeminent nuns, the superior herself and those who have assumed important offices must agree with one another and be concerned for the community, and all the nuns together must conduct themselves in a gentle, conciliatory, loving and peaceful manner, and in every way look to their own salvation and that of the other [nuns]; in this way you will receive a favorable response to the prayers which you have been appointed to offer up to God on your own behalf, and on behalf of the Christian community and the founders of this convent of yours, each nun regarding her own condition and condemning only herself, “considering the specks in your own eyes like logs, and overlooking the logs in the eyes of others as if they were specks” (cf. Matt. 7:3), and thus avoiding the arrogance of the Pharisees. But if someone should consider someone’s fault or passion . . . [lacuna of at least one folio] . . .

28. . . . in the words of the disciple who was dear to the heart of Christ, “God is love; and he who abides in love abides in God, and God abides in him” (I John 4:16) . . . God and the disciples of

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God have reckoned love of great value. For is it necessary to say that nature created man originally as a social and loving animal? Therefore, my sisters, you must pursue the highest virtue, but not overlook exalting humility, and cling fast to love with all your soul; and all the nuns in this sacred precinct should seek after the same piety since they are of the same purpose with regard to God, and especially the nuns who are involved with the holy sanctuary and the divine hymnody, inasmuch as they have been assigned to venerate the suprasubstantial and totally impassible God, and have received a pure angelic model. For the angels above sing in an inspired fashion, while the human choirs below sing in a more solemn manner, and the former sing without pause, the latter continuously, [p. 122] the former serenely, the latter purely. But may you all continually commemorate God, as the divine Basil teaches. For those of you who read or otherwise hear the phrase, “[it is more important] to mention the name of God than to breathe,”¹⁸ should remember it.

29. It is time then to speak of the nuns’ diet. As the holy Sabas ordains, thus I wish you to chant the psalms and thus to fast, to eat what he permits and abstain from what he forbids; and all [the nuns] should assemble at a common table, and not keep or eat anything in their cells, unless one of them on account of illness, and with the permission of the superior, should take the necessary items from the storeroom. They should eat as quietly and make as little disturbance as if there were only one nun or almost no one [present], and they should all listen attentively to the reading, as one of the nuns reads aloud whatever the ecclesiarchissa selects. No one is to ask anyone for anything. For how [would it be possible], since it is not permitted for any nun to own [anything] or to appropriate it for herself? They are to be satisfied with the common stores and the food that is set before them daily. They are to keep to the [prescribed] seating order, so as not to argue over places at table, not to ask for different food because of pride in ancestry perhaps or advanced education or supposed superior virtue, or the privilege of age, or because of a contribution of money of property, anything else which puffs up people and alienates them from God.

30. It is my wish and command that the life-bringing sacrifice of Christ be celebrated four times a week, and in both churches at the same time. But if one of the feast days of our Lord or an anniversary of one of the illustrious saints occurs, the eucharist should also be celebrated on that day, but there should [always] be regular celebration on these [four] days. For besides the sacrifices which are to be offered every Sunday and those on intervening feast days, I ordain that four [liturgies] be celebrated every week. As there are four priests, the liturgies will be celebrated without difficulty. They should consecrate eight loaves of bread each time, one for our Lord, another¹⁹ for our Lady, the eternally Virgin Mother of God, another in the name of the saint of the day, another [p. 123] on behalf of the departed nuns, another on behalf of my deceased ancestors, one for my dearly beloved son the emperor and my dearly beloved daughter-in-law, the *despoina*, one for all my children, and yet another for myself and my mother. Every Saturday *stauria* are to be offered on behalf of my deceased ancestors and children and those who will die in the future. It is my wish that all the rest of the divine hymnody be performed in accordance with the *typikon* of St. Sabas. For my imperial majesty approves of it as suitable for women who choose to live in a cenobitic manner, since it is both “moderate” and, as it were, the “royal road.”²⁰

31. But if zeal incites anyone to do even more than this, there is nothing to prevent it; but in the belief that it is essential for nuns to carry out the instructions of this holy teacher, I ordain that they should live in accordance with [the *typikon*]. If the path should seem hard to anyone, let her learn that this is “the way that leads to life” (Matt. 7:14), this is the path which carries one to eternal pleasure; for, as we have learned, “the sufferings of this present time” (cf. Rom. 8:18) are nothing compared with the blessings of the future. If it is necessary to add this, what sufferings could one endure which would be worthy of the sufferings which our Lord and Creator endured on our behalf? He shed his blood for us; let us rid ourselves of the weight of our flesh. He endured violent death; let us not avoid death, but freely choose it. “Suffer and die,” said one of the fathers, “so that you may gain a better life.” Moreover the instructions of this holy father, which are moderate in tone, will not, I think, so afflict you as to hasten you to an early death, nor will they permit you to live at ease, so as to live luxuriously here on earth, but to hear in heaven, “you in your lifetime received your good things” (Luke 16:25). But I repeat what I have already said, both spiritual and material affairs must be directed as the great Sabas ordains, and may God assist you therein.

32. Since man is an organic being and is clad in a body which has need of food and requires covering, and there is a divine law that one should not desire to die [p. 124] nor dissolve the bond of union prematurely, my majesty has deemed it necessary to discuss the needs of the nuns, I mean food and clothing and all other garments. Therefore, on so-called free days, Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday, and Sunday, two or three dishes should be served, at the discretion of the superior and the leading nuns, one fish, one cheese, and the third legumes. On Mondays, one should serve boiled legumes and fresh vegetables with olive oil and shellfish, if they are abundant and in season. On Wednesdays and Fridays, one or two dishes should be served, of fresh vegetables and legumes, unless it is a feast day of our Lord or of one of the great and holy divine apostles or of celebrated martyrs or famous hierarchs. Then perhaps they might eat fish, or at least add olive oil to their food. On feast days, the refectory table should offer more delicacies, fish and cheese and milk, if they are in season. My majesty gives these instructions for no other reason than to acquaint you with the relaxation [of discipline] which I recommend on different days, and only with regard to the increase in number of dishes. For in other respects, a change in the diet, such as eating only dry foods, eating only pure foods, eating fish and eggs and cheese, should be in accordance with the rules of the holy teacher, I mean the one from Jerusalem, about whom I have already spoken.²¹ Thus I ordain that you should obey and carry out everything according to his *typikon*, not only with respect to divine hymnody, but also with regard to food and drink.

33. Since our constitution is organic and our wretched flesh is afflicted by disease, my majesty has deemed it necessary to express her wishes concerning nuns who fall ill. They are not to be subject to the rules of the *typikon*, but are to eat and partake of such drink as is appropriate for their illness, in accordance with the instructions of the physician and the dispensation of the spiritual father when he is notified. She is to receive from the store room of the convent what belongs to the convent, [p. 125] and from the store room of the hospital salves and bandages and whatever she needs. But it is my wish that such relaxation [of discipline] be granted only in cases of genuine

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illness in order to regain necessary health, and not in the case of feigned illness or for excessive nourishment²² of the flesh. It is my wish that for no other reason there be the slightest deviation from this set of rules.

34. Furthermore in the case of nuns who are ill, there is no restriction on bathing, but they should be permitted by the superior to bathe as often as the doctor recommends, and should have as many nuns to attend them as the severity of their illness requires. Otherwise it is my wish that nuns should bathe four times a year, especially if they are young. As for elderly and aged nuns, as well as those who are ill, my majesty commands that they should follow the recommendations of the convent's physician with regard to their diet and regimen. But those who are in good health should bathe four times a year, on the eve of the Great Lent, on the eve of the fast of the holy and praiseworthy Apostles, on the eve of the fast of the Dormition of the surpassingly pure Mother of God, and on the eve of the Christmas fast.

35. A doctor should visit the convent once a week, except during Lent; for at that time the gatekeepers should securely lock the doors to him (and all other men and women from outside), unless one of the nuns should fall ill and require frequent visitation. Then he should come every day and visit his patient daily, and prescribe the food and drink appropriate for her illness, even during Lent.

XIV. Concerning the distribution of garments to the nuns.

36. Garments should be distributed to the nuns and their old ones returned on a regular basis, some annually, others at two-year intervals. [p. 126] The time for the distribution and return [of garments] is to be April and October; in April they should receive the essentials to clothe and cover the body, in October sufficient [outer clothing] to withstand the force of winter and protect them against the cold. The following are to be given out annually: two white tunics made out of remnants and a woolen cloak; three pairs of shoes, one pair looser and high enough to cover the legs²³, two protecting only the feet; every two years, a vest, headcloth and sleeveless woolen cloaks. To repeat, the former will be distributed annually, the latter after the passage of two years, and the old and worn-out clothes are to be returned to the store room.

It is not right to neglect the following instruction, since it is very important and must be carried out precisely, if [you believe] it is really necessary to celebrate festivals piously and to rejoice in a holy manner.

XV. Concerning the celebration in the convent of the Feast of the Birth of the Virgin, and concerning the Feast of the Birth of [St. John] the Forerunner, and about the candles and oil and other expenses.

37. "They must be celebrated in a spiritual manner," exhorts one of the theologian teachers; and David, the ancestor of God, says, "I have loved the beauty of thy house and the place of the tabernacle of thy glory" (Ps. 25 [26]:8-9). Therefore they must be celebrated by you in a pious and dignified manner; and let me speak first of the feast of the birthday of the Mother of God. The

customary glass lamps should be removed, and silver ones should be suspended, some single lamps in the shape of pots, and others surrounded with many other small lamps, and they should all be filled with pure oil and lit; there should also be sufficient candles [p. 127] before the icons above the sanctuary, each weighing six ounces. The candelabra beneath (which some people call “skewer-lights,” but are usually called “*manoualia*”) should be set up in front of the aforementioned holy icon of our Lady the Mother of God which is set out for veneration. On them [should be placed] large candles weighing a *litra*, and around them smaller candles weighing four ounces. In all there should be 24 candelabras, of which 20 will be sufficient for the old church, and the remaining four will be for the new one. On the rest of these candelabra should be placed large candles weighing six *litrai* and smaller candles of six ounces. At the tombs, and wherever else appropriate, should be placed four-ounce [pieces] of aloes wood. At vespers and the nocturnal vigil and at the holy liturgy, two ounces should be added. The lamps in the sanctuary and in the apse conches and *pterygia* and in every part of the church should be hung up and lit after thorough cleaning.

38. On the birthday of [St. John] the honored Forerunner and Baptist exactly the same amount should be spent and the same instructions carried out. At that time in front of the gates there should be a distribution to our Christian brethren of three *modioi* of bread and six *trachea nomismata*, and sufficient gold coins for such provisions as the season requires and the superior and nuns approve. Let precisely the same preparations be made and the same amount be spent on the feast day of the divine Forerunner and Baptist.²⁴ At the feast of the Dormition of our Lady the Mother of God and at the Transfiguration of the Savior²⁵ and his birth in the flesh, and at the splendid Feast of Lights (Epiphany), and at his Resurrection from the dead, let the ceremonies be performed in accordance with the judgment of the superior and leading nuns. On the anniversaries of saints, and celebrated holy men, and famous martyrs . . . [lacuna of one line] . . . [p. 128]

XVI. That chanters should not be invited to the convent.

39. It is my command that the chanters who are called *kalliphonoi* not attend any of the festivals, but that only the nuns by themselves, together with the priests who are assigned to the convent, perform the singing of hymns. On the feast of the birthday of my exceedingly pure Lady the Mother of God, however, when the emperor is scheduled to attend, the *kalliphonoi* who have been chosen by lot are to precede him unhindered, and when the emperor departs they are to leave without any delay whatsoever.

Both these holy churches should be illuminated night and day. On the feast day of the exceedingly pure Mother of God, a lamp should shine continuously in the sanctuary, and outside there should be a large candle, such as is usually called “perpetual.” On the feast day of [St. John] the honored Forerunner and Baptist, there should be a lamp in the sanctuary, and in the church five large candles burning in a similar manner, one before the icon of the Baptist, the others over my tomb and those of my children, who are buried there. At the time of the daily matins and vespers services, and during the divine liturgy, there should be as many lamps, and large and small candles, as the superior and the leading nuns see fit; for a number appropriate to the day should be lit.

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XVII. Concerning the procedure to be followed in the convent if one of the daughters or granddaughters or other relatives of the *despoina* receives the tonsure.

40. Inasmuch as the renunciation of the world and worldly affairs is an attractive prospect for all the faithful, since it gives assurance [p. 129] of future tranquillity and the resulting spiritual pleasure, all men and women desire to attain it, and hasten to arrive at the harbor of salvation from the tempest of life. The following procedure should be observed if the daughters and granddaughters whom I have by the grace of God, who is merciful and absolutely good, should ever enter the convent. In case one of my daughters (two of them are still alive)²⁶ chooses the monastic life after reaching old age, or else in agreement with her husband, it is my express command that she be granted the provisions of four nuns; and if she should require any of the nuns for her service and wish to live separately, she should be assigned three nuns selected by the superior and the leading sisters. But if her personal attendants are tonsured with her, the appropriate provisions should be given to them, too. If, on the other hand, she chooses to abide by the rules of the *typikon*, and eat at the common table, thanks be to God. For this is true perfection, this is dear to God, for her to be totally obedient, and for worldly vanity to be brought back to the truth, and to choose uplifting humility, continually turning over in her mind the words, "I was brought low, and the Lord delivered me" (Ps. 114 [116]:6).

41. In case she should prefer to live by herself on account of ill health, and join the other nuns only for church services, if she has her own personal attendants, the same provisions are to be given to them; otherwise she should live together with one nun of her choice, and, at her request, two additional nuns may be assigned to attend her and take care of any necessary household affairs. If one of my granddaughters [should enter the convent] two [attendants] are to be with her, either both her personal [attendants] or both [nuns] from the convent, or one her own [attendant] and the other [a nun] from the convent. Whoever is assigned to her, each of them is to receive the appropriate essentials for nuns. If one of my imperial relatives or a woman of distinguished family enters [the convent], she is to have one attendant, either her own or one of the nuns, and, unless she chooses to eat in the refectory, she is to receive daily provisions sufficient for two nuns. [p. 130]

XVIII. Concerning the manner and location of the burial of the children or grandchildren of the *Despoina*.²⁷

42. It is now time to be mindful of death, since there is no one "that lives and never sees death" (Ps. 88 [89]:48). First I will make clear to my family and descendants my wishes concerning my own burial. The body of my daughter²⁸ is buried to the right of the entrance to the church of [St. John] the Forerunner. My tomb and that of my honored mother²⁹ (for I cannot bear to be separated from her even after my death) should be built after the intervening door. In the future any of my children or sons-in-law, who request during their lifetime to be laid to rest here, shall be suitably buried. The same shall apply to my grandsons and granddaughters, daughters-in-law, and the husbands of granddaughters, for all of whom there are to be annual commemorations. The oppo-

site side, on your left as you leave for the old church of the Virgin, will be totally reserved for whatever purpose desired by my son the emperor.

XIX. Inventory of property.

43. Now I shall discuss the property which has been donated. It is my wish and command that it be maintained in an inalienable manner, no matter what circumstances may befall the convent. In case (and I pray this may not happen) the revenues of the convent should be decreased because of poor harvests or foreign attack, they are not to sell any property, but should pawn one of their treasures, “making the most of the time” (cf. Eph. 5:16) as they say, with the obligation, after a period of good years, to redeem the same treasure, or a better one. [p. 131]

44. The estates which my majesty donates are as follows:

Of the estates given me [and confirmed] by chrysobull by my dearly beloved son, the most pious emperor, the property in the theme of Pergamon called Kastellon,³⁰ worth 350 gold pieces.

From the estates of Achilleion and Barys which my holy mother and I inherited from our ancestors, a portion worth 300 gold pieces. Included in this amount is the fish pond there.

In addition to these, the mill of Thermene which is from the property of the same ancestral estates; also the vineyard of Emporianos, which I purchased, and was added to the holdings of my ancestral property.

In the vicinity of the same estates, a cattle byre called Kythrina together with its holdings, i.e., a vineyard of 32 *modioi*, a garden of 20 *modioi*, a smaller garden of 10 *modioi*, arable land of 390 *modioi*, and a double mill near Anaia that operates all year round, vineyards of 145 *modioi*, some acquired by purchase, others through improvements and maintenance, gardens of 150 *modioi*, arable land of 350 *modioi*, and 14 houses for rent, called *enoikika* in the vernacular.

45. Near Kordoleon in the *katepanikion* of Smyrna, arable land of 500 *modioi* purchased from Abalantos.

In the vicinity of Philopation near Constantinople, arable land of 2000 *modioi*.

In addition, the buildings inside Constantinople which I acquired by purchase, that is, the houses of Batrachonites and Gabras in the Kynegoi quarter, the workshop near the gate of Kynegoi, the [house] of Chabaron near Blachernai, the [houses] at Tzochareia [near?] the Imperial Gate purchased from the Syrian pitchmaker named Mafre, the houses of John Eulogios, which are behind the Latin church of the exceedingly holy Mary, near them the houses of the magistrate [p. 132] of the stage, and the [houses] of Sampson near these, and apart from and beyond these the guard house at the Beautiful Gate.

46. [The revenues of] all these are for the convent alone; but the [revenues from the] following are for the care and treatment of the sick people in the aforementioned hospital. Out of the estates granted me by chrysobull by my dearly beloved son the emperor, [I set aside] a portion of 600 *nomismata*, i.e., the village called Nymphai in the vicinity of Constantinople, whose revenues

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from dependent peasants and arable land are 260 *nomismata*, two mills near Aphameia worth 32 *nomismata*, so that altogether the income from Nymphai and the mills of Aphameia are 292 *nomismata*.

Another village, Skoteinon, in the region of Macedonia, whose income from dependent peasants is 138 *nomismata*, plus 70 *nomismata* from four mills, and 100 *nomismata* from arable land of 2,600 *modioi*, altogether 308 *nomismata* from Skoteinon.

47. In addition the estates of Lachanas at Lopadion, i.e. a vineyard of 300 *modioi*, arable land of 860 *modioi*, a winter mill, a half share in another mill, and his houses. My majesty has endowed with these estates the aforesaid convent of my exceedingly pure Lady, the Mother of God, and the attached hospital, and they are to be inalienable and inseparable, as my dearly beloved son, the most pious emperor, has agreed³¹ and confirmed by his chrysubull.

48. The property donated by my honorable mother is as follows:

From the village of Hennakosia near Constantinople 95 gold pieces from dependent peasants; from the village of Plakos 66 *nomismata* from dependent peasants; 58 *nomismata* from Kalon Neron; 18 *nomismata* from abandoned land of these three villages amounting to 500 *modioi*; in the vicinity of the aforementioned village [p. 133] of Hennakosia, below the paved road, another abandoned property of 1400 *modioi* worth 42 *nomismata*; at the same village of Hennakosia a mill worth 8 *nomismata*; the pier there worth 10 *nomismata*; arable land of 700 *modioi* in the vicinity of Martinakion worth 28 *nomismata*, the revenues from the aforesaid three villages together with the aforementioned land coming altogether to 344 *nomismata*; in the neighborhood of St. Anne, arable land of 3000 *modioi*, near Empyrites at Palatitzia arable land of 200 *modioi*, two mills at Kamelogephyron and two other mills in the village of Apodroungarion in the theme of Selymbria.

49. The property owned by the convent inside Constantinople is as follows:

A vineyard of 125 *modioi*; gardens in different locations of 40 *modioi*; another garden of 15 *modioi* at Blanga; another called Dzeffre of 40 *modioi*; at Galata a vineyard of 112 *modioi* and garden of 3 *modioi*; also a vineyard of 237 *modioi* and gardens of 98 *modioi*; six mills reconstructed near the venerable monastery of the All-Seeing [Christ],³² and outside at the wall of the Phanar; houses of Tzochareia which were purchased by the convent from Nikolezos; two other houses at the Beautiful Gate which also came to the convent by purchase from Chrestine; 10 other houses in the region of Blachernai, as well as another house with an upper floor in the region of the Blachernai palace near the houses of Niketiates; half of the field of Diabatenos which has 112 olive trees, as well as one half of the field of Magistros which has 210 olive trees which up to the present time are owned by the same venerable convent; other olive trees at Nikomedeia conveyed to the same convent by written testament of Cheilas, the *pansebastos* judge of the God-guarded army;³³ the small convent of Skoutari [p. 134] of the great martyr St. George,³⁴ which is called Trapeza, which was donated to the same venerable convent as the entrance gift of the nun Tzakalina.

XX. Concerning the hospital, and its priest and other staff.

50. Since I have already said³⁵ that the hospital which is next to the convent and newly built by me is to be inseparable from the convent, I should make clear once and for all the procedures I wish to be followed therein. For I have confirmed that the estates are to be held in common by the convent and the hospital attached to it, since the superior of the convent and the steward of the monastic property should concern themselves no less for the ailing women in the hospital than for the nuns who live in the convent. It is my will and command that there should be twelve beds, plus three for the attendants, and from time to time mattresses and bedcovers for them should be distributed, as well as two shifts and one cape, and that an equal number of female applicants should be admitted in turn, to whom the following will be given annually: 30 maritime *modioi* of wheat and 70 gold pieces for wine, 60 for food, 18 for wood, 4 for oil, 6 for salt and flax-seed oil, 3 for the purchase of barley or for barley-water.³⁶

51. There is to be a priest to perform church services and celebrate the last rites or accompany the funeral procession. He is to be paid 12 gold pieces annually and 24 *annonikoi modioi* [of wheat?]. Three doctors should care for [the patients]; their pay is to be 48 *nomismata*, or 16 apiece; an assistant, who is to receive 12 *nomismata*; a nurse at 14 *nomismata*; a head pharmacist at 12 *nomismata*; six attendants receiving 10 *nomismata* apiece; 2 chief druggists at 12 *nomismata*; a blood-letter at 4 *nomismata*, 3 servants at 10 *nomismata* apiece; a cook at the same salary; and 5 *nomismata* to be paid to the laundress. [p. 135]

XXI. Prayer and additional hortatory advice to the nuns.

52. My sisters in God, this small portion of the wealth I have received from God I have dedicated to him and to our common Mistress, the Mother of God, in expiation of my sins in this life; and may these [gifts] be found acceptable by God the Almighty, so that he may have mercy on me at the Day of Judgment and give me a share of his blessings. May you live in God and walk in the path of virtue without stumbling, and may you mention me constantly in both your common and private prayers to God. If, incited by love for you, my imperial majesty should add a few instructions, I will not seem to do anything improper. But let no one ridicule me because I chose the easy path of exhortation, but avoided the difficult path of action. For as we have heard, blessed is "he who acts and teaches" (cf. Matt. 5:19), since he appears of the first and greater order. Nor will he who teaches be cast aside, even if he be the least, especially if his teachings are not for display and base hypocrisy, but for a divine purpose and creditable motive.

53. Therefore heed me; for I will speak solemn words. You have renounced the world, and life in the world. "You have taken up the cross" (Luke 9:23) of the Lord, and have chosen to follow him, so that at the end [of the world] you may appear perfect and inherit his kingdom. Cling fast to your purpose; for the Lord says, "No one who puts his hand to the plow and looks back is fit for the kingdom of God" (Luke 9:62). You have also heard the fate of the wife of Lot, who was fleeing from the land of Sodom, and turned to look back (Gen. 19:26). This is a symbol of the women who return to their previous sinful behavior and wicked way of life. Remember [p. 136] the blessings

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prepared in heaven, which “no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived” (I Cor. 2:9). Let each nun remain in the rank to which she has been called: the superior should be vigilant for her own salvation together with that of all the nuns, “ruling with zeal” (Rom. 12:8), in the words of the holy apostle, while the rest of the nuns should remain “in submissiveness” (I Tim. 2:11), in accordance again with the same apostle, who enjoined us to “obey your leaders and submit to them” (Heb. 13:17), and all of you should cling fast to one another . . . [lacuna] . . . , each of you caring for her neighbors no less than for herself.

54. If thus you complete the road of life, if in this way you observe the divine commandments which have been proclaimed by God Who is free from all deceit, you will obtain the pure blessings and the ineffable . . . [lacuna] . . . , through the intercessions of my [surpassingly pure] Mistress, the Mother of God, through the supplications of [St. John] the venerable Forerunner and Baptist. May you journey in this way and be strict guardians of the divine commandments, and may you receive the blessings which have been prepared for you, through the grace and loving kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom is due all glory, honor and veneration together with his eternal Father and the all-holy, good and life-giving Spirit, now and forever more. Amen.

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of our translator, Alice-Mary Talbot [AMT], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document. She has offered a number of amended readings of the text (ed.) based on an independent examination of the manuscript (MS.).

1. The beginning of the *typikon*, perhaps one folio, is missing; editor Delehaye has supplied the titles of [1] and [2]. [AMT]
2. MS. reads *synkatallexei*, not *synkatallaxei* (ed.). [AMT]
3. MS. reads *oikouriai* (a with iota subscript), not *oikouria*. [AMT]
4. Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328).
5. Co-emperor from 1272 with Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–82).
6. Michael IX Palaiologos, named co-emperor in 1281, crowned 1294/95, predeceased his father in 1320; see Alice-Mary Talbot and Anthony Cutler, “Michael IX Palaiologos,” *ODB*, pp. 1367–68.
7. MS. reads *en d'heni tini ton*; ed. omits *ton*. [AMT]
8. MS. reads *aph'heortes*, not *eph'heortes*. [AMT]
9. June 24; see also [38] below.
10. September 8; see also [37] below.
11. On the feast of the *enkainia* (lit. “inauguration”), held on the first Sunday after Easter to celebrate the beginning of a new life in Christ, see J. Phountoulis, “Enkainion anamnesis,” *TEE*, vol. 5, col. 324.
12. Antiochos the Monk, *Homilia* 48, *PG* 89, col. 1584A; Anastasios the Sinaite, *Oratio de sacra synaxi*, *PG* 89, col. 845B; John Damascene, *De imaginibus oratio* 1.3, *PG* 94, col. 1233C. [AMT]
13. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi* 4, *PG* 88, col. 681B. [AMT]
14. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi* 4, *PG* 88, col. 684D. [AMT]
15. Lacuna in the ms.; these words are a conjecture of ed. Delehaye. [AMT]
16. Presumably, but not certainly, the steward as discussed above in [25].
17. Unidentified quotation.
18. Cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *Adv. Eunomianos*, *PG* 36, col. 16.
19. Ms. reads *heteron* not *heteroi*. [AMT]

20. Pseudo-Basil, *Constitutiones asceticae* 4.2, PG 31, col. 1349B.
21. In [29] above.
22. MS. reads *prothesin*, not *prothesin*. [AMT]
23. *anobolas ton podon*. [AMT]
24. Feast of the Birth of the Mother of God, September 8; feast of the Birth of St. John the Baptist, June 24.
25. Feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God, August 15; feast of the Transfiguration, August 6.
26. Probably Theodora's daughters Irene and Eudokia; see Talbot, "Theodora Palaiologina," p. 299.
27. In this chapter the translator has borrowed some phrases from the translation of Macridy, "Monastery of Lips," p. 270. [AMT]
28. Probably Anna, who died sometime before 1301; see Talbot, "Theodora Palaiologina," p. 299.
29. Eudokia Angelina.
30. MS. reads *Kastellon*, not *Kastellou*. [AMT]
31. MS. reads *esterxe*, not *esterixe*. [AMT]
32. The monastery of *Christos Pantepoptes*, for which see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 513–15.
33. *krites tou phossatou*: a military judge. See Alexander Kazhdan, "Krites tou phossatou," *ODB*, p. 1159.
34. For this monastery, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 26.
35. In [1] above.
36. MS. reads *ptisanes chilou* (read *chylou*), not *ptises chilou*. [AMT]

Document Notes

- I. Independence of the convent. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [1].
 - [1] Inalienability of the convent and its properties; reciprocity appeal to future rulers; patriarchal rights. For other assertions of institutional independence in thirteenth-century documents, see (34) *Machairas* [21], (35) *Skoteine* [20], (36) *Blemmydes* [1], (37) *Auxentios* [2], (38) *Kellibara I* [15], and (40) *Anargyroi* [3]. For the appeal to future rulers, see also (37) *Auxentios* [15]. For the treatment of the rights of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, see (34) *Machairas* [9], [16], [19], [140]; (35) *Skoteine* [16], [17], [20]; (36) *Blemmydes* [1]; (37) *Auxentios* [2]; (38) *Kellibara I* [15]; and (45) *Neophytos* [12], [15].
 - [2] Curse against transgressors. See the use of similar curses in these thirteenth-century documents: (34) *Machairas* [21], [162]; (35) *Skoteine* [46]; (37) *Auxentios* [2]; and (45) *Neophytos* [22].
- II. Establishment of the protectorate. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [3].
 - [3] Perpetual protectorate entrusted to the emperor. For a contemporary imperial guardianship, see (38) *Kellibara I* [16]; cf. the patriarchal guardianship in (37) *Auxentios* [16] and the private protectorate in (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [18], [19].
- III. Number of nuns. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [5].
 - [4] Division of the community into choir and household nuns. For this division in thirteenth-century documents, see (35) *Skoteine* [14], (37) *Auxentios* [6], (38) *Kellibara I* [17], (40) *Anargyroi* [6], and (45) *Neophytos* [9].
- IV. Election and installation of the superior; appointment of priests. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [11].
 - [5] Election procedure. See also other thirteenth-century provisions in (34) *Machairas* [17], (35) *Skoteine* [17], (37) *Auxentios* [3], (38) *Kellibara I* [18], (40) *Anargyroi* [5], and (45) *Neophytos* [14].
 - [6] Number, salary, and assignments of priests. See also other provisions for convents in (27) *Kecharitomene* [15]; (40) *Anargyroi* [5]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [9], [14]; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [79].
 - [7] Installation ceremony. See analogous provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [11] and (37) *Auxentios* [3].
 - [8] Reading of the *typikon*; commemoration of the founders. For the reading of the *typikon* in other thirteenth-century documents, see (34) *Machairas* [167], (37) *Auxentios* [13], (45) *Neophytos* [11]. For the founder's commemoration, see [30], [52] below and (34) *Machairas* [31], [44], [150], [154]; (35) *Skoteine* [19]; (37) *Auxentios* [13]; (40) *Anargyroi* [6]; and (45) *Neophytos* [12].

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V. Necessity of obedience to the superior; removal of an unfit superior. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [13].

[9] Requirement of obedience to the superior. Cf. similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [22], (32) *Mamas* [24], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [24], (52) *Choumnos* [B4], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [9], and (60) *Charsianeites* [B8].

[10] Procedure for removing an unfit superior. See also (27) *Kecharitomene* [13] and (34) *Machairas* [90]; cf. (37) *Auxentios* [5].

VI. Role of the spiritual father. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [16].

[11] Qualifications and procedures for hearing confessions. See also other provisions for convents in (27) *Kecharitomene* [16], (40) *Anargyroi* [5], (54) *Neilos Damilas* [9], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [111].

[12] Nuns urged to make unreserved confessions. See also (22) *Evergetis* [7], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [17], (30) *Phoberos* [14], (34) *Machairas* [52], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [109].

[13] Exception for “secret thoughts.”

VII. No mandatory entrance gifts. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [7].

[14] Communal supply of necessities; entrance fees not required but voluntary offerings acceptable; donors to respect equality of privilege. See [18] below for recovery of entrance gifts in certain cases. For the treatment of these gifts, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [7]; (34) *Machairas* [57], [58]; and thirteenth-century examples in [49] below and in (35) *Skoteine* [31], [32], [33], [38], [39].

VIII. Nuns not to leave the premises; visitation procedures. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [17].

[15] Emergency visits to see relatives; reception of visitors at the gatehouse. See also other provisions for convents in (27) *Kecharitomene* [17], (40) *Anargyroi* [5], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [72], [76]

[16] No access to the convent; exceptions for the emperor, the founder’s relatives, and female relatives of sick nuns. See also exceptions permitted in (27) *Kecharitomene* [80].

IX. Length of the novitiate. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [30].

[17] Duration for novices under 20. (36) *Blemmydes* [9] likewise has a separate schedule for youths; cf. (54) *Neilos Damilas* [5]. For testing by rotation in various manual assignments, see also (37) *Auxentios* [12].

[18] Duration for novices over 20; recovery of entrance gifts. For the former, cf. the less complex provisions of (27) *Kecharitomene* [30]; the latter is an unprecedented provision.

X. Acceptance of pious gifts. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [8].

[19] Gifts of property, money, sacred vessels, and liturgical cloths welcomed. Cf. reservations expressed and conditions imposed elsewhere in (27) *Kecharitomene* [8] and (31) *Areia* [M10], [T6].

XI. Acceptability of nuns from other convents. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [54].

[20] Nuns from other convents welcomed; should be read and assent to the *typikon*. (45) *Neophytos* [C17] and (55) *Athanasios I* [8] make similar provisions for reading rules to newcomers.

XII. Appointment and duties of officials. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [18], [19], [20], [24].

[21] Designation of authorities responsible for appointments. (27) *Kecharitomene* [18] and (37) *Auxentios* [7] are more traditional in making all appointments the prerogative of the superior; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [73], on the other hand, orders the selection of officials by a general election.

[22] Officials accountable for goods received. See also similar procedures set out in (27) *Kecharitomene* [24], (32) *Mamas* [10], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [10], and (34) *Machairas* [100], [101].

[23] Duties of the sacristan. See also provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [19], (32) *Mamas* [9], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [9], and (58) *Menoikeion* [5].

[24] Duties of the ecclesiarchissa and the treasurer. See also provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [20], [24]; (32) *Mamas* [8], [10]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [8], [10]; (34) *Machairas* [93], [100]; (37) *Auxentios* [7]; (38) *Kellibara I* [17]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [49] ff.; and (58) *Menoikeion* [4], [6].

XIII. The steward; dietary and liturgical requirements of the cenobitic life. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], [14], [25], [40], [41], [42], [49], [56], [57], and [58].

[25] Selection, installation, and duties of the steward. See also other provisions for convents in (27) *Kecharitomene* [14], (40) *Anargyroi* [5], (54) *Neilos Damilas* [18], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [54], [55].

[26] Procedures for an official's visit. Cf. provisions for the visit of the spiritual father in [11] above.

[27] Exhortation of officials; admonition to obedience; importance of concord. See also (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], [25] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [127].

[28] Importance of humility; angelic model for choir sisters. See also similar discussion in (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [47], cf. [127].

[29] Refectory procedures; no eating in cells; maintenance of prescribed seating order. See similar provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [40], [41], [42], [49]; (34) *Machairas* [62], [63], [64]; (55) *Athanasios I* [4]; (56) *Kellibara II* [4]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [84], [85]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [8].

[30] Celebration of the liturgy; commemorative eucharistic offerings; endorsement of the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas. So also (37) *Auxentios* [8], (56) *Kellibara II* [1], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [78], (58) *Menoikeion* [16]; cf. separate provisions in (35) *Skoteine* [12].

[31] More rigorous observances encouraged; defense of the *typikon*'s requirements. For the latter, cf. (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [79].

[32] Summary of dietary provisions; Sabas *typikon* to regulate dietary matters also. So also (37) *Auxentios* [10], (56) *Kellibara II* [1], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [80], [81]; cf. separate provisions in (35) *Skoteine* [11] and (58) *Menoikeion* [8].

[33] Dispensations for and care of the sick. See similar provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [56], [57]; (34) *Machairas* [107]; (37) *Auxentios* [10]; (56) *Kellibara II* [5]; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [82], [90], [91].

[34] Regulation of bathing for the healthy and the sick. See also provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [58], (32) *Mamas* [28], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28], (45) *Neophytos* [C9], (56) *Kellibara II* [5], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [90], [101], and (58) *Menoikeion* [15].

[35] Doctor's visits. See also other provisions for convents in (27) *Kecharitomene* [57] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [90].

XIV. Communal wardrobe. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [52].

[36] Schedule of items to be distributed. See also (56) *Kellibara II* [7], [8] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [98], [99].

XV. Prescriptions for the celebration of feasts. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [59], [60], [61], [62], and [63].

[37] Illumination for the patronal feast. See analogous provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [59], (34) *Machairas* [27], (37) *Auxentios* [14], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [112].

[38] Prescriptions for other feasts. See analogous provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [60], [61], [62], [63]; (28) *Pantokrator* [7]; and (34) *Machairas* [28].

XVI. Psalm singers banned from the convent. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [66], [67], [68], and [75].

[39] Singers banned except for emperor's *kalliphonoi* on the patronal feast; ordinary illumination of the churches. For the former, see also (27) *Kecharitomene* [75]. For the latter, see also (27) *Kecharitomene* [66], [67], [68]; (28) *Pantokrator* [6], [29], [34], [53]; and (34) *Machairas* [26].

XVII. Special privileges for the founder's relatives. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [4].

[40] Servants, additional provisions, and dispensation from cenobitic requirements for daughters and granddaughters. See also (27) *Kecharitomene* [4].

[41] Special privileges for sick relatives and noblewomen. See also (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [93], [94].

XVIII. Burial provisions for the founder's relatives. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [76].

[42] Location of the tombs. See (40) *Anargyroi* [3], and the discussions in Macridy, "Monastery of Lips,"

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pp. 269–72, and Mango and Hawkins, “Additional Notes,” pp. 301–3. For tombs and burials elsewhere in the monastic foundation documents, see (19) *Attaleiates* [16]; (23) *Pakourianos* [2], [12]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [66], [76]; (28) *Pantokrator* [8], [29], [31], [32], [34], [44]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [89], [90], [95], [107], [109]; (45) *Neophytos* [5], [24]; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [142].

XIX. Inventory of landed property. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [9], Appendix A.

[43] Immovable property always inalienable; movable property can be pawned in fiscal emergencies. For conditional alienability, see also (27) *Kecharitomene* [9] and (34) *Machairas* [111], cf. [94].

[44], [45] List of donated properties. See also similar lists in the following contemporary documents: (35) *Skoteine* [31] ff., (37) *Auxentios* [17] (missing), (40) *Anargyroi* [4], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [121] ff.

[46] Revenues for support of the hospital: estates given the founder by Andronikos II. For the former, see also (28) *Pantokrator* [65].

[47] Continuation of [46].

[48] Dedications made by founder’s mother. See also the separate identification of properties donated by founders’ relatives in (28) *Pantokrator* [65] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [122].

[49] Donated properties located inside Constantinople.

XX. Regulations for the hospital. No equivalent in (27) *Kecharitomene*.

[50] Furnishings and provisions. See discussion by Miller, *Birth of the Hospital*, pp. 200–204 and the provisions for the hospital in (28) *Pantokrator* [36] ff.

[51] Hospital personnel and their salaries. See the chart of comparative salaries of personnel in this document and in (28) *Pantokrator* [52] in Miller, *Birth of the Hospital*, p. 203, Table One.

XXI. Prayer and additional hortatory advice. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [78].

[52] Request for inclusion in common and private prayers. Cf. the appeals in (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [134], [144].

[53] Exhortation to perseverance. Cf. the language of (22) *Evergetis* [42] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [78].

[54] Final blessing. Cf. the concluding benedictions in (22) *Evergetis* [43], (27) *Kecharitomene* [78], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [133].

40. *Anargyroi*: *Typikon* of Theodora Palaiologina for the Convent of Sts. Kosmas and Damian in Constantinople

Date: 1294–1301¹

Translator: Alice-Mary Talbot

Edition employed: H. Delehay, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), pp. 136–40.

Manuscript: British Library Additional 22748 (14th c.)²

Other translations: None

Institutional History

This foundation, one of several Constantinopolitan monasteries dedicated to two brothers martyred under Diocletian (284–305) who were famous as the *Anargyroi*—those who rendered medical services “without charge”—is not otherwise attested outside of the present document. It is to be distinguished from a much more famous male monastery dedicated to these saints known as the Kosmidion that was located on the Golden Horn.³ The original foundation of the monastery under consideration here was due [2] to an unnamed *logothetes tou dromou*, who provided it with a *typikon* (see also [6]) and a landed endowment. It is not certain that this foundation was originally planned as a nunnery. This monastery was then ruined during the Latin occupation of Constantinople. The author Theodora Palaiologina’s plans for the restoration of the *Anargyroi* foundation preceded [2] those for the convent of Lips, while the actual work on the former foundation followed after the construction of the latter, probably at the very end of the thirteenth century.⁴ She re-endowed [4] *Anargyroi*, reconstituted now as a convent, with properties located in Constantinople and its vicinity as well as in the Thracasian theme. Though Lips and *Anargyroi* were independent of one another, their respective officials were to cooperate [7] on matters of mutual interest. The commemorations of the original founder and his family were also to be preserved [6].

Aran (“Anargyres,” p. 247) has attempted to identify the church of this foundation with the mosque of Atik Mustafa Camii in Istanbul, but Mathews and Hawkins (“Notes,” p. 134) have rejected this attribution.

Analysis

This document is extant as a kind of appendix to (39) *Lips*; our manuscript of the latter therefore is probably the working copy made for the convent of the *Anargyroi*. The nuns of this institution would have needed such a copy since the empress, or to be precise, her ghostwriter (for whom, see (39) *Lips*, B. Composition of the *Typikon*), contents [5] himself with cross-referencing the provisions of that document that were to be binding on the convent of the *Anargyroi* rather than recapitulating them.

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A. Importance of the Document

The *typikon* is important for the insight it provides into the relationship of a “second founder” (here, the empress) to the original founder, as well as how new regulations might relate to a pre-existing *typikon*. These were sensitive matters, given how on occasion private property rights in religious institutions had been disregarded in Byzantium. In reaction, founders customarily asserted the inviolability of their testamentary provisions (including but not limited to those in their *typika*) up through the definitive formulation of the argument for non-interference advanced by Nicholas Kabasilas⁵ in the fourteenth century. Both the empress (through her ghostwriter here and elsewhere in the discussion below) [1] and her husband Michael VIII (in (37) *Auxentios* [15]) endorse the concept. The empress’ regulation, which she terms [1] a “second exposition,” is justified on the necessity of a new property endowment and a spiritual renewal (*anakainesis*) of the convent’s mode of life; but she is careful to preserve [6] by reference at least some of the provisions in the prior *typikon* (cf. (33) *Heliou Bomon* [51]).

B. Lives of the Nuns

1. Number of Nuns

There were to be [6] thirty nuns at this foundation, eighteen consecrated to hymnody and the remaining twelve for “general housekeeping” duties. This is a precisely scaled-down version of the size and allocations found in (39) *Lips* [4], with 60% of the personnel assigned to hymnody and 40% for other services. The offices were to be [5] the same as in (39) *Lips*.⁶

2. Liturgical Duties

The liturgy was to be celebrated [5] by two salaried priests four times a week (including Sundays) as well as on special feast days. This compares to the four priests provided for in (39) *Lips* [6] for the two churches in that foundation; the liturgy was celebrated five times a week at *Lips*.

3. Cenobitic Lifestyle

Although the empress herein sets forth [1] a rule for the nuns intended to determine their way of life, she stresses that this was not intended as a revocation of the previous founder’s *typikon* and instructions, since “it is not right to annul a covenant of the departed.” The observance of this earlier rule had slackened [2] along with the physical disintegration of the foundation “though it has not completely disappeared,” which implies that the document itself was extant as the empress composed her own rule. Later on in the present document, she provides [5] that the nuns of the convent of the *Anargyroi* should adhere to the same way of life (i.e., cenobitic monasticism) as was being followed at *Lips*.

Provisions in (39) *Lips*⁷ were also to govern [5] such matters as the nuns’ visitation rights, the admission of nuns tonsured elsewhere, the system for distribution of new garments and collection of the old ones, and the purchase and storage of necessary commodities.

C. Constitutional Matters

1. Independent Status

While the empress provides that this convent is to be [3] “separate and independent,” she avoids

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using the traditional, precise technical vocabulary that had been developed since the time of (22) *Evergetis* [12] to establish institutional independence. She also omits here the customary list of perceived threats to her foundation's independence, although earlier, in a damaged portion of this document, she alludes [1] to previous emperors who have appropriated (i.e., confiscated) other monastic foundations. The convent of the *Anargyroi* was to remain unattached to any other foundation inside or outside Constantinople, not to be joined even to Lips, which she declares "is considered mine no less than this one." Rather than being subordinated to the latter institution (as two dependencies were to the convent of the *Anargyroi* itself in [4]) or be united to it by *henosis* (as Kellibara was to St. Demetrios in (38) *Kellibara I* [13]), Lips and the convent of the *Anargyroi* were to be [7] "separate in unity."

2. Relationship with the Convent of Lips

The empress charts new ground here in determining the relationship between the convents of Lips and of the *Anargyroi*. Essentially, the two institutions were to share customs [5] and cooperate in matters of mutual interest [7] but remain functionally independent of one another, a concept that was alien even to the various founders of the twelfth centuries who drew up *typika* based directly or indirectly on (22) *Evergetis*.

3. Other Constitutional Matters

As in their spiritual life, for constitutional matters the nuns of the convent of the *Anargyroi* were to adopt [5] the provisions found in (39) *Lips*. In particular, they should choose a superior for themselves and seek out a spiritual father whose instructions they should follow when he visited the nuns in the narthex of the church. Commemorations were also to be carried out [6] as in (39) *Lips* [30] for the empress' ancestors and descendants, "but simply, and not with such great expense." In the spirit of respecting the wishes of the previous founder, the nuns were to preserve [6] the commemorations he had provided for himself, his parents, and all those mentioned in his *typikon*.

D. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

The empress must have expected that the convent of the *Anargyroi* should follow the example of Lips in its financial administration. She specifies [5] that the steward should be either a eunuch or be chosen from among "otherwise respectable men." He was to receive a salary in cash and in commodities, less generous than that provided to his counterpart in (39) *Lips* [25]. As in (39) *Lips* [26], he would not be resident in the convent, but would visit on appointed days to conduct the necessary business with the nuns. The convent was to maintain a register of accounts (cf. (39) *Lips* [22]).

2. Endowment Properties

The properties donated by the previous founder that had once made up the foundation's endowment had been lost [2] during the Latin conquest. Moreover, the empress claims [2] that she "took charge of a foundation in ruins." She restored [1] the convent which was about to collapse and put a wall around it for security.⁸ Then she donated [2] consecrated objects "since it had none" as well as landed properties, creating a new endowment. There is a considerably damaged inventory [4]

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of the endowed properties in the document. Some of these properties were located in Constantinople, while others were outside the capital, including some near Chalcedon. The empress orders [3] that all were to be considered as the “private property of this convent alone,” that is to say, that the convent of the *Anargyroi*’s endowment was to be separate from that of Lips.

E. Overall Philosophy

A note that the provisions of the previous founder for donations of alms at the gate were to be preserved [6] is the only mention of institutional philanthropy. Nothing is said of such matters as relations with the ecclesiastical hierarchy or any special privileges for the founders’ relatives.

Notes on the Introduction

1. See Talbot, “Theodora Palaiologina,” p. 299.
2. See Talbot, “Theodora Palaiologina,” p. 301.
3. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 286–89; Eurydice Lappa-Zizikas, “Un chrysobulle inconnu en faveur du monastère des Saints Anargyres de Kosmidion,” *T&M* 8 (1981), 255–68; and Otto Volk, “Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken von Konstantinopel, Thessalonike und Kleinasien” (Ph.D., diss. Munich, 1955), pp. 59–63.
4. So Talbot, “Theodora Palaiologina,” p. 300.
5. See Ihor Ševčenko, “Nicholas Cabasilas’ ‘Anti-Zealot’ Discourse: A Reinterpretation,” *DOP* 11 (1957), 80–171, with the discussion below in Chapter Nine, E. Historical Context, 4.
6. Cf. (39) *Lips* [21] through [26].
7. (39) *Lips* [15], [20], [24], [36].
8. Cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [73], [74], [79].

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Translation

[Concerning the convent of the Holy *Anargyroi*.]¹

[1.] (= ed. [55]) . . . different rulers have appropriated for themselves different monastic complexes, but my majesty exerted herself with regard to this convent, as no one ever before; I restored it properly when it was about to collapse, walled it all around for security, and donated gifts of property. As soon as I became involved with the convent, I decided to set forth a rule for the nuns therein concerning their way of life, and, to the best of my ability, to instruct them in fitting

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[conduct], but not to revoke the previously ordained *typikon* and instructions for the convent. For may it never [p. 137] befall me (not only with regard to action or wishes of any sort in the religious sphere, but in the secular sphere as well) totally to annul or revoke anything. For I myself have heard the words of the apostle that it is not right to supersede or “annul a covenant” (Gal. 3:15, 17) of the departed; but if the divine herald [St. Paul] ordains this with respect to simple testaments, it is altogether evident that he wishes to confirm those testaments made according to God. It is not therefore for such a purpose, but for [spiritual] renewal, to tell the truth, and for a second exposition of the property and the proper course of action and mode of life.

[2.] (= ed. [56]) For the properties which were donated to the convent by the *logothetes tou dromou* were lost in the destruction of Constantinople (or rather of the Roman Empire), and, as if it were dead from that time until now, they have been divided up and fallen into other hands. The rule of spiritual life which he composed has been weakened with the rest, and, even though it has not completely disappeared, it has been ignored until now. For I would venture to say that the convent erected by him could [now] be recognized as a convent [only] by certain small vestiges and faint traces.²

For these reasons I decided to set down anew rules for the [convent], inasmuch as I took charge of a monastery in ruins, as I said, and contributed treasures to it, since it possessed nothing, and have donated estates. Although I have also exerted myself with regard to the convent [of Lips], which is honored with the name of my all-holy Lady and Mother of God, in the way which I have already mentioned, and have accomplished such as I have made clear, I have not altered my intentions with regard to this [convent of Sts. Kosmas and Damian], nor did the same thing happen to me which usually happens to those who become entranced with later undertakings and neglect earlier commitments. For even though I have taken responsibility for this convent, I have not cast aside that one, nor slackened my purpose with regard to it. Therefore since I have written down instructions for the convent [of Lips] as I intended, I will [now] make known my wishes with regard to this convent [of the *Anargyroi*].

[3.] (= ed. [57]) It is my will and command (for I give this priority) that this [convent of the *Anargyroi*] be separate and independent, not attached to any [convent] whatsoever, not only those inside or outside Constantinople, [p. 138] but not even the one built or rather restored by my imperial majesty [the convent of Lips], and considered mine no less than this one, and so esteemed that it was chosen for the final resting place of the body of my daughter,³ who has predeceased me, and for myself, and for my honorable mother,⁴ and absolutely all my descendants who wish it. It is also my desire that the estates and fields of this convent [of the *Anargyroi*] appear and be considered as the private property of this convent alone. They are as follows:

[4.] (= ed. [58]) From the . . . [lacuna] . . . located in the Thracesian theme, . . . [lacuna of at least one folio]⁵ . . . also honored with the name of my surpassingly pure Lady, the Mother of God, and the [monastery?] at Oulas, honored with the name of my Lord, Christ the Savior, which possess a chrysobull determining each of their properties; in like manner the [property] within Constantinople and in the environs which is controlled and owned up to the present time by the convent of the

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miracle-working saints Kosmas and Damian, i.e., a piece of arable land inside the city of 640 *modioi*, a vineyard of 65 *modioi*, a garden at Blanga with the pasturage there; outside [the city] at Philopation arable land of 1000 *modioi*; at Daphnoudion the estate of St. Leontios with the pasturage belonging to it, the fair and the land called the Apotheke; at Marnakiou in Chalcedon dependent peasants worth 40 *nomismata*, and arable land of 452 *modioi*, a vineyard of Ambeles of 9 *modioi*, another, of Aoinares, of 18 *modioi*; in two places at Galata a field of 30 *modioi* and of Barelina of 10 *modioi*, in which is a bathing place with poor people squatting nearby; at Charax 240 olive trees in different places, arable land of 250 *modioi*, and four dependent peasants worth six *nomismata*.

[5.] (= ed. [59]) I want the nuns of this convent to adhere to the same way of life [as at Lips], and thus they should choose the superior, thus they should seek out and accept a spiritual father with a pure heart, and should joyfully fulfill his instructions, as has already been laid down, when he visits the convent and [p. 139] meets with [the nuns] in the narthex. The assignment of duties should follow the same rule, but this convent should have [only] two priests, who should receive annually the same number of gold pieces and *modioi* of wheat and measures of wine, for celebrating in turn the holy liturgy three times a week, not counting special feast days and Sundays. Similarly the steward should be chosen from among eunuchs or otherwise respectable men, and should receive as pay 30 gold pieces, 50 *modioi* of wheat, 50 of barley, and 50 measures of wine. The register of accounts and the time of his visit for this purpose is to be maintained as previously indicated, as well as the excursions of the nuns and the admission of outsiders, the distribution and return of garments, the purchase and safekeeping of necessities; to sum up once and for all, it is my wish that my convents not differ from each other in any way, except in division of property and the number of nuns and certain other very minor aspects, which I will specify. In all other respects I wish the rule to be maintained without any alteration.

[6.] (= ed. [60]) What are the differences? The convent of Lips should celebrate the feast days of our Lord in a more magnificent manner, the *Anargyroi* more simply, and as is customary for convents everywhere. The former should celebrate a special feast twice a year, that is on the birthdays of the Mother of God and of [St. John] the Forerunner and Baptist; the latter should have a special feast day once a year, and considerably simpler, in commemoration of the holy *Anargyroi*.⁶ For the emperor will not visit the convent of the *Anargyroi* (unless he decides differently), nor many officials. The number of nuns at Lips is to be fifty, but only thirty at the *Anargyroi*, of whom eighteen will be responsible for the divine hymnody, the rest for the general housekeeping. It is my wish that commemorations be celebrated at *Anargyroi* for my ancestors and likewise for my descendants in the same manner as at Lips, but simply, and not with such great expense, but such as would not be onerous for the convent. I wish also that, in accordance with the instructions set forth by the first founder of the convent, I mean the *logothetes tou dromou*, commemorations be celebrated in his memory and in memory of his parents and of all those mentioned in his *typikon*, and that alms be given to the poor⁷ in front of the gates, according to the amount prescribed. [p. 140]

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[7.] (= ed. [61]) I wish the two convents to differ only in these respects, and to correspond in every other way, being separate in unity, so to speak, and united but separate. For it will be possible for the superiors of the convents to consult with each other and to discuss what is fitting for the [convents] in their charge, when appropriate. No less, indeed even more so, would it be necessary for the stewards to consult about their responsibilities. It would be most profitable for them to meet with each other and to discuss their affairs. May God assist both the convents alike and lend a helping hand, so that the nuns therein may have an untroubled existence here on earth and fulfill their vows, and in the world to come may not be deprived of the blessings which have been prepared for them, to the glory of God the Father, his only-begotten Son, and the co-eternal and life-giving Spirit.

“Christ, thou didst remove an excellent vine with splendid bunches not from the dark Egyptian . . . [lacuna]” (cf. Ps. 80:8).

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of our translator, Alice-Mary Talbot, is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. The beginning of the *typikon* is missing; Delehaye has supplied the chapter heading.
2. Or reading *móne* instead of *moné*, and translate “could [now] be recognized only by certain small vestiges . . .”
3. Probably Anna, who died sometime before 1301; see (39) *Lips* [42] and Talbot, “Theodora Palaiologina,” p. 299.
4. Eudokia Angelina; see (39) *Lips* [42] and Talbot, “Theodora Palaiologina,” p. 295.
5. This lacuna has been proposed by the translator between fols. 66v and 67r of the ms.
6. Feast of Sts. Kosmas and Damian, November 1.
7. *penesi*; Delehaye omits.

Document Notes

- [1] Relationship to the prior *typikon*. For the preservation of certain provisions of an earlier *typikon*, see also (33) *Heliou Bomon* [51]; for the argument for non-interference in a founder's testamentary provisions, see also (37) *Auxentios* [15].
- [2] Fate of the foundation. For other foundations ruined during the Latin occupation of Constantinople, see (38) *Kellibara I* [12] and (46) *Akropolites* [2].
- [3] Independent status. For other assertions of institutional independence in the thirteenth century, see (34) *Machairas* [21]; (35) *Skoteine* [20]; (36) *Blemmydes* [1]; (37) *Auxentios* [2]; (38) *Kellibara I* [15]; and (39) *Lips* [1]. For the burials at Lips, see (39) *Lips* [42], with discussions in Macridy, “Monastery of Lips,” pp. 269–72, and Mango and Hawkins, “Additional Notes,” pp. 301–3.
- [4] Inventory of endowment properties. For contemporary inventories of this sort, see (35) *Skoteine* [31] ff., (37) *Auxentios* [17] (missing); (39) *Lips* [44], [45]; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [121] ff.
- [5] Administrative dispositions. See parallel provisions in (39) *Lips* [11], [12] (spiritual father); [22], [23], [24] (officials); [6] (number of priests); [25] (steward); [22] (accounts); [15] (visitation procedures); [36] (communal wardrobe); and [24] (procurements).
- [6] Differences with the *typikon* of *Lips*. See parallel provisions in (39) *Lips* [37], [38] (feasts); [39] (imperial visitations); [4] number of nuns; and [30], [42] (commemorations).

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[7] Relationship with the convent of Lips. See similar provisions for consultations on fiscal matters in (31) *Areia* [M6]; the constitutional relationship between the two convents in this “union” is different from that envisioned in (38) *Kellibara I* [14].

CHAPTER EIGHT

Later Private Religious Foundations

“Therefore, by our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, by the blessed hopes for which you renounced the world and the ruler of the world, do not disobey my wishes and request. For my desires are not burdensome, nor do they require any expenditure of funds, as you yourselves can calculate.” (46) *Akropolites* [8]

“After the election, he should go off to the most fortunate *voivode*, our patron, and be formally installed by him as superior.” (52) *Koutloumousi* [B18]

“For according to the one hundred and thirty-first novel of Justinian, the commandments of the founders have authority in their own monasteries, as long as they do not contradict the divine and holy commandments, but are in agreement with them.” (54) *Neilos Damilas* [8]

This chapter includes fourteen documents that illustrate the history of private religious foundations in the last centuries of the Byzantine Empire. The documents were composed principally by monks, except for (46) *Akropolites* and (47) *Philanthropos*, which have lay authorship. All were written for monasteries except for (47) *Philanthropos* and (54) *Neilos Damilas*, which regulate convents. Three, (44) *Karyes*, (46) *Akropolites*, and (48) *Prodromos*, regulate the affairs of monastic dependencies (*metochia*). Unlike their counterparts in Chapter Nine, none of the foundations for which these documents were written are described as independent foundations, except for (44) *Karyes*, which is included here since its monastery was a dependency and thus not “independent” in the usual sense of the term. The possibility cannot be excluded, however, that some of the other foundations may also have been independent institutions even though they are not specifically designated as such in these documents.

Chronologically, these documents range from the early twelfth through the early fifteenth centuries, thus several predate the earliest documents included in our collection in Chapter Seven, while one, (45) *Neophytos*, is a thirteenth-century contemporary. The majority (8) of the documents in this chapter date from the fourteenth century. (54) *Neilos Damilas* alone represents the fifteenth century. The documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in this chapter are the contemporaries of their independent counterparts in Chapter Nine, which follows.

The foundations for which these documents were written were dispersed throughout the provinces of the Byzantine Empire and beyond. Only two documents, (46) *Akropolites* and (47) *Philanthropos*, hail from Constantinople. There is a group of four documents from Mount Athos,¹

¹ (41) *Docheiariou*, (44) *Karyes*, (48) *Prodromos*, and (51) *Koutloumousi*.

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and three others from elsewhere in Greece.² (43) *Kasoulon*, while written in Greek for a Greek monastery, comes from Norman Italy. (45) *Neophytos* comes from thirteenth-century Frankish Cyprus and (54) *Neilos Damilas* comes from fifteenth-century Venetian Crete. (42) *Sabas* most likely comes from the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem in the twelfth century, while another document associated with this area, (50) *Gerasimos*, if it is genuine, must date from the early fourteenth century, long after the Muslim reconquest. Thus, in addition to the overwhelmingly provincial orientation of this group of documents, five of them come from outside the boundaries of the Byzantine empire itself. This is a reflection not only of the empire's diminished political authority but also of the strength of Byzantine monastic institutions elsewhere despite foreign rule.

A. Typology of the Documents

Six documents are self-described testaments,³ while another six are *typika*.⁴ (52) *Choumnos* contains both a testament and a *typikon*. (54) *Neilos Damilas*, though a single document, describes itself as being both “*Testament* and *Typikon*.” It should be noted, however, that one of the testaments, (45) *Neophytos*, is actually structurally more like a *typikon*. In fact he uses the terms *diatheke* (testament), *diataxis* (rule), and *typikon* interchangeably. (47) *Philanthropos* is represented only by a sixteenth-century excerpt, while (51) *Kouloumousi*, like (25) *Fragala* in Chapter Five, is preserved in three different versions. (48) *Prodromos* [14] contains a brief inventory, while a lengthy one by the author of (54) *Neilos Damilas* is preserved separately and is translated here as an appendix to that document. (45) *Neophytos* incorporates twenty of the author's disciplinary canons as well as others attributed by him to Basil of Caesarea. (43) *Kasoulon*, which in its published text deals only with dietary matters, and (53) *Meteora*, a brief “table of contents”⁵ encapsulated in a hagiographical text, probably derive from longer documents now apparently lost.

B. Characteristics of Later Private Religious Foundations

There are few apparent common concerns among the authors of these documents, no doubt as much because of the great expanse of time encompassed by the texts in this chapter as the usual tendency of private founders to legislate for their foundations pretty much as they pleased with few external or traditional restraints (cf. the attitude expressed in (54) *Neilos Damilas* [8], as quoted above).

1. Small Size

Byzantine monasteries were rarely very large in the medieval period, and those private foundations represented here generally seem to have been smaller than their independent counterparts in the other chapters of our collection. Among those documents that indicate the size of the foundations for which they were written, (45) *Neophytos* [9]'s foundation is largest with fifteen to eight-

² (49) *Geromeri*, (52) *Choumnos*, and (53) *Meteora*.

³ (45) *Neophytos*, (46) *Akropolites*, (48) *Prodromos*, (49) *Geromeri*, (50) *Gerasimos*, and (51) *Kouloumousi*.

⁴ (41) *Docheiariou*, (42) *Sabas*, (43) *Kasoulon*, (44) *Karyes*, (47) *Philanthropos*, and (53) *Meteora*.

⁵ See Catia Galatariotou, “Byzantine Ktetorika Typika: A Comparative Study,” *REB* 45 (1987), 77–138, esp. 80–81.

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teen monks, a number greater than the founder had originally intended to permit. (52) *Choumnos*'s monastery likely had at least a few more monks than the thirteen who are specifically mentioned in the document. Both (44) *Karyes* [2] and (50) *Gerasimos* [3] were written for tiny monasteries with no more than three to four monks each.

2. Institutionally and Ideologically Conservative

The documents written for these foundations are generally more conservative in their usages than their contemporary counterparts in the other chapters in this collection. Thus (41) *Docheiariou*, a testament, is closer in form and function to (1) *Apa Abraham* in the seventh century than to a much more nearly contemporary testament like (25) *Fragala*. (45) *Neophytos* was written about the same time as (34) *Machairas*, but, unlike the latter document, has only a vague association with the institutions of the monastic reform movement. Similarly, (54) *Neilos Damilas*, a contemporary of (60) *Charsianeites*, which was written for an independent foundation, is the more traditional of the two documents. The documents in this chapter are also more idiosyncratic, e.g., the peculiar structure of (52) *Choumnos*, the stern dietary provisions of (43) *Kasoulon*, and the strongly individualized character of (45) *Neophytos*.⁶

As might be expected from a group presumably made up of texts from more traditional private religious foundations, the majority of these documents show few traces of the influence of the Evergetian monastic reform movement. A sizable minority, however, are loosely linked to (22) *Evergetis*, either directly or (more likely) through various intermediaries. These exceptions are (45) *Neophytos*, which incorporates a fair number of important Evergetian customs, (47) *Philanthropos*, which actually quotes from (27) *Kecharitomene* or a related document in the Evergetian tradition, and (53) *Meteora*, which accepts some of the principles of (22) *Evergetis* and echoes its language. Only with (47) *Philanthropos*, however, is there a textual link to any of the Evergetian documents.

3. Tolerance for Alternative Forms of Monasticism

Some of the authors of our documents, including those who wrote (45) *Neophytos*, (47) *Philanthropos*, and (53) *Meteora* (i.e., those most under Evergetian influence) as well as (52) *Choumnos* [B19], [B20] and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [3] strongly championed the essential principles of cenobitic life, sometimes including (as in (52) *Choumnos* [B7]), the rejection of imposed monks (*katapemptoi*), but others, like the author of (51) *Koutloumoussi* [A9], were forced to make compromises for various reasons, such as securing patronal assistance, and the coexistence of hesychastic and cenobitic monasticism is taken for granted in (42) *Sabas*. The author of (45) *Neophytos* [17], himself a recluse, apparently envisioned friendly relations with kelliotic monks at his foundation, and for a time the author of (54) *Neilos Damilas* [6] allowed his nuns to live an idiorhythmic lifestyle. Even the militantly pro-cenobitic author of (53) *Meteora* [1] tolerated kelliotic monks already present at his foundation when he introduced the cenobitic regime.

4. Distaste for Financial Matters

The general lack of interest in financial affairs is a striking contrast to the interest in these matters

⁶ For which see Catia Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint: The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse* (Cambridge, 1991).

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shown by contemporary independent foundations. The author of (45) *Neophytos* [10] records his reluctance to acquire landed property for the monastery and disowns responsibilities for the expected consequences. The author of (52) *Choumnos* rejects [B11] the notion of seeking out novices who might contribute valuable entrance gifts, though he also advises [B22] his successor to take the foundation's economic well-being more seriously than he himself had done.

With varying degrees of enthusiasm, the authors of (45) *Neophytos* [C6], (52) *Choumnos* [B4], and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [10] all endorse the practice of manual labor by their monks. As far as other economic activities were concerned, both (47) *Philanthropos* [2] and (53) *Meteora* [4] (though not (54) *Neilos Damilas* [7]) display the anti-entrepreneurial bias of certain strains of medieval Byzantine monasticism that dates back to Basil of Caesarea.

5. Varying Attitudes towards the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

(45) *Neophytos* [15] acknowledges the necessity of obtaining the local bishop's permission for hearing monks' confessions, and in (50) *Gerasimos* [4] the author seems to have enjoyed good relations with the local hierarchy. Other authors, however, show the reluctance, typical of private benefactors, to recognize the rights of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The author of (54) *Neilos Damilas* ignores the rights of the ecclesiastical hierarchy completely while asserting [8] his own right to do as he pleased in legislating for his foundation.

6. Rigorist Approaches to Monastic Discipline

Rigorist observances and customs were popular among the authors of many documents. In addition to the aforementioned stringent diet favored in (43) *Kasoulon* and the penal canons endorsed in (45) *Neophytos* [CB1] ff., we find a discussion of appropriate sanctions for violent monks in (42) *Sabas* [5], voluntary dietary austerities in (45) *Neophytos* [C4], hostility to the conventions of secular music in (46) *Akropolites* [7] and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [12], a prohibition of bathing (also not explicitly permitted elsewhere) in (45) *Neophytos* [C9], and the punishments for those nuns who missed parts of the divine office in (54) *Neilos Damilas* [10].

7. Features Shared with Contemporary Independent Foundations

Liturgically, some authors, such as those of (45) *Neophytos* [12] and (53) *Meteora* [11], observe the trend noted among the thirteenth-century authors in Chapter Seven of relying on external *typika*. Constitutionally, the "leading monks" have important governing roles in (45) *Neophytos* [C11] and in (52) *Choumnos* [B4]. External protectors are found in (50) *Gerasimos* [4]; a patron is acknowledged as founder (*ktetor*) in (51) *Koutloumousi* [A4] and other benefactors receive honors in (49) *Geromeri* [15] and in (52) *Choumnos* [A18], [A20], [A26]. Institutional philanthropy, except for those foundations that were on pilgrimage routes (for which see (42) *Sabas* [8] and (45) *Neophytos* [20]), was generally not an important part of the lives of the foundations discussed in this chapter.

The broad, long-term impact of the monastic reform seems to have led even the patrons of private foundations to scale back their expectations of patronal privileges. Moreover, in the early fourteenth century, (46) *Akropolites* [6] shows evidence of the increasing insistence by contemporaries on linking the exercise of patronal rights to tangible assistance to the institution in question; this is the principle that led to the dispute between the author of (51) *Koutloumousi* and his patron later on in the same century.

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Two of the documents written for institutions showing the most palpable impact of the monastic reform, (47) *Philanthropos* and (53) *Meteora*, can claim a place in the Neo-Evergetian revival of the Palaiologan era, along with the documents, mostly of imperial or patriarchal authorship, written for contemporary independent institutions like (37) *Auxentios*, (39) *Lips*, (55) *Athanasios I*, (56) *Kellibara II*, (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, (58) *Menoikeion*, and (60) *Charsianeites*.

8. Differences with Previous Private Religious Foundations

In some respects, these later private religious foundations differed from those discussed earlier in Chapter One. Instead of relying on a single patron-owner, like the author of (19) *Attaleiates* in the late eleventh century, our monastic authors preferred to rely upon either a distant patron (as in (50) *Gerasimos* [2] and (51) *Koutloumoussi*) or several local ones (as in (49) *Geromeri* and (52) *Choumnos*). The monastic communities were also keen to embrace self-help, as in (49) *Geromeri* [2] and (51) *Koutloumoussi* [A4].

C. Historical Context

1. Traditional Institutions in the Era of the Monastic Reform

Were it not so institutionally and structurally conservative, (41) *Docheiariou*, the first document in this chapter, might well have claimed a place among its contemporaries in Chapter Six, all documents written for independent monasteries. As it is, the only trace of possible reform influence on this text is its prohibition [5] of the alienation of the foundation's property. It is easier to understand why the monastic reform had no apparent impact on the famous Jerusalem monastery for which (42) *Sabas* was written, apparently some time in the twelfth century during the life of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. The companion liturgical *typikon* for this foundation (not translated in this collection) was to gain a considerable following, initially on the periphery of the empire, as (20) *Black Mountain* [3] and (21) *Roidion* [B20] demonstrate, then in Byzantium itself in institutions with links to the Holy Land (see (24) *Christodoulos* [A17]), in Norman Sicily (see (26) *Luke of Messina* [10]), and in Frankish Cyprus (see (34) *Machairas* [75]). Eventually the Sabaitic liturgical *typikon* became in Palaiologan times the most popular guide to liturgical and dietary observances, displacing its earlier Studite and Evergetian rivals.⁷

(43) *Kasoulon* likewise comes from beyond the frontiers of the empire, having been composed in 1160 in southern Italy under Norman rule nearly a century after Byzantium had definitively lost control of this area. The isolation of the foundation for which it was written allowed its leaders to develop their own tradition of dietary observances that was considerably more austere than that practiced in contemporary twelfth-century monasteries in Byzantium under Evergetian influence. Here again, however, the customs embraced by a document that at first seems like the product of a backwater environment came eventually to influence developments in Byzantium itself, as (55) *Athanasios I* [4] illustrates (see Chapter Nine).

⁷ Among the documents in our collection, see (37) *Auxentios* [10]; (39) *Lips* [24], [29], [30], [31], [32]; (56) *Kellibara II* [1]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [78], [80]; (58) *Menoikeion* [4], [16]. For the development, see Robert Taft, "Mount Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite," *DOP* 42 (1988), 179–94, esp. 189 ff.

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2. Survival of Non-Cenobitic Forms of Monasticism

In Byzantium itself, traditional private religious foundations seem to have kept alive alternatives to cenobitic monasticism that had been ignored or even repressed by the mainstream reform tradition of the great independent monasteries during the twelfth century. Thus towards the end of the twelfth century we have from Mount Athos (44) *Karyes*, a document drawn up to govern [2] the “distinctive form of solitary life” that the founder, Sabbas the Serbian, envisioned for a dependency of a larger monastery. The example of influential foundations from outside the empire’s boundaries that were unencumbered by the reform tradition’s disdain for cenobitic alternatives (especially the Palestinian (42) *Sabas* [7]) may have lent support to domestic experiments, such as that envisioned in (24) *Christodoulos* [A24] as early as the late eleventh century. By the early thirteenth century, other founders outside the empire’s boundaries like the Cypriot author of (45) *Neophytos* [17] seem to have aimed at reviving a pre-reform kelliotic tradition of having carefully regulated establishments of solitary monks subordinated to a larger cenobitic institution. Even (34) *Machairas* [152], a contemporary Cypriot *typikon* for an independent monastery, lends careful endorsement to this trend.

Thus, just as institutions external to the empire came eventually to set the standard for its liturgical and dietary observances, so also many of these same institutions lent support to an attractive alternative model to the independent monasteries that were organized on an exclusively cenobitic basis. Surely the shattering of the Byzantine Empire’s political unity during the thirteenth century powerfully stimulated this development, since the great reform monasteries, whether supported by extensive landed endowments (as (28) *Pantokrator* or (29) *Kosmosoteira* were) or also by imperial subventions (as (33) *Heliou Bomon* and (34) *Machairas* were) prospered best of all under conditions of political and economic stability.

The development of an idiorhythmic form of monasticism, in which monks retain personal property, earn their own livings, and reside and eat separately from one another in their own cells, was a particular feature of Byzantine monasticism in the Palaeologan era. Much more so than kelliotic monasticism, it represented a basic repudiation of the ideals of cenobiticism, and in the post-Byzantine era it would become the predominant form of monasticism on Mount Athos.⁸

3. The Palaiologan Revival of Cenobiticism

A revival of the prestige of cenobitic monasticism had to await the reconstitution, partial though it was, of the political unity of the empire following Michael VIII Palaiologos’ recovery of Constantinople in 1261. This is reflected in our documents first by (47) *Philanthropos* in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, a heavily Evergetian-influenced text that appropriately owes its survival to its inclusion in a post-Byzantine collection of the mid-sixteenth century when once again cenobiticism found itself fighting for survival against idiorhythmic alternatives because of the dramatically unfavorable political circumstances of Ottoman rule. The slightly later (48) *Prodromos* is instructive, particularly in comparison to (44) *Karyes*—the late twelfth-century text mentioned above as a model of solitary life in an “independent” dependency of a larger monastery. In (48) *Prodromos*, the monks of the mother house of Docheiariou exercised a much tighter

⁸ See below, Chapter Nine, D.6; for idiorhythmic monasticism on Mount Athos, see (59) *Manuel II* and Ph. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Leipzig, 1894), 57–64.

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control of the dependency in question, which they funded and from which they received agricultural dues. Moreover, the dependency was staffed by a small community of monks rather than by a solitary as in (44) *Karyes*.

These developments were paralleled by the creation or restoration of prestigious cenobitic monasteries under imperial patronage in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries that were organized as independent foundations such as those for which (37) *Auxentios*, (38) *Kellibara I*, (39) *Lips*, and (40) *Anargyroi* were written (see Chapter Seven). Yet as we have seen, even (37) *Auxentios* [11], while proclaiming the superiority of cenobitic monasticism as being in accord with “the law of nature,” permits coexisting settlements of solitary monks.

4. The Palaiologan Patriarchal Reform Program

Beginning with the two terms of office of Athanasios I (1289–93 and 1303–1309), the patriarchs of Constantinople began to show extraordinary assertiveness both in upholding monastic discipline and curbing the prerogatives of private patrons.⁹ Among the documents in this chapter, (46) *Akropolites*, with its author’s tortured defense of his entitlement to patronal rights established by his father over the foundation in question, best illustrates the success the patriarchs had achieved in the last named undertaking by the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

5. Impact of the Political Fragmentation of the Byzantine World

During the balance of the fourteenth century, as the prestige and the territorial integrity of the Byzantine Empire steadily diminished, the authors of the rest of our documents in this chapter sought patronage and protection wherever they could find it. In 1339, Neilos Erichiotes, who significantly had earlier spent 31 years as an ascetic in the Holy Land,¹⁰ drew up his testament, (49) *Geromeri*, in which he acknowledges the patronage of members of the local nobility as well as of John II Orsini (1323–1336/7), despot of Epiros, and his wife Anna Palaiologina. In the Holy Land itself, the testament of (50) *Gerasimos* provides for the transmission of a small monastery said once to have been the personal property of the late Anna Anachoutlou (1341–42), ruler of Trebizond, but more recently having been supported by the author’s predecessor as superior and now entrusted to the superior of a Georgian monastery as the foundation’s administrator. Most interesting of all, (51) *Koutlounousi* shows its author, Chariton, a fervent believer in cenobitic monasticism, anguishing over what disciplinary concessions he should make to the appointees (*katapemptoi*) of his patron, the Vlach *voivode* John Vladislav, in order to obtain indispensable financial support. At about the same time, the author of (52) *Choumnos* was relying upon local members of the nobility around Thessalonike to support the cenobitic *Nea Mone*, apparently in the absence of a traditional landed endowment of scattered income-producing properties.

6. Cenobitic Transformations on the Periphery of the Empire

Towards the end of the fourteenth century, Athanasios the Meteorite made an attempt to reorga-

⁹ For the reform program of this patriarch, see (55) *Athanasios I*, with John Boojamra, *Church Reform in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Study for the Patriarchate of Athanasios of Constantinople* (Thessaloniki, 1982), and idem, *The Church and Social Reform: The Policies of Patriarch Athanasios of Constantinople* (New York, 1993).

¹⁰ For his earlier career, see Donald Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros, 1267–1479* (New York, 1984), 244.

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nize his monastery of the *Metamorphosis* along cenobitic grounds. As noted above, he was obliged in (53) *Meteora* [1] to allow kelliotic monks who refused to adopt cenobiticism to remain on site, even though his Evergetian-influenced rule is informed by one of the most uncompromising visions of cenobitic life in our collection. Some decades later in the early fifteenth century in Venetian Crete, the author of (54) *Neilos Damilas* also successfully sponsored a transformation from an idiorhythmic to a cenobitic lifestyle for his community of nuns, though, unlike Athanasios in (53) *Meteora* [4], he permitted his nuns to continue to engage in commercial transactions.

41. *Docheiariou*: Rule of Neophytos for the Monastery of St. Michael the Archangel of Docheiariou on Mount Athos

Date: ca. 1118¹

Translator: Robert Allison

Edition employed: Nicolas Oikonomides, *Actes de Docheiariou* (= Archives de l’Athos 13) (Paris, 1984), 91–97, with text at 94–97.

Manuscript: Original document²

Other translations: None

Institutional History

A. Origins of the Monastery

The monastery of Docheiariou appears to date back to the early years of the eleventh century when, sometime before 1013, a foundation was dedicated to St. Nicholas at Daphne, probably by John the Treasurer or Cellarer (*docheiarios*), who was an official of another Athonite monastery, perhaps Xeropotamou.³ At a later date, probably between 1051 and 1056, the original location on the southwest coast of the Athonite peninsula was abandoned in favor of a new site in the interior. Towards the end of the eleventh century, the foundation was moved to a third site, on the coast, where a dependency dedicated to St. Michael was located. Circa 1083–1108, this location became the permanent home of the foundation.

B. Patronage of Neophytos

Hagiographic texts dating from the sixteenth century describe the activities of our author, the “second founder” Neophytos, crediting him with replacing the original church on the new site with a larger edifice, building a fortified enclosure with a large tower for its protection, and acquiring properties to assure the foundation an adequate income.⁴ Later, Neophytos was honored by his fellow Athonite monks by being chosen *protos* of the Holy Mountain. The *Rule* translated here confirms [2], [3] the essentials of Neophytos’ career as reported in the hagiographic tradition. Neophytos is also independently attested in a document from the Lavra monastery as superior of Docheiariou in 1108.⁵ Other documents from the monastery’s own cartulary note Neophytos’ acquisitions of landed properties in the western part of the Chalkidike.⁶

C. Subsequent History in Byzantine Times

Neophytos’ eventual successor, who apparently had not yet been identified at the time that our author drew up his *Rule* circa 1118, was Barnabas, who was serving as superior of Docheiariou in 1141.⁷ By then, the foundation had become one of the most important monasteries on Mount Athos. Aside from the fact that Docheiariou lost many of its properties in the Chalkidike in the

turmoil that resulted from the Fourth Crusade, little else is known about the monastery until the beginning of the fourteenth century, at which time a number of documents from the foundation's cartulary begin to be preserved. By 1311, the Archangel Gabriel had joined St. Michael as a dedicatee of the foundation, which is described at that time as an imperial monastery.⁸ Oikonomides (*Docheiariou*, p. 13) believes that the monastery had no special relationship with the emperor, as this title usually implies, but rather that it had simply been the beneficiary of some imperial benefaction. As it had been in Neophytos's day, Docheiariou continued as a cenobitic monastery down to 1330/31, when a certain Neilos issued (48) *Prodromos* for one of the foundation's dependencies. By 1351–66, however, judging from an extended controversy over the personal property of a certain monk named Gregory Isbes, it appears that the idiorhythmic form of monasticism had made inroads here as elsewhere on Mount Athos.⁹ Towards the end of the fourteenth century, Docheiariou, again like the rest of Mount Athos, began to suffer from the depredations of Turkish pirates.¹⁰ Judging from various documents preserved in its cartulary, the later Palaiologan emperors, especially Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425), were solicitous of Docheiariou's welfare and property rights.¹¹

*D. Docheiariou under Ottoman Rule*¹²

Along with the rest of Mount Athos, Docheiariou passed under Ottoman rule, even before the fall of Thessalonike to Sultan Murad II in 1430. The Russian pilgrim Isaias of Chilandar visited the monastery in 1489. He reported that it housed one hundred twenty monks, but his identification of the foundation as a Serbian monastery suggests he confused it with the neighboring monastery of Xenophon.¹³ By the middle of the sixteenth century, the monastery was virtually deserted, and in 1560 the priest George of Adrianople, with the financial assistance of the Romanian prince Alexander and his wife Roxandra, was able to restore the monastery and reconstitute its endowment. Nearly all of the buildings currently on the site are post-Byzantine, and many date from the eighteenth century.¹⁴ During the Greek War of Independence (1821–31) Docheiariou once again lost nearly all its properties and many of its monks.

*E. The Foundation in Modern Times*¹⁵

Several important buildings were added in post-Byzantine times, including a *katholikon* built in the sixteenth century, a refectory erected in the late seventeenth century, and nine subsidiary chapels. There is also a library housed in the top floor of the defensive tower. With only ten idiorhythmic monks in 1980, Docheiariou ranks tenth in the hierarchy of monasteries on Mount Athos.

Analysis

Like (1) *Apa Abraham* nearly five hundred years earlier, this document represents the traditional private religious foundations of Byzantium in their purest form as the author employs this vehicle to transmit his monastery to his chosen successor (there is a space for his name in [4] that is left blank) just as he himself received [3] it from his uncle through a document of abdication. After the author's death, his successor is to become [5] lord and autocrat (*kyrios kai autokrator*) of the monastery, entitled to control all administrative affairs, properties, assets and privileges. Moreover, he is to be irremovable from office, with no exceptions noted. In return, the author obligates

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[5] his successor to perform the doxology, conduct the yearly patronal feast of St. Michael, commemorate deceased monks, care for the brothers, and preserve the “rules of the Mountain.”

A prohibition [5] on alienation of property is the only indication of influence that the ideology of the contemporary monastic reform movement may have had on our author. The monastery was not to be sold, nor any of its immovable properties alienated on any pretext “unless the greatest need requires it,” and then only after taking counsel with the entire brotherhood and gaining the approval of the *protos* of Mount Athos. Citing patristic and canonical precedent, the author instructs that movable furnishings of the monastery were also to be preserved, and even increased if possible.

In order to preserve the chain of private transmission, the author instructs [5] his successor to choose in turn “another exceedingly competent man” (i.e., a *xenokourites*) or a “worthy disciple” as his own successor, a practice that he claims is “as the divine ordinances declare and the rule of our Mountain has given as custom from the beginning.” Transmission to a lay relative, always a danger in traditional private foundations, is explicitly forbidden.

The author presupposes an unvarnished authoritarian model of leadership in ordering [6] the foundation’s monks to obey their new superior “as Christ himself.” They are not to “resist him, nor contradict him at all if possible even in the slightest matter.” Thus there is no attempt to utilize the monks, or—as in the contemporary Evergetian tradition—even a select group of them, as a useful check on the authority of the superior. Instead, the author prefers to rely [5] on the office of the *protos* and Athonite customs as the only restraints on his successor’s arbitrary use of his proprietary rights.

Notes on the Introduction

1. See Oikonomides, *Docheiarou*, p. 24.
2. Preserved at the *Docheiariou* monastery, presumably as dictated by the author, and signed by him; see Oikonomides, *Docheiarou*, p. 93.
3. For the problematic origins of the foundation, see Oikonomides, *Docheiariou*, pp. 3–9.
4. See discussion by Oikonomides, *Docheiariou*, pp. 9–10, cf. 3–4.
5. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, doc. 57 (1108), p. 299.
6. Oikonomides, *Docheiariou*, docs. 3 (1112) and 4 (1117), pp. 60–89.
7. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 1, doc. 61 (1141), p. 318; with Oikonomides, *Docheiariou*, pp. 10, 24.
8. Oikonomides, *Docheiariou*, doc. 11 (1311), pp. 116–19.
9. Oikonomides, *Docheiariou*, docs. 34, 35, 36 (all 1361), 38 (1366), pp. 205–14, 218–20.
10. Oikonomides, *Docheiariou*, docs. 48 (ca. 1381), 49 (1384), pp. 252–64.
11. Oikonomides, *Docheiariou*, docs. 52 (1409), 54 (1414), 55 (1416), pp. 269–70, 279–87.
12. S. Kadas, *Mount Athos* (Athens, 1979), p. 92.
13. Oikonomides, *Docheiariou*, p. 22.
14. Talbot and Cutler, “Docheiariou Monastery,” p. 643.
15. Kadas, *Mount Athos*, pp. 92–93.

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- , “Ho Protos tou Hagiou Orous Atho kai he ‘Megale Mese’ e ‘Synaxis,’” *EEBS* 6 (1929), 233–81, esp. 253–57.

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Oikonomides, Nicolas, "Hiera mone Docheiariou. Katalogos tou archeiou," *Symmeikta* 3 (1979), 197–263.
Papadopoulos, Stylianos, "Docheiariou, Mone," *TEE*, vol. 5, cols. 213–18.
Talbot, Alice-Mary, and Cutler, Anthony, "Docheiariou Monastery," *ODB*, pp. 642–43.

Translation

I, the worthless monk Neophytos, superior of the monastery of Docheiariou and *protos* of the Holy Mountain, validated this rule by my signature.

[1. Meditation on Death]

+ Death is a beneficial thing, a great collaborator working with men toward their betterment, even though perhaps it seems to be by nature the penalty for transgression. For nothing of the things given or being given to us by God is wholly without benefit, no matter how it be given. Nothing is wholly for destruction, nothing wholly for harm, even if somehow to the unintelligent and those altogether without imagination it is not perceived appropriately.

Now consider with me how the benefit is evident: for if kings, magistrates and rulers did not fear death, what outrage would they not commit? Or whom of their inferiors would they leave living? If whores and fornicators and seducers and other such evildoers did not clearly shudder at such a penalty and at the accounting for their life's conduct and at the just verdict of the incorruptible judge, when would they be converted from their wickedness? Or who, if miraculously transformed from these vices, would persevere safe from vice through the future? So the prophet spoke well concerning this and with inspiration when he said, "death is a man's relief" (Job 3:23).¹ For death is by nature nothing other than the separation of the soul from the body, and a passage from perishability to imperishability. Accordingly, since death was established for some such use, and was given us by God for our benefit, it is incumbent upon us to give careful consideration to matters related to it.

Already even old age itself, like some resounding trumpet which has taken position near us, re-echoes that such a mystery is at hand. By no means is it possible for us to evade its nets, mortals and creatures as we are and subject to change.

Therefore, the very creator and fashioner of our nature, the dispenser of life and Lord, deigned to drink this cup (cf. Matt. 26:39) through his mercy and love for us, wanting to show that death is not something to be avoided and averted, nor has it been bestowed by him for harm to our race, or for destruction of the soul.

[2. Introduction to the *Rule*]

Therefore, I, the worthless and most lowly monk Neophytos, having come many years ago by God's mercy to tend and govern the most noble monastery of Docheiariou, which from the beginning was founded and has been honored out of faith in the all-venerable and divine name of the archangel Michael; and having now been chosen to serve as *protos* on this Holy Mountain² [chosen] I think by God in accordance with his own ways, which he alone knows; I am composing the present written and signed, plain, clear and definite testament in the name of the great and almighty God Jesus Christ, the one [God] of the holy, consubstantial and life-giving Trinity, and in

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the name of his eternal Father and of the Holy Spirit, having prefixed by my own hand at the top of the text the sign of the precious and life-giving cross with my own name, being, by the grace of God, still in possession of mental faculties which are sound and unwavering and in every respect healthy and vigorous.

In it I make disposition of the most holy [p. 95] and venerable monastery of Docheiariou, entrusted to me by God and my holy fathers, as the text will make clear. The text is as follows:

[3. Foundation History]

The said most venerable monastery of Docheiariou came to me in the beginning from the document of abdication of my blessed and most holy father and uncle.³ From that time to the present I possess and govern it. In it I have accomplished many labors, as the Lord who knows all hearts (cf. Acts 1:24; 15:8) recognizes, and as all men perceive who know me and who observe my zeal for every serious pursuit, even if I did nothing at all of what was perhaps owed or pleasing to the master of all. But still, what I have accomplished by the help of God and the approval and collaboration of his commander of the heavenly armies [Michael] prevails in full and manifest public view.⁴ For behold, I erected a large number of buildings and planted vineyards and constructed cells, and I added the most precious cloths, and holy silver vessels, and all-venerable icons and holy books similar to those which were already there, and I established additional movable and immovable properties and erected this most sacred and holy church of the commander of the heavenly host, Michael, from its very foundation, demolishing the former one, and I adorned it with every beauty within my power, and as such I presented it for all to see. Nevertheless, all these things are for the glory and praise of God, and not for my own vain satisfaction. With much toil and care I gathered much additional wealth as well as other kinds of material goods whose amounts and descriptions I have not been able to recount within the length of this document. I have made documents very enduring and secure, and whatever else the usefulness of this life demands.

[4. Designation of a Successor]

Accordingly, I wish and decree and will that after my departure from this life the most honorable monk lord _____⁵ shall succeed me in the rule of this monastery, whom I tonsured; whom after much consideration and profound investigation for the longest possible time I have judged to be both most competent and at the same time most worthy of such rule; and whom I am convinced will shepherd the flock of Christ as irreproachably and blamelessly as is humanly possible, and will direct and set in good order all of the affairs of the monastery just as in the present he observes me doing, or even much better; and to whom, as my successor and disciple, I address and recommend by way of counsel the following.

[5. Counsel to his Successor]

O brother in the Lord and dearest child of mine, since I left you behind as my successor by the providence of God and you are obligated after my passing to become lord and autocrat of the monastery of Docheiariou and to have control of all the affairs and properties as well as the assets and other privileges in it or having to do with it, that is, movable, immovable and animate [property]; and [since] there will never be [anyone] at all, in any period or time throughout your whole life, as long as you wish to hold this position, to remove you or intimidate you or in any way whatever threaten you or thrust you forth from it, it is necessary:

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That, above every other thing, you will offer up to the Lord and to the archangel Michael in harmonious and orderly fashion the praise [doxology] which is due them. That you will observe inviolate his life-bearing commands, through which salvation is made available to men. That you perfect the virtues, as an inalienable treasure, through which the commandments are preserved. That you maintain the ordinances of the divine fathers. That you guard the rules of the Mountain.

Next, that you cherish and care for all the brothers as [you would] your own limbs, both those whom you take over after me, and those whom you yourself receive and tonsure, and that you guide them with all your zeal and power and keep them in harmonious order on the road to salvation, from both the model of your own life and [that] of the encouragement and admonition of the holy scriptures, for by this method everywhere it is shown that shepherds and teachers are from God, and they themselves are obligated to give an account of their charges.

Next, that you wholeheartedly care for all the immovable and tangible possessions, through which all men provide for the needs of their bodies, and [p. 96] completely attend to the erection of buildings, to the planting of vines, to the husbandry of fruit-bearing trees, and, to put it all simply, to everything contributing to the constitution and increase of the monastery.

In addition to this, you are also obligated to conduct yearly the joyous feast of the great commander of the heavenly host, Michael,⁶ and to commemorate unceasingly and pray for all the fathers and brothers who have labored in this monastery and then have passed away.

These [obligations you must observe] throughout your whole life. At whatever time you are on the verge of traveling out from the body and departing to the places of judgment beyond, you may not do anything unlawful against this monastery, whether perhaps to sell it off, or to alienate any of its immovable property at all, either for a favor, or for collateral⁷ or for removal⁸ unless the greatest need urgently requires it, but even then only with the authorization of the *protos* currently in office and the counsel of the entire brotherhood. The holy cloths and all the precious vessels which contribute to the adornment and sublime beauty of the church you must not only preserve completely inalienable, but you must be zealous to increase their number as much as it is possible to do so, just as the divine canons declare and above all the most wise Cyril.⁹

You shall transfer control of the monastery, in turn, to another exceedingly competent and zealous man, or to a worthy disciple of your own, just as the divine ordinances declare and the rule of our Mountain has given as the custom from the beginning. Only do not under any circumstances act otherwise, following [unworthy] human fashion.

But let this suffice as far as matters relating to you are concerned. This should be adequate. It is not fitting to prolong further my discourse of advice.

[6. Exhortation to the Monks]

But what of matters relating to the brothers? Shall we, then, leave these unarticulated? Should we give them over to silence? Certainly not. It is neither appropriate nor fitting. Come, then, let us offer to them some brief and most necessary exhortations in the manner of good counsel, employing requisite compassion.

O cherished brothers and spiritual children in the Lord, whom I begot in the manner of the theologian St. Paul (Phlm. 10–11; I Cor. 4:15), I give this advice to you, as to men who have elected to be saved and to walk the way of the saints, encouraging you in this above all else:

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Heed your superior and obey him as Christ himself our master. For you have, I know, a good conscience, wanting in all things to behave well. Do not resist him, nor contradict him at all if possible even in the slightest matter, since, indeed, he who resists or objects or contradicts him in any way whatever or causes him grief in some matter, or provokes him to anger, does all [these things] to God, inasmuch as he did it to the one given him by God in his stead to rule and shepherd you. To escape from the coming wrath is not possible for the sons of disobedience (cf. Col. 3:6; Rom. 11:32), since they have in fact set themselves against the ordinance of God. Demonstrating, accordingly, every obedience to the one appointed by God to be in authority over you, it is necessary for you to consider his orders outright divine law, doing and observing whatever he might tell you to do, so that by your obedience you may gain your souls (cf. Luke 21:19).

You must add to obedience both self-control toward all things and love toward each other, by wearing as a double cloak faith in God and hope, by pursuing in every way the path of our fathers who shone in discipline, and by applying yourselves to good works (cf. Tit. 3:8, 14), as you both saw and learned through my example, so that you may not be, in the Apostle's words, barren of fruit (II Pet. 1:8).

[7. Conclusion]

"Now I commend you," brethren and beloved children in the Lord, "to God and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up and to give you an inheritance among all the sanctified" (cf. Acts 20:32). Commemorate my labors and my toil which I undertook, caring night and day for our holy monastery and for the betterment of each one of you, to the glory of our great God and Savior Jesus [p. 97] Christ and the honor of his commander, Michael, whose grace be with us all now and forever. Amen.

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of our translator, Robert Allison [RA], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. Cf. John Chrysostom, *Expositio in Ps. 110*, PG 55, col. 280.
2. For Neophytos as *protos* of Mount Athos, see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 133.
3. Presumably Neophytos' immediate predecessor Euthymios, founder of the monastery of St. Michael sometime in the last decades of the eleventh century; see Oikonomides, *Docheiariou*, p. 24.
4. Literally, "But nevertheless all the things which I have done prevail evident to all and manifest..." i.e., the fact that Neophytos' accomplishments have endured validates his supposition that he acted in accord with God's will. [RA]
5. Although the space for his name is left blank here, this would have been Neophytos' eventual successor Barnabas; see Oikonomides, *Docheiariou*, pp. 10, 24.
6. Feast of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, November 8.
7. *kyrosin*, i.e., collateral for a loan, or perhaps confirmation for a donation received? The previous editor, Ktenas, reads instead *akyrosin*, "cancellation of indebtedness." [RA]
8. *aphairesin*, "removal," may mean disburdening the monastery of property either vacant or currently underutilized that might be expensive to maintain. [RA]
9. Cyril of Alexandria, *Ep. 78 (59)*, PG 77, col. 364C.

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Document Notes

- [1] Meditation on death. See also the reflections on this subject in (5) *Euthymios* [3]; (6) *Rila* [2]; (7) *Latros* Introduction; (10) *Eleousa* [1]; (24) *Christodoulos* [B1]; (25) *Fragala* [A6], [B6]; (30) *Phoberos* [1]; (34) *Machairas* [1]; (35) *Skoteine* [1]; (44) *Karyes* [1]; (45) *Neophytos* [2]; (48) *Prodromos* [1]; (49) *Geromeri* [2] ff.; (50) *Gerasimos* [1]; and (51) *Koutloumoussi* [A1], [C1].
- [2] Introduction to the *Rule*. For the history of the monastery of St. Michael, see Oikonomides, *Docheiariou*, pp. 7–11.
- [3] Foundation history. For the author's career and relationship with *Docheiariou*, see Oikonomides, *Docheiariou*, pp. 9–10.
- [4] Designation of a successor. See also the testamentary designation of successors in (1) *Apa Abraham* [1]; (10) *Eleousa* [11]; (24) *Christodoulos* [B3], [B5], [C1]; (25) *Fragala* [A7], [B7]; (45) *Neophytos* [16]; (48) *Prodromos* [6]; (49) *Geromeri* [14]; (50) *Gerasimos* [3]; and (52) *Choumnos* [A3]; cf. vaguer formulations in (3) *Theodore Studites*, (5) *Euthymios* [1], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [54], and (44) *Karyes* [4].
- [5] Rights and responsibilities of the successor. See similar treatments in (10) *Eleousa* [12]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [35]; (22) *Evergetis* [17] and related documents; (24) *Christodoulos* [A19]; (25) *Fragala* [A10]; (37) *Auxentios* [4]; (38) *Kellibara I* [18]; (45) *Neophytos* [15]; (48) *Prodromos* [7]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [27] ff.; and (60) *Charsianeites* [B9].
- [6] Exhortation to the monks. See similar treatments in (3) *Theodore Studites* [25], [26], [27]; (7) *Latros* [11]; (14) *Ath. Testament* [20]; (22) *Evergetis* [16] and related documents; (24) *Christodoulos* [A28]; (25) *Fragala* [A9], [B9]; (32) *Mamas* [24]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [24]; (37) *Auxentios* [5]; (39) *Lips* [9]; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [37] ff.
- [7] Request for liturgical commemoration. See similar testamentary requests in (1) *Apa Abraham* [7], (5) *Euthymios* [2], (6) *Rila* [20], (14) *Ath. Testament* [21], and (52) *Choumnos* [A22].

42. *Sabas*: Founder's *Typikon* of the Sabas Monastery near Jerusalem

Date: After 1100¹

Translator: Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Edition employed: Ed. Kurtz, *BZ* 3 (1894), 168–70.

Manuscript: Codex Sinaiticus 1096 (12th c.)²

Other translations: Russian, by A. Dmitrievsky, “Puteshestvie po vostoku,” *TDKA* (January 1890), 170–92, at 178–87; English, by L. Di Segni, in Joseph Patrich, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism: A Comparative Study in Eastern Monasticism, Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1995), pp. 274–75.

Institutional History

A. Foundation of the Monastery

The Great Lavra of St. Sabas, also known by its Arabic name of Mar Saba, was founded by its namesake, a Cappadocian ascetic,³ in 483 at a site nine miles southeast of Jerusalem in the generally dry Cedron River valley. His life and works are well known since he was the subject of a *Life* by Cyril of Skythopolis.⁴ Born in 439, Sabas became a disciple of the famous Palestinian monk Euthymios the Great, ca. 456. The Great Lavra supported one hundred fifty communal monks and seventy anchorites. During nearly fifty years as director of this monastic foundation, Sabas also founded or directed three other lavras, six cenobitic monasteries, and three philanthropic institutions.⁵ The so-called New Lavra owes its foundation in 507 to a breakaway group of Origenist monks, who controlled it until 555, shortly after the condemnation of their creed at the Council of Constantinople in 553. Subsequent foundations included the lavra Heptastomos in 512 and the lavra of Jeremias in 531. Sabas, a stalwart champion of Chalcedonian Christianity, died at the Great Lavra in 532.

B. Subsequent History of the Foundation in Medieval Times

Mar Saba survived the death of its founder and played an important part in the intellectual life of Palestine in the sixth century. The founder's biographer, Cyril of Skythopolis, took up residence in the New Lavra after the expulsion of the Origenist monks in 555, then moved to the Great Lavra in 557, where he died a short time later. John Moschos, author of the *Spiritual Garden*, one of the most popular works of ascetic literature, visited the monastery towards the end of the sixth century. Theodore of Sykeon was another famous visitor at this time.

The invasion of Palestine by the Sassanid king Chosroes II (591–628) in 614 provided an opportunity for Arab raiders to sack the monastery and massacre some forty-four monks, later venerated as martyrs. Yet unlike the majority of Palestinian lavras and monasteries, which never recovered from the disruptions accompanying the Persian invasion, Mar Saba was revived and

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went on to play an important part in the great theological controversies of the next two centuries during what is called the foundation's Golden Age, 614–843.⁶

The famous iconodule theologian John Damascene was a resident of the Lavra in the first half of the eighth century during the height of the Iconoclastic controversy. From this base, safely out of reach of the imperial authorities, John authored many polemical works against iconoclasm. His adoptive brother Kosmas the Hymnographer was also a Sabaite monk. Towards the end of the eighth century and in the early years of the ninth, Theodore the Studite looked to Palestine for both administrative and liturgical components of his own monastic reform (see above, (4) *Stoudios*, The Studite Monastic Reform, C). Sabaitic chants were imported for use at his Stoudios monastery in Constantinople. In the middle of the tenth century, Paul the Younger, author of (7) *Latros* [8], recommends the observance of rules for fasting set down in the “rule of Jerusalem,” a possible reference to an early version of the liturgical *typikon* of Mar Saba. Finally, the scriptorium of Mar Saba served as a center of manuscript production not only in this era but down to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Despite Mar Saba's intellectual achievements and influence during this era, the foundation had to contend with many serious threats to its survival. An outbreak of the plague decimated the monastery towards the end of the eighth century, and a great earthquake is reported by the author of the *Life* of St. Stephen the Thaumaturge, a contemporary Sabaite monk, to have led to a serious disruption of monastic life.⁷ These difficulties were followed by a massacre of the monks and the destruction of parts of the facility carried out by Bedouin raiders in 796.

The history of Mar Saba during the era of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099–1187) is not well known at present, yet it was most likely at this time that the surviving versions of the founder's and liturgical *typika* were drawn up. Earlier versions of the latter were likely in circulation on the periphery of the Byzantine Empire in the last decades of the eleventh century, judging from approving citations in such other monastic *typika* as (20) *Black Mountain*, (21) *Roidion*, and (24) *Christodoulos* (see Analysis below). After Saladin's reconquest of Jerusalem following the Battle of Hattin in 1187, there was another massacre of the monks at Mar Saba, and parts of the monastery were destroyed, though the church and tomb of St. Sabas were spared.

The prestige of Mar Saba's liturgical *typikon* in Byzantium itself was at its height in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Yet sometime before 1440, it was abandoned by the surviving community of Greek monks, who could no longer endure the incessant raids of neighboring nomadic tribes. It stood deserted for nearly a hundred years.⁸

*C. Later History of the Foundation down to Modern Times*⁹

Life at Mar Saba may have been revived under the superior Joachim in 1540, who is said to have assembled a community of some fifty Greek monks. Another tradition has the monastery coming under Serbian control. Under Ottoman rule, Mar Saba received protective firmans from several sultans, including Suleiman I (1533 and 1537), Selim II (1568), Mehmet III (1601), and Ahmed I (1605). Selim II even permitted the monks to bear arms to defend themselves against local Muslim tribesmen. In 1623, however, burdened by debts and menaced with expropriation, the Serbians sought to sell the facility to the local Armenian Christian community. The Greek Orthodox patriarchate of Jerusalem, intervened, however, and successfully negotiated to buy Mar Saba in 1625.

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Frequent Bedouin raids continued to trouble the foundation under its new owners for the balance of the seventeenth century. In 1688, Dositheos, the Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem, obtained permission from the Ottoman authorities to carry out a complete restoration of the facility. The eighteenth and the early decades of the nineteenth century, however, were also extremely troubled, marked by Bedouin incursions, pillages, and massacres. At the end of the nineteenth century, Vailhé (“Saint-Sabas,” p. 334) gloomily reported the lack of interest of the monks then resident at the foundation in scholarship or manual labor. Under the circumstances, therefore, the survival of Mar Saba down to our own times must be considered a prodigious achievement.

Surviving on the site are: the principal church of the Annunciation, dedicated by Sabas in 501 but much restored over the centuries; a church of St. Nicholas; the tomb of St. Sabas located between these two churches; a small chapel of St. John Damascene; and a refectory.¹⁰ The relics of St. Sabas, which had been taken to Venice in the Crusader era, were returned to Mar Saba by Pope Paul VI in 1965. As late as 1834, the monastery’s library had more than 1,000 manuscripts. Although many of these have since been dispersed to various European libraries, a rich collection still survives locally at the Greek patriarchate of Jerusalem.

Analysis

This brief founder’s *typikon*, written for a dual-nationality (Greek and Syriac) monastery, was (and remains) considerably less well known than the very famous liturgical *typikon* associated with this monastery that was recommended by eleven of the authors of the documents in our collection over the course of five centuries.¹¹ As one of the most famous monasteries in Christendom’s holiest destination for pilgrims, the Sabas lavra was in an ideal position for propagating its liturgical and dietary traditions. Of the three documents that represent other institutions that were apparently way-stations on the great pilgrimage route to Jerusalem or served as destinations in their own right, two, (21) *Roidion* [B2] and (34) *Machairas* [118], also endorse the Sabaitic liturgical *typikon*, and the third, (45) *Neophytos* [20], cf. [10] may have used it as well.

A. Lives of the Monks

The document does not specify the number of monks, but eunuchs and beardless youths were [1] inadmissible. A priest was specially assigned [3] for the performance of the vigil service in honor of the patron in the saint’s shrine. The community included [3], [7] both monks who lived together in the lavra and solitaries (called here *hesychastai*).¹² The monks were permitted [3] to leave the monastery once a month during the week for certain unspecified personal business, subject to the approval of either the superior or the ecclesiarch. The solitaries were to join [7] the community for vigils but not for the other commemorations of the saints. They were strictly forbidden to make appearances in the towns and villages. Iberians (Georgians), Syrians (Arab Christians), Franks (Latin Crusaders),¹³ presumably present in the monastery as visitors, were allowed [2] to sing the office and selected psalms, and were then to join the assembled brotherhood in the Great Church.

The discussion of violent disciplinary problems has no parallel in monastic foundation documents from Byzantium proper, though in the early twelfth century there was an increasing interest in penal discipline (cf. (34) *Machairas* [122] ff. and (45) *Neophytos* [CB1] ff.). Fighting was punished [5] with expulsion for those participants who refused to be reconciled with one another.

Those monks who got drunk, used abusive language, resorted to violence, or made (presumably disruptive) “associations and unions” were subject [6] to correction or expulsion. Monks caught cheating in their ministries were to be punished with confinement in their cells except at services and prayers.

Sexual precautions were stricter than elsewhere. In addition to the traditional (though by no means universal) exclusion [1] of eunuchs and youths from the community,¹⁴ the document denies women access to the main monastery or its principal dependency, even for prayer. Moreover, monks were generally to have no relations with women, not excluding serving as godfathers to them, or with nuns, not even for hearing their confessions.

B. Constitutional Matters

Although there is no discussion of the foundation’s own constitutional status, the denial of proprietary rights to the monks over individual cells suggests [4] a strong tendency to privatize institutional property. Monks could not bequeath to their disciples their cells either in the lavra or the dependency without the superior’s consent, nor, should they be promoted by the patriarch of Jerusalem to the rank of metropolitan, bishop, any other patriarchal office, or become the superior of another monastery, could they sell or donate them to someone else.

C. Financial Matters

A practical division of offices reserved [9] the office of superior for the Greek monks but left the offices of steward, treasurer, and the rest to be filled by Syrians since they were thought to be “more efficient and practical in their native country.”

D. External Relations

The document permits [8] seven days of hospitality to (presumably distinguished) guests, which is fairly generous compared to the three days allowed in (21) *Roidion* [B2] or in (34) *Machairas* [118]. The authors of (24) *Christodoulos* [A3] in the late eleventh century and of (45) *Neophytos* [4] in the late twelfth century must have been the beneficiaries of similar hospitality during their extended pilgrimages to the Holy Land (see also the pilgrimage plans of the superior designee in (25) *Fragala* [B10]). At the Sabas monastery, however, local residents and visitors coming for worship (= ordinary pilgrims?) were limited to the more usual three days of hospitality on grounds of “the large crowd of poor arriving daily.”

Notes on the Introduction

1. The dating proposed is for the final version of the text as it has come down to us, including the reference to “the Franks” in [2]. If the latter is indeed an interpolation, as Kurtz, *BZ* 3 (1894), p. 168, endorsed by Fiaccadori, “Proleitourgia,” p. 39, indicated in the foreword to his edition, then the base text may be considerably older.
2. See R. Taft, “Mount Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite,” *DOP* 42 (1988), p. 187, n. 79. As noted in Fischer, “Typikon,” p. 307, Albert Ehrhard identified the unpublished Codex Coislinianus 295, fols. 218–52 (14th c.), entitled “*Testament of the blessed and holy fathers Sabas the Great and Theodosios the Koinobiarch concerning the life of monks . . .*,” as a longer version of the

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founder's *typikon* translated here, but this may only be another of the many manuscripts of the popular liturgical *typikon* associated with this monastery.

3. See Derwas Chitty, *The Desert a City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 101–18; E. Hoade, “Sabas, SS.,” *NCE*, vol. 12 (Washington, D.C., 1967), pp. 775–76; Alexander Kazhdan and Nancy Ševčenko, “Sabas,” *ODB*, p. 1823; and Vailhé, “Saint-Sabas,” pp. 335–41.
4. Cyril of Skythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, ed. Ed. Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis* (Leipzig, 1939), pp. 85–200 (= Halkin, *BHG* 1608); French translation by A.-J. Festugière, *Les moines d'Orient*, vol. 3, pt. 2: *Les moines de Palestine* (Paris, 1962); English translation by R. M. Price and J. Binns, *Cyril of Scythopolis: Lives of the Monks of Palestine* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1991).
5. See the list in Vailhé, “Saint-Sabas,” p. 339.
6. For details, see Vailhé, “Saint-Sabas,” pp. 21–24.
7. *Vita S. Stephani Sabaitae Thaumaturgi*, chaps. 31, 173, *AASS*, vol. 3, July, pp. 516, 576.
8. Vailhé, “Saint-Sabas,” p. 171.
9. See Vailhé, “Saint-Sabas,” pp. 168–76 for details.
10. Vailhé, “Saint-Sabas,” pp. 333–34; Patrich, *Sabas*, pp. 68–76, 193, 283.
11. The liturgical *typikon* is recommended in the tenth century by (7) *Latros* [8]; in the eleventh century by (20) *Black Mountain* [3], [8], [14], [19], [21], [22], [23], [29], [31], [63], [66], [89], [92], by (21) *Roidion* [B20], and by (24) *Christodoulos* [A17], cf. [B3]; in the twelfth century by (26) *Luke of Messina* [10]; in the thirteenth century by (34) *Machairas* [75], by (37) *Auxentios* [10] and by (39) *Lips* [24], [29], [30], [31], [32]; and in the fourteenth century by (56) *Kellibara II* [1], by (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [78], [80], and by (58) *Menoikeion* [4], [16].
12. In the late eleventh century these appear also in (24) *Christodoulos* [A24] and in the thirteenth century in (34) *Machairas* [152] and (37) *Auxentios* [11].
13. (21) *Roidion* [B3] is another instance of the less favorable treatment accorded to Frankish pilgrims.
14. Cf. the ban on eunuchs in the twelfth century in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3]; but eunuch monks were desired in the late eleventh century in (19) *Attaleiates* [30] and welcomed even in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55] if they were large donors; youths are banned in (10) *Eleousa* [17] and in the twelfth century in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [49], but are encouraged in the thirteenth century in (36) *Blemmydes* [9].

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Translation

Rule, Tradition and Law of the Venerable Lavra of St. Sabas

[1.] The decrees of our holy and blessed father Sabas are to be observed: neither a eunuch nor a beardless youth shall possibly be admitted to the Lavra; nor women be allowed, for the purpose of praying, to enter the Lavra or even the dependency or, what is more, the second door of the great dependency.¹ Any monk of the Lavra who is discovered either going into a convent [p. 169] and eating, drinking and staying therein (be it for depositing something on the pretext of safekeeping, or cutting the nuns' hair, or hearing confessions), or else carrying on correspondence with a woman, or indeed having any relations whatsoever with women, or even spiritual relationships, let him be expelled from the brotherhood as a cause of scandal not only to Christians but also to Gentiles.

[2.] Nor shall it be permitted that the Iberians, or the Syrians, or the Franks celebrate a complete liturgy in their churches. Let them instead gather over there, and sing the canonical hours and selected verses from the psalms in their own language, and read the Apostle and the Gospel as well, and then go to the Great Church and take part in the divine, undefiled, and life-giving sacraments together with the whole brotherhood.

[3.] The service of the vigil at the Saint's shrine shall be performed by a priest assigned to it.² Because of the impending vigil, no one at all shall be entitled to leave the Lavra on Saturday, unless it is unavoidable and to the advantage of the common good. But let him go and attend to his task after the vigil, subject to the consent of either the superior or the ecclesiarch. Should he turn out to be absent from the subsequent vigil, let him be deprived of everything, since the whole preceding week was sufficient for him to carry out his business; which, if possible, should be [done only] once a month. Those who leave for the hermitages and those who are residing therein, as long as they do this with the will and blessing of the superior, let them receive what they need. If they left arbitrarily and without permission, let them not be admitted on their return.

[4.] Whoever by the providence of God and the will of the patriarch has been promoted metropolitan or bishop or superior of another monastery or even to a dignity of any rank in the Great Church, let him no longer have authority over his cells in the Lavra or in the dependency either simply to sell or to donate them. Let these instead be under the authority of the holy monastic community, and be granted by the superior to other worthy brethren in need of them. This must be strictly observed also in the case of those who die. No one shall have the power, without the approval and consent of the superior, to leave his own cell to his disciple.

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[5.] Should any dissension arise among some of the brethren, and wickedness so prevail that they beat each other and come to blows, if they are not reconciled and live again in brotherly love, let them be expelled from the monastic community as troublemakers and opponents of the commandment of Christ. In fact as the Apostle says, “The Lord’s servant must not be quarrelsome” (II Tim. 2:24).

[6.] Whoever of the brethren shall be found inebriated and using violence or showering abuse upon anyone, or associating and keeping company with others, let that one be either corrected or expelled. Likewise, whoever shall be found cheating in his ministry, let him be dismissed from it and thus punished for the sake of correction and repentance and never leave his cell except at the prescribed hours of the religious services and prayers.

[7.] As for those who want to lead a solitary life, and yet refuse either to go to church or, at the same time, to be completely isolated, we wish them to join the others only in the vigils, and be strictly excluded both from the commemorations of the saints and from any other public appearance in towns and villages [p. 170], inasmuch as contemplation profits by works rather than by words.

[8.] As for guests coming from outside, should any of them have a mind to strike roots into the Lavra, we shall offer them hospitality and rest for seven days. If they are from among those who are either living in the town or visiting as worshipers, even three days will be enough for their physical refreshment, given the large crowd of poor arriving daily.

[9.] Since in the act of the nomination of the superiors pernicious demons are accustomed to raise disagreements and divisions between the two languages (I mean between Romans and Syrians), in order to get rid of this scandal, we ordain that no Syrian should be appointed to the office of superior; but we both decide and accept that Syrians, being more efficient and practical in their native country, should be preferred for the stewardship and treasurership as well as for other ministries.

Notes on the Translation

1. Identification of these dependencies is uncertain, but see Vailhé, “Saint-Sabas,” p. 339, for a list of lavras and cenobitical monasteries associated with the foundation in the sixth century.
2. Cf. (19) *Attaleiates* [31], with the discussion of this passage by Fiaccadori, “Proleitourgia,” pp. 39–40.

Document Notes

- [1] Ban on eunuchs and beardless youths; no access for or relations with women. For exclusion of eunuchs and youths, see also (3) *Theodore Studites* [18]; (12) *Tzimiskes* [16]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [34], [48]; (15) *Constantine IX* [1]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3], [49], [50]; (59) *Manuel II* [13], [15]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [C2]. For restrictions on relations with women, see also (3) *Theodore Studites* [9], [15], [16]; (22) *Evergetis* [39]; (26) *Luke of Messina* [3]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [56], [84]; (30) *Phoberos* [55]; (32) *Mamas* [27]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [27]; (34) *Machairas* [115]; (45) *Neophytos* [19]; (53) *Meteora* [7]; (58) *Menoikeion* [14]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [C2].
- [2] Limited liturgical privileges for non-Greek Christians. Cf. restrictions on Greek Christians in (23) *Pakourianos* [24].

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- [3] Obligation of attendance at the Saturday vigil service. For this vigil service, see also (44) *Karyes* [10], [11]; cf. the critical attitude found in (20) *Black Mountain* [20] and (27) *Kosmosoteira* [11].
- [4] No proprietary rights for monks over their cells. Cf. (21) *Roidion* [B15], [B17] in which these previously established rights are challenged.
- [5] Punishment for fighting. See also (60) *Charsianeites* [B6]; cf. the prohibition of arguments over seating precedence in (22) *Evergetis* [9] and related documents.
- [6] Punishment for other disciplinary problems. Improper friendships and administrative corruption are also punished in (22) *Evergetis* [9], [42] and related documents.
- [7] Limitations on participation of solitaries in the community. Cf. the arrangements made for solitaries in (12) *Tzimiskes* [12], [18], [20]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [37], cf. [43]; (24) *Christodoulos* [A24]; and (34) *Machairas* [152].
- [8] Limitations on hospitality to guests. See similar provisions in (21) *Roidion* [B2] and (60) *Charsianeites* [C4]; cf. (34) *Machairas* [118].
- [9] Reservation of the superiorship for Greeks and other offices for Syrians. Cf. the exception to the general exclusion of Greeks in (23) *Pakourianos* [24] for a secretary “knowing how to write and send the opinion of the superior to the rulers of the time . . .”

43. *Kasoulon: Rule of Nicholas for the Monastery of St. Nicholas of Kasoulon near Otranto*

Date: 1160

Translator: Timothy Miller

Edition employed: Angelo Mai and J. Cozza-Luzi, *Nova patrum bibliotheca*, vol. 10, pt. 2 (Rome, 1905), pp. 149–66, with text at 155–66.

Manuscript: Library of the University of Turin, Graecus 216 (ex-Royal Library Codex C III 17), fols. 173r–81v (1174)¹

Other translations: French, by E. Jeanselme and L. Oeconomos, “La règle du réfectoire du monastère de Saint-Nicolas de Casole près d’Otrante (1160),” *Bulletin de la Société d’histoire de la Médecine* 16 (1922), 48–58; Latin, by Cozza-Luzi, *NPB*, vol. 10, pt. 2, pp. 155–66.

Institutional History

The most important witness to the history of the monastery is a lengthy, but mostly unpublished, Greek manuscript in the library of the University of Turin, that includes a liturgical *typikon* dated to 1174, fragments of a penitential, a list of the monastery’s superiors, the dietary *Rule* translated here, and some other short works. The preface to the liturgical *typikon* cites the regulations of St. Sabas and of Stoudios as well as “the Holy Mountain” as its sources.² The Turin manuscript, begun no later than 1160, when our author Nicholas composed the dietary *Rule* (he was also the copyist for the liturgical *typikon* fourteen years later), was added to by his successors down to the fifteenth century.

*A. Foundation and Patronage of the Monastery*³

The monastery, located about a mile south of Otranto near the extreme southeastern tip of Italy, was founded in 1098/99 by the Greek monk Joseph, during the reign and under the protection of Bohemund († 1111), prince of Taranto and Antioch. A hundred years later, prayers were still being offered at the monastery for the souls of Bohemund, his wife Constance, and their son Bohemund II (1111–30). After 1130, the Norman kings of Sicily assumed responsibility for the protection of the monastery. Roger II (1130–54), his son William I (1154–60) and daughter-in-law Elvira († 1135), and his grandson Roger, Duke of Apulia († 1148) had an office of the dead performed annually in their honor at Kasoulon in recognition of their role as protectors.

As the foundation’s dietary *Rule* translated below indicates [1], Kasoulon served as the head monastery for a number of monastic dependencies. The Turin manuscript mentions those at Vaste, Policastro, Trulazzo, Melendugno, Alessano, Castro, and Minervino.⁴ A chapel at Vaste was still in existence at the end of the nineteenth century. Bohemund I initiated the donation of properties to Kasoulon towards the beginning of the twelfth century.⁵

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B. Subsequent History

The founder Joseph governed Kasoulon for a quarter century, dying in 1124. He was succeeded by Victor (1124–52), and then by our author Nicholas (1152–74). A complete list of their successors down to 1392 is preserved in the Turin university manuscript, which can be supplemented down to 1469 from other sources, but for most of these superiors nothing beyond their names is known.⁶ The superior Nektarios (1219–35), however, composed a poem, also found in the Turin manuscript, commemorating himself and his six predecessors. During his tenure, Kasoulon was subordinated to Tancred, the Latin archbishop of Otranto, and it was obliged in 1233 to pay an annual tax and arrears for the previous eighteen years to the Roman church. In 1266, during the rule of the Angevin prince Charles of Anjou, a Roman cardinal and apostolic visitor named Randulf (possibly identical with Rudolf of Cheurières), reconsecrated the monastery's church and transferred the foundation's superior, Basil (1259–66), from Kasoulon to the directorship of another monastery, San Vito del Pitero (or possibly, Pizzo), near Taranto. Acting under papal authority, Randulf then appointed a new superior for Kasoulon, Jacob I (1266–75). The amount of the annual tax due Rome was also increased at this time.

Beginning in the late fourteenth century, Kasoulon came under the control of commendatory abbots. During the tenure of one of them, Zacharias (1438–69), many of the monastery's manuscripts were carried off by Cardinal Bessarion, first to Rome, and then later to Venice, where they were to form part of the Bibliotheca Marciana after his testamentary bequest of 1468. Surviving manuscripts traceable to Kasoulon are to be found today at Rome, Paris, Venice, and Madrid.⁷

C. Fate of the Foundation

The monastery was destroyed by the Turks after their temporary occupation of Otranto in 1480 and was never completely restored. The church only was put back in use after the departure of the Turks in 1481 and continued in service until 1804, staffed by Latin secular clergy under the archbishop of Otranto.⁸ The *typon*, however, fell into the hands of Zacharie Megagianni, who recorded his ownership of the future Turin University manuscript in a note dated to 1508.⁹ By the late nineteenth century, the site of the former foundation was occupied by a farm.

Analysis

This rule is concerned almost exclusively with dietary matters and as such must be considered within the broad context of similar regulations scattered throughout many of the Byzantine monastic foundation documents from (4) *Stoudios* in the ninth century down to (60) *Charsianeites* in the fifteenth century.

A. Sources and Stages of Composition

The rule incorporates several traditional observances of the monastery dating back to its foundation by the original founder Joseph at the end of the eleventh century. Among them are the prohibition [1] against the consumption of cheese and eggs and a prescription for a modest meal [13], possibly a supper connected with the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. Joseph may also have been the "holy father" said to have been responsible [20] for the rule that after meals the monks should read (if literate), pray, or engage in manual labor in their own cells rather than socializing

with one another. The repetitive treatment [16], cf. [23] of the superior's discretionary authority to permit the monks to drink wine on the Friday evening before Lazarus Saturday as well as other reiterations¹⁰ indicate that, like the contemporary (29) *Kosmosoteira*, this document was not composed in one sitting. The rule as we have it now may even incorporate large portions of an earlier rule by one of our author's predecessors, possibly down through [8], after which the text returns to treat many matters already discussed before.

The evolution of the monastery's dietary observances evidently continued after Nicholas of Kasoulon's authorship of this document, seeing that a scholiast rejects as being "against the tradition of the fathers" one of the rule's few dietary concessions, the provision [25] requiring the monastery's fisherman monks¹¹ to observe only Wednesdays and Fridays as fast days (i.e., not Mondays also as in [5]).

This rule, therefore, with its roots in the late eleventh century, is a product of a transitional era. The author has not quite shaken the traditional respect for the founder's wishes (however arbitrary and idiosyncratic), yet, as in the contemporary but separate Evergetian tradition, the document's custodians clearly show their willingness to elaborate, amend, and (eventually) even contradict the monastery's customary observances under the impact of increased acquaintance with patristic tradition [11], [25], canon law [9], and the practices of other monasteries [12].

B. Dietary Regulations

In his preliminary analysis of this document seventy years ago, Jeanselme ("Règle," p. 56) considered it to be an example of the tightening of "Basilian" monastic discipline under the influence of a more ascetic tradition. Within the broad context of the dietary regulations in our collection of documents, (43) *Kasoulon* is indeed considerably more strict than (22) *Evergetis* and most contemporary documents in the Evergetian tradition. In its zeal for asceticism, the rule typically exceeds even (20) *Black Mountain* and (30) *Phoberos*, the authors of which also took dietary matters very seriously and tended to come down on the rigorist side of controversial issues.

The rule's most unusual provision is the aforementioned ban [1] on the use of eggs and cheese by this monastery's monks. To be sure, many of our authors restrict the consumption of these commodities, along with fish, to days outside of periods of fasting, but none subscribe explicitly to the ban imposed here.¹²

1. Rules for Non-Fast Days

For non-fast days, the rule prescribes [5], cf. [2] legumes prepared with olive oil, vegetables, fish and wine—a conventional diet for monks—but only one dish from among any of these items (except two on Sundays [4]). This is an austere provision compared to the three cooked dishes in (28) *Pantokrator* [12], the two to three dishes allowed in (27) *Kecharitomene* [46] and (32) *Mamas* [17], or even the two dishes provided for in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [63]. There is also no provision for a regular evening meal (except on Sundays [4], during Easter season [10], and on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross [12]), as there is in other documents of the twelfth century such as (27) *Kecharitomene* [46], (28) *Pantokrator* [11], and (32) *Mamas* [17].

2. Rules for Days of Fasting

The rule considers [5] Monday to be a regular day of fasting, unlike (28) *Pantokrator* [12] and,

apparently, (27) *Kecharitomene* [46] and (32) *Mamas* [17]. Treating Monday as a fast day like Wednesday and Friday was a Palestinian observance, as (34) *Machairas* [77] informs us. On all three of these days the monks at Kasoulon were not allowed [2] to use any oil in the preparation of their food, nor, on Wednesdays and Fridays, have fish [6], except when feasts of the Lord occurred on these days. Wine was not allowed [2] on Wednesdays and Fridays. The generally austere (20) *Black Mountain* [38] restricts its monks to boiled vegetables without oil on these days, but with an additional dish of dry food, and allows for [43] a simple supper of bread and water. The considerably more generous diet on the two fast days of the week recognized by (27) *Kecharitomene* [46] and (32) *Mamas* [17] permitted two dishes of legumes cooked with olive oil and similar vegetables, though *Mamas* allows its monks to follow a dry food diet “for the sake of [strict adherence] to the canons.”

3. Rules for the Lenten Fast

The rule continues [2] its stern dietary provisions for fast days during the Lenten fast: no use of oil on Mondays (and, presumably, Wednesdays and Fridays), and no wine on Wednesdays and Fridays. Fish were not allowed at all during Lent. Other documents, which are more indulgent in regulating diet outside of Lent, tighten their provisions in various ways for the Lenten season.¹³ During the first week of Lent, the rule prescribes [9] an especially stringent diet of bread with soaked beans and water until Friday (see also [23]), when wine and *kollyba* were allowed in honor of the feast of St. Theodore. The generally more indulgent (22) *Evergetis* [10], however, restricts the severe diet to Monday of the first week and returns to a diet of legumes, raw vegetables and fruits, and cumin-flavored water (substituting for wine) on the other days of this week. Other *typika* of this era generally follow the Evergetian observances.¹⁴ (28) *Pantokrator* [12] makes total abstinence optional on that Monday and allows wine but “less than usual.”

The rule tightens [9] the Lenten diet for the Wednesday and Friday in the week before Palm Sunday by providing only for bread, boiled beans, raw or wild vegetables, and small nuts, washed down with water. During Holy Week, the rule orders [9] a return to the diet of the first week of Lent till Thursday evening, after which the monks were to eat nothing at all until late Saturday night just before Easter. (22) *Evergetis* [10], however, followed by many of the other documents in the Evergetian tradition, allows its monks to have raw fruits and vegetables on Good Friday. The stricter (20) *Black Mountain* [64] and (30) *Phoberos* [28] recommend—but do not require—total abstinence from food on the two days before Easter.

4. Dietary Dispensations for Feasts

Like most contemporary documents, the rule accepts [24] the feast of the Annunciation as a legitimate reason to break the Lenten fast.¹⁵ Its author also shares the willingness of his contemporaries to allow dispensations for the great fasts and also ordinary fast days for feasts of the Lord and those of the Mother of God [18], and for certain other feasts [3], though his list is somewhat different from theirs. His rule provides for special celebrations for the Dormition of the Mother of God [11] and for the Exaltation of the Cross [12], two popular feasts in this era. The rule does allow [22] the superior discretionary authority to provide wine to his monks on the Wednesday on which the Great Canon was being performed as well as on the Friday evening [16], [23] before Lazarus Saturday.

5. Rules for Other Fasts and Times of the Year

During the other two commonly-observed fasts of the ecclesiastical year, Holy Apostles and St. Philip, the rule provides [3], cf. [10] for one daily meal of two cooked dishes, including fish, on Tuesdays and Thursdays, but no use of oil on Wednesdays and Fridays. There is also an additional but rather mild fast [19] for the Cheesefare week; naturally the rule does not endorse the idea found in many other documents of this era that cheese should be eaten at this time in order to contradict the ascetic observances of “heretics.”¹⁶ Between Easter and the fast of the Holy Apostles, however, the monks were allowed [10] two meals daily, governed by the usual rules for fast and non-fast days of the week.

Notes on the Introduction

1. See Hoeck and Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios*, p. 9, n. 3; Pertusi, “Rapporti,” pp. 485–86; and Rougeris, “Ricerca,” pp. 14–15, with descriptions in Diehl, “Saint-Nicolas,” pp. 176–78, and Omont, “Saint-Nicolas,” pp. 381–83.
2. Omont, “Saint-Nicolas,” p. 382.
3. For the foundation and subsequent history of the monastery, see Hoeck and Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios*, pp. 9–21.
4. For the dependencies, see Diehl, “Saint-Nicolas,” p. 186, and Hoeck and Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios*, p. 20.
5. See Kölzer, “S. Nicola,” pp. 422–23, with confirmations by Constance (1198), Frederick II (1220–54), and Charles II of Anjou (1305).
6. Omont, “Saint-Nicolas,” pp. 384–87, has an edition of the Turin manuscript’s historical notes, but this should be used with the expanded list and revised dating in Hoeck and Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios*, pp. 11–16.
7. Diehl, “Saint-Nicolas,” pp. 174–75.
8. Hoeck and Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios*, p. 21.
9. Omont, “Saint-Nicolas,” p. 382.
10. Cf. treatments of the Lenten diet: (43) *Kasoulon* [2] with [9]; [3] with [10]: fasts of the Holy Apostles and St. Philip: [3] with [10]; feast of St. Theodore: [9] with [23].
11. For which see also (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19].
12. See the cross-references in Document Note [1] below.
13. E.g., (20) *Black Mountain* [57], (22) *Evergetis* [10], (23) *Pakourianos* [10], (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (28) *Pantokrator* [12], (32) *Mamas* [18], and (33) *Heliou Bomon*.
14. (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (30) *Phoberos* [27], [28], (32) *Mamas* [18], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18].
15. Cf. (22) *Evergetis* [10], (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (28) *Pantokrator* [12], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [27], (30) *Phoberos* [28], (32) *Mamas* [18], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18].
16. Cf. (20) *Black Mountain* [55], [90], (28) *Pantokrator* [12], (30) *Phoberos* [19], (32) *Mamas* [19], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19].

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Translation

The rule concerning food and drink at the monastery of our holy father Nicholas of Kasoulon, composed by the monk Nicholas, the unworthy superior of this same monastery in the year 6668 of the eighth indiction [1160 A.D.].

Chapter 1

It should be known that from the foundation of this monastery—that is, in the year 6607, the seventh indiction [1099 A.D.]—through the agency of our most holy father and founder of this monastery of the holy father Nicholas of Kasoulon, lord Joseph, we received our first regulation, one helpful to our souls. The monks are never to eat cheese or eggs no matter where they are. They are to keep this law in the aforementioned original monastery, but also in all the dependencies which are under its authority.

Chapter 2

Moreover, we received from him the rule that we eat at all times legumes with olive oil, vegetables, and fish and that we drink wine save for those holy days set aside [for abstinence]. For on Mondays during Lent [p. 156] we give up oil, and on Wednesdays and Fridays we give up wine. During the entire holy fast, we never eat fish, unless a severe sickness in some manner afflicts one of the brothers.

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Chapter 3

During the other fasts of Saint Philip and of the twelve Holy Apostles,¹ we give up olive oil on Wednesdays and Fridays, but on Tuesdays and Thursdays we eat two cooked dishes. At this time we also eat fish. During the fast of St. Philip [we eat fish] on the feast of the Entry in the Temple of the holy Mother of God² and on the feast of our holy father Nicholas;³ by feast I mean the forefeast, the feast itself, and the after-feast. During the fast of the Holy Apostles, however, [we eat fish] only on the feast of [St. John] the Forerunner at the solstice.⁴

Chapter 4

In addition to this on all the Sundays of the year, we have received the rule that we eat two cooked dishes at the midday meal, but at the evening meal nothing is cooked.

Chapter 5

It should be known that from our holy father we received this rule also: that [p. 157] we are to fast three days a week—namely, Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays—unless a feast of the Lord should fall on those days, or a feast of the Mother of God with an octave, or feasts of the angels, of [St. John] the Forerunner, of the twelve apostles, or of any other saint whose memory is celebrated. If the commemoration of one of these should fall on these days, then we break the fast and eat as we do on the other days of the week.

On four days of the week—that is, Sundays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays—we eat one cooked dish, either a legume, a vegetable with oil, or even a fish, if God makes provision for us on those days.

Chapter 6

Now, we just added that on these two days—that is, on Wednesdays and Fridays—we do not eat any fish at all, except when an important feast, one free from work, occurs on those days, or when sickness constrains a brother.

Chapter 7

It should be known that on Pentecost Sunday after the divine liturgy we do not go to the refectory, but we eat the blessed bread⁵ and have only one cup of wine in the narthex of the church. [p. 158]

After vespers, the signal for the refectory is struck, and we enter the refectory and eat what the grace of the Holy Spirit has provided for us.

Chapter 8

Similarly, on the vigil of Christ's birth and on the vigil of the holy Epiphany, if they happen to be on a Saturday or a Sunday, we sing the holy liturgy at its appointed hour. Then, we eat only the blessed bread and drink one cup of wine in the narthex of the church.

In the evening after the service of the holy baptism [of Christ], we taste of the holy water and enter the refectory [singing] the "I will extol thee, my God" (Ps. 144 [145]:1), just as we do at dinner on Pentecost Sunday. We eat if the grace of the Holy Spirit has made provision for us. There in the refectory we sing the compline.

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Chapter 9

It should be known that during the first week of the holy Lenten fast, we eat bread, soaked beans, and water, and we hold to this with self-restraint and moderation until Thursday, for on Friday we eat soaked beans and *kollyba*, and we drink wine for the protection of St. Theodore,⁶ but [p. 159] we do not eat any vegetables during that entire week until Saturday.

From the Sunday of Orthodoxy⁷ until Palm Sunday we abstain from olive oil on Mondays, but we do drink wine. On Wednesdays and Fridays, we abstain from olive oil and wine, and eat nothing besides bread, boiled beans, raw or wild vegetables and small nuts; we drink water. On the other four days—that is, Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays—we eat one cooked dish each day served with olive oil, and we drink wine.

During Holy Week, we observe a fast on three days—that is, on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday—just like the one on the four days of the first week—that is, on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. On the holy and great Thursday, however, we eat a cooked dish with olive oil and drink good wine on account of the sleepless vigil which we are about to perform in honor of the holy passion of Christ, our Savior. For, from that evening of the great Thursday [p. 160] until the late night of the holy and great Saturday we taste of nothing at all in accordance with the canon laid down at the council in Trullo.⁸ The fast lasts until about midnight on the great Saturday.

On the holy and great Saturday, in the evening after the divine liturgy, we withdraw to the refectory [singing] the “I will extol thee, my God.” Then, we eat a cooked meal with olive oil and drink wine.

After this, we say the small compline in the refectory just as we do on Holy Thursday evening, on the vigil of Christ’s Birth, and on the vigil of Epiphany. When this is done, we withdraw to our cells as each one by himself sings the required compline.

Chapter 10

It should be known that from the Radiant Sunday of Easter until the Sunday of All Saints,⁹ we eat twice each day, and we eat our food according to the custom of our monastery.

From the Sunday of All Saints until the feast of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul¹⁰—with the exception of Saturdays, Sundays, and the festal commemorations of saints—[p. 161] we dine once according to the tradition of the holy apostles; we eat during this fast just as we do during the fast of Saint Philip the apostle. As we have already seen,¹¹ however, we eat fish during this fast on the feast of [St. John] the Forerunner at the solstice.

Chapter 11

It should be known that at the Dormition of the most holy Mother of God on the fifteenth day of August, the priest blesses the grape clusters after the divine liturgy. We eat these after eating the blessed bread in the church following the ancient tradition.

Chapter 12

[It should be known] that on the fourteenth of September on the day of the Exaltation of the venerable and life-giving Cross, we eat twice, but only beans, legumes, or some vegetable with vinegar. That day we do not eat olive oil or fish, rather we eat only bread and squash with vinegar and have wine according to the *typikon* of the Holy Mountain.¹²

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Chapter 13

This also should be known: we all eat the same bread and drink the same wine according to the ancient tradition of our father, lord Joseph the founder honored by God. [p. 162]

Chapter 14

Each monk should sit in the refectory and have his own wine goblet before him. Each one of these should hold three servings of wine. When the superior strikes the bell, the officer of the week¹³ pronounces the blessing, and we take our first drink to the glory of the holy, consubstantial Trinity, distinct, yet undivided; the second for the intercession and assistance of the all-pure Mother of God; the third for the intercession of the holy and God-inspired fathers and for the salvation and benediction of our most holy and spiritual father—the individual's name—and of our entire august community in Christ assembled by God. The refectorian serves a fourth toast and we drink for the happy falling asleep and repose of our fathers and brothers who have departed before us and for the memory of our most holy father and brother—the individual's name—for whom we perform the service for the dead that day. Without serving, we drink the fifth toast after offering the *panagia* for the intercession and assistance of the all-pure Mother of God.

Chapter 15

It should be known that when we are sitting at table to eat, we do not have permission to converse or to cough without great necessity. [p. 163]

Chapter 16

It should be known that on Friday evening before Lazarus Saturday,¹⁴ if the superior so wishes, we drink wine in honor of his resurrection. This, however, must be at the superior's discretion.

Chapter 17

It should be known that from the feast of Christ's holy Birth until the octave of the holy Epiphany, we do not fast, but each day we freely eat fish and olive oil, and likewise we drink wine.

Chapter 18

It should be known that during the octaves of feasts of the Lord and of the all-holy Mother of God we do not fast, but we freely eat both fish and dishes with olive oil.

Chapter 19

During the week of the cheese fast¹⁵ we fast each day except Saturday and Sunday. [On these two days] we eat one meal with olive oil and fish until Sunday evening, at which time we sing the little compline in the refectory. Having done this, [p. 164] each goes off to his own cell as he sings his required *trisagion* and rests.

Chapter 20

This also should be known, that, according to the tradition we received from the holy father, whenever one of the monks rises from the table, he must not retire to the cell of some one of the brothers to converse with anyone or to seek some advice. Let each one proceed to his own cell,

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and if he knows his letters, let him read. If not, let him make supplication with tears for his own sins, or let him perform his own handiwork work with care in order to put to flight evil thoughts.

Chapter 21

It should be known that, if a brother is sent [to carry out] some duty, his share—whether of fish or of any other food—is to be saved for him until he returns. If it is food which spoils, it should be given to a sick or elderly brother or to whomever the cellarer wishes. In place of it, something else like it or better, if God so disposes, should be given to him when he returns.

Chapter 22

On the Wednesday evening when we wish to sing the Great Canon,¹⁶ we eat without [p. 165] oil or wine just as we do on the other Wednesdays and Fridays of the holy Lenten fast. Nevertheless, the superior may approve wine on that Wednesday on account of the labor the brothers are about to take up. On the following day, that is Thursday, we eat a meal with olive oil and drink good wine.

Chapter 23

It should be known that on the Friday of the first week and the Friday of Lazarus, wine, but only wine, may be used at the discretion of the superior. In the first instance, this is on account of the great [martyr] Theodore, in the second on account of the raising of the holy and just Lazarus.

Chapter 24

It should be known that on the vigil of the Annunciation on the twenty-fourth of March, on the twenty-fifth (the feast itself), and on the twenty-sixth, that is the after-feast, on these three days, we freely eat the food that is served with olive oil, and we drink good wine on account of the joyful feast of the Annunciation. [p. 166]

Chapter 25

It is also worthwhile to discuss the monks who are fishermen and the routine of life which they are to lead during the holy and great Lenten fast. We desire that they observe two days of the week—that is, Wednesdays and Fridays—and keep them totally free from the consumption of olive oil and fish only. On the other days, however, they may eat fish and olive oil freely and drink wine on account of the labor, the sleepless effort, and every other physical trial both day and night.

[Scholiast's note in a later hand]: It is known that this regulation [was] discontinued, thrown away and discovered to be against the tradition of the fathers.

End of the regulations

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of our translator, Timothy Miller [TM], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. Fast of St. Philip, from November 15 until Christmas; fast of the Holy Apostles, from Monday after the feast of All Saints (Sunday after Pentecost) through the vigil of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 28.
2. Feast of the Presentation, November 21; cf. the similar provision in (27) *Kecharitomene* [48].
3. Feast of St. Nicholas, December 6.
4. Feast of the Birth of St. John the Baptist, June 24. This chapter is corrupt; for the restoration, cf. [10] below. [TM]
5. *klaston*: unconsecrated bread broken and blessed and distributed to the faithful after the divine liturgy. [TM]
6. That is, in order to enjoy the saint's protection; the feast is Saturday of the first week of Lent. [TM]
7. Orthodoxy Sunday, the first Sunday in Lent.
8. *C. Trull.*, c. 89 (R&P 2.512).
9. The Sunday after Pentecost Sunday.
10. That is, the fast of the Holy Apostles.
11. In [3] above.
12. There is no comparable provision in (11) *Ath. Rule*.
13. *hebdomadarios*, the official in charge of the refectory for the week. [TM]
14. The Saturday before Palm Sunday.
15. The last week before the Great Lent, known as the week of "Cheesefare" but here called the week of "Cheesefast" because the monastery's strict rule of total abstinence from dairy products required the monks to abstain from cheese even during this week.
16. The Great Canon of Saint Andrew of Crete is sung on the Wednesday and Thursday of the fifth week in Lent. [TM]

Document Notes

- [1] Ban on eggs and cheese. These foods are permitted under certain circumstances by (4) *Stoudios* [A29], [B29], [B30]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [22], [24]; (20) *Black Mountain* [37], [R37], [38], [47], [55], [90], cf. [56]; (28) *Pantokrator* [12]; (30) *Phoberos* [19], cf. [31]; (31) *Areia* [T5]; (32) *Mamas* [17], [19]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19]; (34) *Machairas* [74], [75], [77], [78]; and (39) *Lips* [32]. (23) *Pakourianos* [8], (27) *Kecharitomene* [46], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [63], cf. [104], and (58) *Menoikeion* [8] explicitly permit cheese but do not mention eggs. This reckoning may understate the acceptability of these dietary items since some documents, e.g., (22) *Evergetis*, discuss diets only for periods of fasting.
- [2] Acceptable foods; general rule for the Lenten fast. See fuller regulations in [5] and [9] below with cross-references.
- [3] Rules for other fasts. See also [10] and [18] below as well as provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [29]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [23], [24]; (20) *Black Mountain* [38R], [54]; (22) *Evergetis* [10] and related documents; (23) *Pakourianos* [10]; (28) *Pantokrator* [12]; (31) *Areia* [T5]; (45) *Neophytos* [C4], (58) *Menoikeion* [8], and (60) *Charsianeites* [17].
- [4] Rules for Sunday meals. See also provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [38], [47], [57]; (23) *Pakourianos* [8]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [46]; (28) *Pantokrator* [12]; (32) *Mamas* [17]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17]; (39) *Lips* [32]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [8].
- [5] Fasting three days a week; diet for other days of the week. See also [2] above. For fast days, see (7) *Latros* [8], (11) *Ath. Rule* [30], (20) *Black Mountain* [38], [43], (27) *Kecharitomene* [46], (30) *Phoberos* [16] ff., (32) *Mamas* [17], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], (34) *Machairas* [77], (36) *Blemmydes* [11], (39) *Lips* [32], (45) *Neophytos* [C4], (55) *Athanasios I* [5], and (58) *Menoikeion* [8]. For non-fast days, see the generally more generous provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [29], (11) *Ath. Rule* [22], (20) *Black Mountain*

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- [37], (23) *Pakourianos* [8], (27) *Kecharitomene* [46], (28) *Pantokrator* [12], (32) *Mamas* [17], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17].
- [6] Exceptions to the rule of abstinence from fish on fast days. See [3] above and the general discussion of exemptions in [18] below with cross-references.
- [7] No meal on Pentecost Sunday until after vespers. See also [8] below with cross-references.
- [8] Same rule for weekend Christmas and Epiphany vigils. See also discussions in (20) *Black Mountain* [54] and (30) *Phoberos* [19].
- [9] Rules for the Lenten fast. See also [2] above and provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [30]; (7) *Latros* [5]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [25], [26]; (20) *Black Mountain* [56], [62], [63], [64], [65], [66], [67]; (22) *Evergetis* [10] and related documents; (23) *Pakourianos* [10]; (31) *Areia* [T5]; (44) *Karyes* [7]; (45) *Neophytos* [C4]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [82]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [17].
- [10] Number of meals during Easter season and during the fasts of the Holy Apostles and St. Philip. For the Easter diet, see also provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [29], (11) *Ath. Rule* [22], (20) *Black Mountain* [34], (30) *Phoberos* [28], and (34) *Machairas* [74]; for the fasts, see also [3] above with cross-references.
- [11] Blessing of the grape clusters on the feast of the Dormition. For this observance, see also (32) *Mamas* [19] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19], cf. (34) *Machairas* [132].
- [12] Diet for feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. For this feast, especially popular during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see also (4) *Stoudios* [12], [13]; (20) *Black Mountain* [89]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [39]; (28) *Pantokrator* [7], [39]; (30) *Phoberos* [19]; (32) *Mamas* [19]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19]; (35) *Skoteine* [7]; and (45) *Neophytos* [5], [15].
- [13] Same bread and wine served to all.
- [14] Refectory toasts. Not attested elsewhere in the monastic foundation documents.
- [15] No conversation or coughing at meals. See also general provisions for refectory procedures in (4) *Stoudios* [28], (11) *Ath. Rule* [21], (20) *Black Mountain* [33], and (22) *Evergetis* [9] and related documents.
- [16] Drinking of wine on Friday before Lazarus Saturday (i.e., the vigil of Palm Sunday). See also [23] below and provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [A30] and (20) *Black Mountain* [61].
- [17] No fasting during Christmas season until the octave of the Epiphany. See also provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [29], (11) *Ath. Rule* [24], (23) *Pakourianos* [8], and (34) *Machairas* [77].
- [18] No fasting during octaves of feasts of the Lord and those of the Mother of God. See also [3], [6] above and provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [29]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [24]; (20) *Black Mountain* [38], [48]; (22) *Evergetis* [11] and related documents; (39) *Lips* [32], and (60) *Charsianeites* [17]. (36) *Blemmydes* [11] and (55) *Athanasios I* [5] are critical of such exemptions, however.
- [19] Diet during the week of cheese fast. See also differing provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [55], (30) *Phoberos* [19], (28) *Pantokrator* [12], (32) *Mamas* [19], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19], (34) *Machairas* [78], and (58) *Menoikeion* [8].
- [20] Monks not to socialize in cells after meals; literate monks to read, others to pray and do handiwork. For after-dinner regulations and activities, see also (4) *Stoudios* [26], (22) *Evergetis* [31], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [37].
- [21] Food to be saved for monks away on duties. See (11) *Ath. Rule* [30] for portable lunches for workers absent from the mid-day meal as well as (22) *Evergetis* [9] and related documents for a second dinner sitting at which those with legitimate excuses for missing the first sitting were to be fed.
- [22] Dietary concessions during performance of the Great Canon. See also provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [A30], (20) *Black Mountain* [58], (22) *Evergetis* [10], (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], and (34) *Machairas* [69].
- [23] Consumption of wine on the feasts of Sts. Theodore and Lazarus. For the feast of St. Theodore, see similar provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [A30], (28) *Pantokrator* [12], (22) *Evergetis* [10], (32) *Mamas* [18], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18]. For the feast of St. Lazarus, see also [16] above with cross-references.
- [24] Dispensation from Lenten fast for the feast of the Annunciation. See similar provisions in (4) *Stoudios* [31] and in (22) *Evergetis* [10] and related documents.
- [25] Fisherman-monks' exemption from the Lenten fast. For these monks, see also (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19].

44. *Karyes: Typikon of Sabbas the Serbian for the Kellion of St. Sabbas at Karyes on Mount Athos*

Date: 1197 or 1199¹

Translator: George Dennis

Editions employed: Ph. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 184–87; medieval Serbian original, ed. by V. Ćorović, *Spisi Svetoga Save* (Belgrade, 1928), pp. 5–13.

Manuscript: Modern copy of 1874 A.D.²

Other translations: None

Institutional History

This *kellion* was one of several that the principal Athonite monasteries established near the Protaton monastery at Karyes, the seat of the *protos*, the nominal leader of the Athonite community, to facilitate their business with this administrative center.³ Its founder was Sabbas the Serbian, the founder of the independent Serbian Orthodox church, who was the youngest son of King Stefan Nemanja (1166–96).⁴ Sabbas chose a monastic career for himself, and, moving to Mount Athos, lived for a time in the Panteleemon monastery and later at Vatopedi. In 1198–99, with his father’s assistance and the permission of Emperor Alexios III Angelos, he re-established the abandoned Hilandar monastery on Mount Athos as a Serbian foundation. In 1199, Sabbas drew up a founder’s *typikon* in Serbian that is closely based on (22) *Evergetis*.⁵ As noted above in the Institutional History for that document, Sabbas visited and patronized the famous reform monastery towards the end of the twelfth century. In 1219, at the instigation of the Nicaean patriarch Manuel I Sarantenos (1216–22), Sabbas became the first archbishop of the independent Serbian church.

Little is known about Hilandar’s small dependency at Karyes for which the brief *typikon* translated below was written, aside from what can be determined from the document itself. Originally drawn up in a medieval Serbian version that is still preserved, this document was translated into Greek at a date that cannot be determined.⁶ Our translation is from this Greek version. According to Sabbas’ biographer Domitien, a later Serbian archbishop, Nikodemos (1316–24), was subsequently honored as the (second) “founder” (*ktetor*) of the *kellion* at Karyes, thanks to his restoration of the facility.⁷ The existence of the *kellion* has been interpreted to prove the existence of a Serbian hesychastic tradition on Mount Athos,⁸ but Tachiaos (“Monachisme serbe,” p. 85) is rightly skeptical about drawing such a far-reaching conclusion.

Analysis

This brief document is a valuable exemplar of a *typikon* composed for a monastic dependency that helps to illustrate the nature of the relationship between a “mother” and “daughter” house in Byzantium.⁹ The dependency, consisting of a church and a *kellion* (actually a tiny monastery),

was created [2] to serve as a resting place for monks sent out on assignment from Sabbas' principal lavra and monastery of Hilandar on Mount Athos dedicated to the Mother of God (cf. the origins of the dependencies in (35) *Skoteine* [10]). Memorial services, presumably for various benefactors, were also conducted [3] here.

A. Lives of the Monks

The “distinctive form of solitary life” devised [2] by the founder for the dependency was that which he apparently embraced for himself. In this sense it was like the chapel Neilos of Tamasia dedicated to St. John the Baptist as described in (34) *Machairas* [149], a contemporary document. Our author here intended to appoint [4] a housemaster (*oikokyrios*) who would be his successor in residence at the *kellion* and the only permanent resident [12], though it could accommodate [2] “two or three” brothers. The housemaster was to enjoy lifetime tenure. He, joined perhaps by such other monks as might happen to be resident there from time to time, was to perform the holy office [8], [9] and Saturday evening vigil service [10] as well as to celebrate [11] the liturgy on feasts of the Lord. These services and the dietary regulations [6], [7] were to be unalterable [12] except for “extreme unavoidable necessity,” though fasting could be moderated for the visit of a “very close friend.”

B. Constitutional Matters

The author asserts [12] the freedom (*eleutheria*) of the *kellion* and forthrightly rejects [3] any claims of authority (*exousia*) over it that the *protos* of Mount Athos or the superior and the monks of the main monastery might make. Instead, the housemaster was to have [5] “all the authority” over the *kellion*, which was specifically exempted [3], [13] from having its books, icons or vestments appropriated. The housemaster was also not obliged to accept any [5] unworthy or disreputable monks sent with (entrance) gifts (*dora*). The superior and the monks, however, were entitled to select [4] the next housemaster, and it was they who supplied [3] the *kellion* with such commodities as oil, incense, and candles. Although there is no discussion of the financial support of the dependency, presumably this was also a responsibility of the main monastery.

Notes on the Introduction

1. So Talbot, “Karyes,” p. 1108.
2. See discussion in Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, p. 275.
3. Talbot, “Karyes,” p. 1108.
4. For the founder, see Browning, “Sava of Serbia,” p. 1847, and Obolensky, *Six Portraits*, pp. 115–72.
5. Ph. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 184–87; medieval Serbian original, ed. by V. Ćorović, *Spisi Svetoga Save* (Belgrade, 1928), pp. 14–150; see also the analysis by Branko Granić, “Disziplinarstrafbestimmungen,” pp. 646–56. For the relationship of this document to (22) *Evergetis*, see J. Pargoire, “Constantinople. Le monastère de l’Évergétis,” *EO* 10 (1907), p. 262: “La ressemblance est immense entre les deux règlements de fondation; elle est telle qu’il n’y aurait aucune exagération à dire que l’oeuvre de Sabas consista surtout à traduire en slave le texte grec de Timothée.”
6. So Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, p. 275; the original Serbian version is edited by Ćorović, *Spisi Svetoga Save*, pp. 5–13.

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7. Reported in Tachiaos, "Monachisme serbe," p. 84.
8. Vasić, "L'hésychasme."
9. For incidental treatments of monastic dependencies, see the following documents: in the tenth century, (13) *Ath. Typikon* [9], [34], [36]; in the eleventh century, (9) *Galesios* [144], (10) *Eleousa* [17], and (23) *Pakourianos* [2]; in the twelfth century, (28) *Pantokrator* [27], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [108], (33) *Heliou Bomon*, Prologue, [4], [5], [26], [37], [48], [50], [51], and (42) *Sabas* [1]; in the thirteenth century, (35) *Skoteine* [10], [11], [27], [28], [32], [33], [34], [35], [41], [42], [45] and (38) *Kellibara I* [17]; in the fourteenth century, (48) *Prodomos* [1] ff.; in the fifteenth century, (60) *Charsianeites* [A11], [A12], [C2] and (61) *Eleousa Inv.* [4], [7].

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Translation

Typikon of our father among the saints, Sabbas, first archbishop of Serbia, which he wrote with his own hand, and which reads as follows.

[1.] "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom; and all that act accordingly have a good understanding" (Ps. 110 [111]:10), says the godly David. The fear of the Lord is indeed the beginning of wisdom, and correct understanding follows for all those who practice it. For this reason each person who desires to be saved ought to be eager to embark upon his struggle and to proceed along the narrow and difficult way of the Lord's commandments (cf. Matt. 7:14). For our span of life, in fact life itself, my beloved brothers, is as brief as the length of a single day.

[2.] With this in mind I too, the least of all and a sinner, journeyed to the Holy Mountain. There I saw holy men and spirits who were clothed in the flesh of virtue. I saw angels here on earth and I saw men who belonged in heaven. So, deriving my strength from God, [p. 185] I carried on the struggle to the best of my ability. I established a holy *lavra* and monastery¹ in the name of the most holy Mother of God, and laid solid foundations for a religious community in it. In like manner I managed to acquire a number of cells in Karyes so the monks coming from the monastery on some service would have a place to rest. In addition, there in Karyes I have set up a

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distinctive form of the solitary life. I constructed a *kellion* and a church in the name of our holy, God-bearing and sanctified father Sabbas, as a dwelling for two or three brothers (cf. Matt. 18:20), as the Lord says.

[3.] Therefore, let it be known to everyone that I issue this command that nobody, neither the *protos*,² the superior, nor any other of the brothers of our monastery should have any authority over this *kellion* of Saint Sabbas. They may not trouble the persons residing in it, nor may they appropriate any of the spices found there, nor the sacred vestments of the church, or the books, or anything else of that sort. Nor may they alienate any of these things or take them off to the monastery, or may the superior of the monastery dispose of any of it. Instead, the monastery ought to give candles, oil, and incense to that *kellion* for the commemorative services. The oil should amount to sixty *litrai*, but as far as the rest is concerned, I leave that up to the judgment and will of the superior and of the entire brotherhood of the monastery to give them a sufficient amount.

[4.] If, therefore, they observe the above prescriptions, I believe my God that they will have every good thing they may need. That person whom, after my death, I shall leave behind as housemaster³ in that same *kellion* shall remain in that position until his death. But after he shall have died, I order that the election of the superior for that place should be carried out in the following manner. The superior and the rest of the brothers of our holy monastery should assemble and select one of the brothers, who is God-fearing and worthy of going off to reside in that *kellion*, and without further ado they should send him there.

[5.] In that *kellion*, though, he should have all the authority, as we said, and neither the monastery or its superior may exercise any authority over matters pertaining to the *kellion*. Nobody shall be sent there by means of gifts⁴ who may not be worthy or who may bring disrepute upon the spiritual regime there and the daily order of service.

[6.] The brother who [p. 186] dwells there has the obligation of being extremely attentive in preserving unchanged this rule which I have laid down, namely, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday neither olive oil or wine shall be tasted. On the five days of the week only one meal may be permitted, but on Saturday and Sunday fish and cheese may be served, and they may eat twice in the day.

[7.] In the holy and great Lent olive oil and wine may be served only on Saturday and Sunday, but during the forty days before Christmas and during the fast of the Holy Apostles⁵ they may be served on the days of the week in exactly the same way as we indicated above.

[8.] For the divine service, however, the following rules should be observed. Throughout the year, during the office of matins three *kathismata* should always be recited. For vespers those “To the Lord.” The hours should be sung separately, one at a time. Except that at the first hour there is also reading from the psalter, at the third, sixth, and ninth hours three *kathismata* should be read, one at each hour as is customary. At the beginning of each *kathisma* the “Come let us worship” should be

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recited, three prostrations should be made and at the conclusion of the alleluia another three. Likewise at the conclusion of vespers and matins when “God be with us” is said, and [at the conclusion] of the psalter and the hours and the midnight office and when the “God have mercy on us” is said, let twelve prostrations be made.

[9.] The midnight office should be recited in the church. It consists of three *kathismata*, the intercessory canon of the Mother of God, and what remains of the psalter, for this should be completed either during the day or the night, the only point being that the entire psalter be recited each day.

[10.] On Saturday evening the office of vigil should be held with the opening antiphon, the *trisagion*, and the fiftieth psalm, followed by the canon of the vigil. After these one of the evangelists is read from the book of the four gospels, and matins should then begin. After the six psalms, the “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is recited, and three *kathismata* of the psalter; then come the psalm “Blameless” (Ps. 118 [119]:1), the *eulogetaria*⁶ or the *kathismata* and a reading, the antiphons, the gospel, the “Resurrection of Christ,” the fiftieth psalm, and the canons with recitation of the psalms.

[11.] Concerning the divine liturgies, as much as possible, [p. 187] it is fitting to celebrate them on the feasts of the Lord. Moreover, he who resides in the *kellion* should be most attentive in keeping the office of vigil, bearing in mind the Lord’s words. “Watch and pray that you may not enter into temptation” (Matt. 26:41; Mark 14:38). For you eat the fruits of your labors,⁷ and if you do these things you will be blessed.

[12.] We have written these rules for divine service and for observing the fast and for breaking it. We insist that they not be altered or done away with, with the sole exception of an extreme, unavoidable necessity or infirmity, but even then as much as possible it is proper that the monk force himself to go along with the observance. If it should happen that some very close friend should come to visit the person living in the *kellion*, then the fasting may be made more moderate except for Wednesday and Friday.

[13.] Concerning the freedom of the place and of that *kellion*, I want it sworn before our Lord Jesus Christ and before his most holy Mother that just as I have written it here, so let it remain free always. If anyone should dare in any way to disturb the occupant of the *kellion* or should dare to take anything from there, or alienate books or icons, or anything else found there, may such a person be anathema and be bound by the holy, life-giving and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and by me a sinner, and may he be unforgiven both in this age and in the next one.

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of our translator, George Dennis [GD], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. Hilandar.
2. The nominal leader of the Athonite community resident at Karyes; see Alexander Kazhdan and Alice-Mary Talbot, "Protos," *ODB*, pp. 1746–47, and (48) *Prodromos* [4].
3. *oikokyrios*.
4. *prosenexeis* (entrance gifts) must be meant here; cf. their treatment in (22) *Evergetis* [37] and related documents.
5. Fast of the Holy Apostles, from Monday after the feast of All Saints (Sunday after Pentecost) through the vigil of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 28.
6. Brief verses for various liturgical days recited during *orthros*; each one begins: *eulogetos ei kyrie*. [GD]
7. The text has: "eat the labors of your fruits." [GD]

Document Notes

- [1] Meditation on the brevity of life. See also the perspectives expressed in the contemporary (34) *Machairas* [1] and (45) *Neophytos* [2].
- [2] Foundation history; number of monks. See also analogous histories in the contemporary (34) *Machairas* [6] ff. and (45) *Neophytos* [3] ff. For contemporary specifications on the number of monks, see (45) *Neophytos* [9], [C6].
- [3] Inalienability of property; supplies to be provided by the main monastery. For inalienability, see (32) *Mamas* [12], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [12], and (45) *Neophytos* [12]; cf. (34) *Machairas* [111], which permits certain alienations. For provisions in dependencies, see (35) *Skoteine* [27], [28], [42]; for support by the main monastery, see (48) *Prodromos* [11].
- [4] Internal selection of the next housemaster. (48) *Prodromos* [13] makes a similar provision for another monastic dependency.
- [5] Authority of the housemaster in the *kellion*; no obligation to accept monks sent with gifts. (48) *Prodromos* [8] restricts the supervisory authority in another monastic dependency. For rejection of "imposed guests" (*katapemptoi*), see (27) *Kecharitomene* [53], (32) *Mamas* [26], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26], and (58) *Menoikeion* [11].
- [6] Daily dietary regulations. See also comparable regulations in (4) *Stoudios* [29]; (7) *Latros* [8]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [22], [30]; (20) *Black Mountain* [37], [38], [43]; (23) *Pakourianos* [8]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [46]; (28) *Pantokrator* [12]; (30) *Phoberos* [16] ff.; (32) *Mamas* [17]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17]; (34) *Machairas* [77]; (36) *Blemmydes* [11]; (39) *Lips* [32]; (45) *Neophytos* [C4]; (55) *Athanasios I* [5]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [8].
- [7] Restriction on the use of oil and wine in Lent. See also comparable regulations in (4) *Stoudios* [30]; (7) *Latros* [5]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [25], [26]; (20) *Black Mountain* [56]; (22) *Evergetis* [10] and related documents; (23) *Pakourianos* [10]; (31) *Areia* [T5]; (43) *Kasoulon* [2], [9]; (45) *Neophytos* [C4]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [82]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [17].
- [8] Regulations for recitation of the office. See also the provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [10], [11], and [12] with cross-references to treatments in other documents.
- [9] Midnight office. See also other regulations for this office in (20) *Black Mountain* [15], [16], in (22) *Evergetis* [6] and related documents, and in (45) *Neophytos* [C2].
- [10] Saturday evening vigil. See also the provisions in (20) *Black Mountain* [18].
- [11] Celebration of the liturgy on feasts of the Lord. For vigils and liturgies in connection with these feasts, see also (20) *Black Mountain* [30], [32], [89]; (25) *Fragala* [A5]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [39]; (32) *Mamas* [32]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [32]; and (34) *Machairas* [34].

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- [12] Unalterability of rules; strict observance of fasts. For the exception for infirmity, see (22) *Evergetis* [26] and related documents; for eating with guests, see (21) *Roidion* [B8], cf. [B4].
- [13] Freedom of the *kellion*; curse on violators. For contemporary assertions of institutional autonomy, see also (32) *Mamas* [4], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [4], (34) *Machairas* [21], and (35) *Skoteine* [20]; for curses on violators, see (32) *Mamas* [4], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [4], (35) *Skoteine* [46], and (45) *Neophytos* [22].

45. *Neophytos: Testamentary Rule* of Neophytos for the Hermitage of the Holy Cross near Ktima in Cyprus

Date: May 9, 1214¹

Translator: Catia Galatariotou

Edition employed: Ioannes Tsiknopoullos, *Kypriaka Typika* (Nicosia, 1969), pp. 71–104 (notes pp. 104–117), with corrections by K. A. Manaphes, “Paratereseis eis ta ‘Kypriaka Typika,’” *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Philosophikes Scholes tou Panepistemiou Athenon* 20 (1969–70), 155–68.

Manuscript: Edinburgh University, Ms. Laing 811 (autograph)

Other translations: None

Institutional History

*A. Background to the Foundation*²

The founder Neophytos provides a considerable amount of autobiographical detail in the *typikon* translated below (in [3] ff.). He was born to a poor family in the village of Lefkara in south central Cyprus in 1134. Fleeing marriage, he embraced [3] a monastic career at the monastery of St. John Chrysostom on Mount Koutzovendis, where he was tonsured in 1152. After six years of service there, Neophytos left [4] in 1158 for a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but his attempt to find a suitable spiritual master there was unsuccessful. Returning to Cyprus at Paphos, he hoped to sail on to the famous monastic community on Mount Latros, but was arrested as a fugitive. After his release, he sought out a suitable site in the vicinity of Paphos to live as a solitary ascetic. In 1159, he determined [5] upon a site in the mountains, northeast of Paphos. By 1160, he had excavated a natural cave, which he dedicated to the Holy Cross.

*B. Patronage by the Bishops of Paphos*³

In 1166, Bishop Basil Kinnamos of Paphos began to take an interest in Neophytos. Four years later, Neophytos accepted [5] ordination as a priest, took on a disciple for whom Kinnamos provided a subsidy, and (probably with the bishop’s financial assistance) began the construction of a more formal monastery. In 1177, he drew up [1] his first *typikon* for this foundation, parts of which may be preserved in the later edition of 1214 that is translated below. Basil Kinnamos ratified [22] this first *typikon*, probably in 1190, as did his successor Bakchos four years later, probably in 1194. This suggests that Neophytos’ foundation may have been a diocesan monastery at this time, though the critical chapter [6] that probably would have made this determination certain is lost.

C. Neophytos' Foundation under Latin Rule

The Latin conquest of Cyprus under Richard I the Lionheart in 1191 was one of the factors that made it necessary for Neophytos to add [10] certain landed properties to the monastery's endowment for the first time. The foundation prospered during these years, gaining a dependency in 1203/1204,⁴ and playing host to pilgrims who may have come to venerate the relic of the True Cross that Neophytos had located [5] for his monastery soon after its foundation. Neophytos drew up [24] the final version of his *typikon* in 1214, when the holy man must have been approximately eighty years old. In addition to the *typikon*, Neophytos was the author of a substantial number of other literary works, not all of which have been edited.⁵ It is thought that he did not long survive the composition of his second *typikon*.

In his final *typikon*, Neophytos designates [16] his nephew Isaiah as his successor. Apparently the founder's idea of having the monastery led by a recluse was abandoned and the foundation soon became a regular cenobitic institution.⁶ The monastery fared well both under Cyprus' Lusignan rulers and during the era of Venetian rule (1489–1571). At the beginning of the sixteenth century, another monk Neophytos († 1512) conducted a restoration of the foundation and was titled the "new founder" (*ktitor*). Mango and Hawkins ("Hermitage," p. 129) reckon that the *katholikon* was built at this time too.

D. History of the Foundation under Turkish Rule⁷

After the Turkish occupation of Cyprus, the foundation lost its landed properties (1585). Its energetic superior Leontios saved it from extinction, however, obtaining a *stauropegion* for it from the archbishop of Cyprus ca. 1611 and a recognition of its institutional independence from the local bishop of Paphos through a synodical letter issued by Cyril Loukaris, patriarch of Constantinople, in 1631. Hard times in the middle of the seventeenth century forced the monks to sell nearly all the monastery's manuscripts to agents of the French crown; many are still in the collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale. When visited by a Russian pilgrim in 1735, the monastery reportedly had lost its records and its monks were ignorant of who their founder might have been.

This knowledge had evidently been recovered by 1756, when the founder Neophytos' relics were translated from their original resting place in the hermitage to the sixteenth-century *katholikon*. The *typikon*, evidently still preserved in the monastery's library, was published at Venice in 1779 at the expense of the steward Joannikios. The foundation suffered severely during the Greek Revolution after 1821. One of its superiors, Joachim, was impaled at Nicosia by the Turkish governor. The number of monks was reduced to ten by 1875, shortly before the British took over the administration of Cyprus in 1878.

E. Neophytos' Foundation in Modern Times

Neophytos' monastery still exists. Mango and Hawkins carried out conservation and restoration of the wall paintings of its component facilities in 1963 in collaboration with the Cyprus Department of Antiquities. The Department then undertook structural repairs to the original cave complex and erected an arcade in front of it to protect it from further deterioration.

Analysis

Neophytos' founder's *typikon* is a complex document, consisting of his *Testament*, in twenty-two chapters, followed by a twenty-third chapter consisting of twenty canons, [C1] through [C20], chiefly disciplinary in nature, twelve penal canons attributed by the author to Basil of Caesarea, [CB1] through [CB12], and a twenty-fourth chapter of the author's burial prescriptions appended at the end. Neophytos refers to an earlier version of his *Testament*, actually cross-referencing it in [9] and [10]. Though he also cross-references the *Testament* in canons [C2] and [C18], an internal inconsistency betrays the fact that the canons were actually written before the *Testament*,⁸ though they too seem to have been re-edited from an earlier version (cf. [C19]). There was also once a separate liturgical *typikon*, now lost, which is referred to for its discussion of liturgical services [12] and the regulation of diet [C4]. The text of Neophytos' surviving founder's *typikon* is unfortunately defective, often in critically important places: there are gaps in [5], [7], [18], [22], and [C14], while two chapters [6], [17] are missing altogether.

*A. Formal Analysis of the Typikon*1. Use of Neophytos' Previous *Testament*

The author indicates [1] that this document is a revision of an earlier testament written eighteen years after the foundation of his hermitage, i.e., by calculation, in 1177.⁹ He claims that "certain things shall be removed from the old one, and necessary things inserted into the new one, narrating usefully and harmoniously both a testament and a sequence of expedient things," that is to say, that the present text was intended to serve as both a testament and a founder's *typikon*. The only definite information provided on the content of the earlier testament is that it provided for only "a very small number of monks" [9] and that the acquisition of landed property was prohibited [10].

2. Evergetian Influences

As it now stands, the document is a kind of "junior" member of the Evergetian reform tradition by virtue of its incorporation of many institutions and principles popularized by (22) *Evergetis* more than a century earlier.¹⁰ These include the author's preference [9] for quality over quantity in the selection of his monks, the reading of the *typikon* [11], the daily celebration [12] of the liturgy, the inalienability of consecrated objects [12], the election and installation of the superior [14], the exclusion of women from charitable distributions at the gate [19], the restriction of confession to the superior or his designee [21], the prohibitions of personal property [13], [C10], [C19], secret eating [13], [C11], and unauthorized correspondence with relatives [CB5], and the inspection of the monks' cells [C11].

Like the authors of (28) *Pantokrator* and (31) *Areia*, however, our author does not quote directly from (22) *Evergetis* as his contemporary Neilos of Tamasia does in (34) *Machairas*, except perhaps in [18], cf. [11] which at least echoes the language of (22) *Evergetis* [38]. This is the most solid indication that our author may have been aware of the existence of (22) *Evergetis* or a related text. Yet the long passage of time since the famous reform *typikon*'s creation and the continuous development of Byzantine monastic institutions since then practically assured that that there would be many differences in our author's approach to problems in the early thirteenth century. As we have seen, even in his own lifetime in the interval between 1177 and 1214, he changed his mind on the very basic matters of the size and means of support for his community.

Also noteworthy are the incorporation, particularly in the author's canons, of many distinctly non-Evergetian rigorist observances in diet [C4], bedding [C9], bathing [C9], the practice of manual labor [C6], and penal discipline [C19].

3. Juridical Quality

The author's generally very careful, and unprecedented, cross-referencing of the various texts governing his foundation can be seen as a culmination of a long trend among patrons to invest their foundation documents with the aura of binding legislation rather than letting them be seen as essentially ephemeral expressions of patronal preferences subject to revision by their successors. Fearing the latter, our author notes [22] "I have indeed known that, after the death of certain founders, some of those in the monastery dared to adulterate certain rules of the *typikon* and to cross out whatever they wished." Perhaps the inexorably evolutionary nature of the *typika* in the Evergetian tradition actually promoted a dismayingly fluid notion of the *textus receptus*, motivating more traditional founders like our author here to seek the security of an independent documentary foundation for their monasteries.

B. Lives of the Monks

1. Number of the Monks

The author had provided [9] for only a small number of monks in his previous *typikon*. Both his own monks and various lay benefactors urged him to accept an increase to from twenty to twenty-five monks (to be funded by the latter) but the author counterproposed a new limit of fifteen to eighteen monks. There is another, probably earlier treatment of this issue in the author's canons, in which he recounts [C16] his unhappy experience with raising the number of monks to fourteen, four of whom he was compelled to expel for bad behavior. His declaration here that "God does not want a multitude of monks, crawling in sin" recalls the language and principle of (22) *Evergetis* [23]. Instead, the number of the monks was to be kept "small."

Like (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3], this community was divided [9] into those monks who were responsible for the liturgical services (here called the *ekkleusiastikoi*, "church" monks) and those who served them (the *diakonetai*, "attendant" monks). Moreover, as in (34) *Machairas* [102], the monks here were also distinguished by their dress, as an incidental reference [15] to the "great habit" (*megaloschemon*) makes clear. The author himself, originally illiterate, had begun [4] his own monastic career working in the vineyards at another monastery, then after five years of study he received a promotion to a position as an assistant ecclesiarch (*parekklesiarches*), which shows that it was possible for an individual monk to move up in the ranks.

2. Liturgical Duties

A daily celebration of the liturgy and at least some of the canonical hours is implied in [12]. Here also the author declares that it is unnecessary to discuss the church services since these have been explained in the *typikon*. In his canons, he reiterates [C3] the monks' obligation to perform the canons faithfully and provides [C2] for a shortening of the midnight office in summertime.

3. Manual Labor

According to one of his canons, the author considered [C6] physical labor "useful to all" based on his personal experience. In the testament proper he instructs [15] the future recluse (anchorite) to

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“practice simple handiwork” but not to seek “base profits.” A garden serving as a courtyard to the hermitage was to be set aside [18] as a place for the monks to practice manual labor. In another of the author’s canons, the monks were prohibited [C13] from having their own private, profit-making occupations. Specific pursuits are not mentioned, but a bakery, a kitchen, a storehouse for produce, and places for stabling animals and storing hay that formed part of the foundation suggest [20] some possibilities.

4. Reception of Postulants

Newcomers were to be read [C17] the author’s canons and accepted into the community if they demonstrated their capacity for living according to their provisions. No specific term for the novitiate is set.

5. Sacramental Life

The author prefers [21] the practice of (22) *Evergetis* [15] which obliged monks to confess only to their superior or his designee; he rejected the alternative tolerated in (32) *Mamas* [29] of allowing the monks to have another confessor “because a foreign father does not care much about foreign children.” Yet even the superior was not to hear [15] confessions until he had gained “spiritual mastery,” been tonsured with the great habit, and received the necessary permission from the local bishop. Confession was a prerequisite [21] for communion, but there are no other guidelines for its reception.

6. Cenobitic Lifestyle

Although there is no outright assertion of the superiority of the cenobitic lifestyle, the document endorses many Evergetian regulations designed for its support. According to one of the author’s canons, the monks were [C10] not to have their own money (cf. [13], [C19]) or keep personal supplies of food lest their cells “stink like taverns.” Secret eating is condemned both in the canons [C11] and in the testament [13] proper. The leading monks (rather than the superior as in the Evergetian tradition) were to inspect [C11] the monks’ cells to remove any food and surplus items. A chapter that is now missing from the manuscript of the testament originally regulated [17] the hermitage’s relations with kelliotic monks, suggesting a tolerance towards alternative forms of monastic life also seen in the contemporary (34) *Machairas* [152].

7. Diet

One of the author’s canons provides [C4] for a diet of uncooked food on all of the weekdays in Lent and on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays during ordinary weeks. As in (20) *Black Mountain* [72] and a generation later in (36) *Blemmydes*, monks were encouraged to impose more rigorous dietary observances upon themselves but were not required to do so in view of the hot climate. A full discussion of the monks’ diet is omitted [C4] in favor of a reference to the liturgical *typikon*. The author also implies [C13] that the monastery’s provision of food to the monks entitled it to all the products of their handicrafts. Neither the recluse [15] nor the monks [C12] were to complain about the food and drink provided to them. There is no advocacy of the Evergetian principle of equality and food and drink.

8. Clothing

Observing that virtue is the adornment of the monk, Neophytos prescribed very modest clothing for his flock: grey rather than black outer garments made of inexpensive material [C15].

9. Bathing

Rejecting the ever more lenient trend among the monasteries in the Evergetian tradition towards allowing monks to bathe on a regular basis, our author prohibits [C9] all but the sick and infirm from bathing. He thought bathing especially dangerous for young monks, considered to be like adding “fire to fire.”

10. Relations with Relatives and Other Lay Persons

Visitors, both monks and laymen, were expected [C17] on feasts of the saints and on days of commemoration. Considering his monks to be like fish out of water once they were outside the monastery, the author orders [C5] that they should not leave it except for a “most pressing need.” They were not to become unduly attached [C14] to their lay relatives, at risk of suffering [C19] excommunication.

11. Fear of Homoeroticism

The author is especially concerned to suppress homoerotic tendencies in his monks. He imports [CB6] a canon from the pseudo-Basilian *Penitential* that provides for the excommunication of a monk found in private with another at night. In one of his own canons, he bans [C6] “playful embraces,” particularly between younger monks. In another canon, he offers [C7] forgiveness after confession and punishment for monks led astray into “carnal sin,” but the unrepentant were to be expelled “so as not to spread the disease to the rest of the monks as well.” The author’s fear may also lay behind his ban [9] on the instruction of lay children, said (incorrectly!) to be “an indecent thing and foreign to the tradition of the fathers.”

A fear of homoeroticism was often coupled with a concern about the possibility of bestiality (cf. (30) *Phoberos* [58]). On this subject our author returns to the Studite-Athonite tradition in banning [19] female animals: donkeys and mules are said to be “blameworthy, indecent, and unbecoming, especially for those who are still morally unstable.”

C. Constitutional Matters

1. Constitutional Status

The essential details on the constitutional status of this foundation were lost in the gap found in the text of [22], a transcription of a confirmation of the author’s rule issued by Bishop Bakchos of Paphos. Our author, who at a low point in his monastic career needed to be released [4] from jail through the intervention of “some pious persons,” may also have received possession of his hermitage from them. After several years on his own, he was patronized [5] by one of Bakchos’ predecessors, Basil Kinnamos, who seems to have intended to make the hermitage a diocesan monastery. To confuse matters further, there are also appeals to the Byzantine emperor [8] (probably originating in the earlier version of the *Testament*) as well as to the Lusignan King of Cyprus, Hugh (1205–18) [7]. The latter is described as an administrator (*epitropos*) and a benefactor of the monastery. Our author seems to have been willing to accept patronage from any available source, yet he managed to keep his foundation essentially under his personal control.

2. Leadership

As noted above, our author acknowledges [7] Hugh, the Lusignan ruler of Cyprus, as the foundation’s administrator. The author envisioned the monarch playing a circumscribed, support-

ive role like that of the protectors seen in monastic *typika* of the twelfth century: (27) *Kecharitomene* [3], (28) *Pantokrator* [70], (32) *Mamas* [3], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [3]. The effective ruler, as in independent foundations, would have been the superior, here titled the recluse (*enkleistos*), who was to be [16] the author's nephew Isaiah, then serving as the foundation's steward and evidently still a young man. The author's designation of a relative as his successor betrays the essentially private nature of the hermitage, whatever its precise legal status might have been. He felt sufficiently self-conscious about the choice to assert that he made it "not out of a feeling of family affection, but because he was raised here from a tender age and I have had great hopes for him." Isaiah was entitled to choose another successor if he himself did not wish to accept the honor.

Elsewhere in the document, the author provides [14] for the election of the recluse by the community in a chapter that echoes the procedure and language of (22) *Evergetis* [13]. The apparent conflict with the hereditary right of appointment implicit in [16] is not resolved. If [14] is not in fact an awkwardly integrated survival from the author's earlier *Testament*, he may have intended that the determination of the foundation's leader be opened up to the choice of the community eventually.

Since the recluse was necessarily cloistered [14], it was essential that he have assistance in the daily management of the hermitage. Accordingly, the author provides [9] for the appointment of a steward and a treasurer.

3. Patronal Privileges

In keeping with the spirit of the times, conditioned as it was by more than a hundred years of reform ideology, patronal privileges were relatively few. The King of Cyprus was to receive [7] perpetual commemoration in gratitude for his services as the monastery's 'administrator.' There were [12] also daily prayers in the liturgy and at matins and vespers for the emperors, other government officials, bishops, and the foundation's monks past and present.

As we have seen, our author exercises the right to choose [16] his nephew as his successor, and concedes the same right to him. Also, he makes [24] provision for his own burial in the hermitage and requests [12] the benefit of a commemorative offering at each liturgy.

4. Reading of the *Typikon*

In another provision that echoes the content and language of its distant Evergetian prototype, the author provides [11] for a reading of his testament and the canons three times a year "so that the reading of the rules provokes the brothers into preserving them." As noted above, the canons were also to be read [C17] to postulants for their assent before admission.

D. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

The only officials of the monastery mentioned [9] in the document are the steward, then the author's young nephew Isaiah [16], and the treasurer. In contrast to the administrative presuppositions of (34) *Machairas* [84] where the superior was intimately involved in overseeing all the financial operations of the monastery, here presumably another model applied in view of the recluse's enclosure. The author declares [10] his extreme reluctance to acquire landed property and states that he had actually forbidden such acquisitions in his first *Testament*. The Latin conquest, hard

times, the increase in the number of monks, and the expenses of entertaining many outside visitors required a change of policy.

This suggests that previously the hermitage, like some other foundations originating during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos (e.g., (33) *Heliou Bomon*, Prologue), had originally been supported with annual subventions derived from external sources of patronage rather than relying in the more traditional way principally on income from its own landed properties. Donations of visiting pilgrims (see [10], [20]) may also have played a part in the financing of this monastery's activities. Be that as it may, the author later decided to acquire some arable land, a vineyard, and livestock to meet the basic needs of his monks though he declares that he should not be held responsible for the negative consequences he foresaw.

2. Inalienability of Property

Just like the author of (32) *Mamas* [37], our author was more concerned [12] about the protection of his foundation's movable property—the sacred vessels, books and icons—rather than for its more recently acquired landed properties. The author refers [20] to a separate inventory (not preserved) for details on the movables as well as on the thirty relics in the foundation's collection. A shorter inventory of sixteen books is appended to [12].

3. Other Sources of Income

The author's reluctance to acquire landed property is not the only way in which he displays his hesitant attitude towards increasing the foundation's income. While he wanted to build a new church dedicated to the Holy Trinity, he instructs [20] his monks to hold off on this project “so that you may not be begging and annoying certain people,” unless perchance some substantial support were to be forthcoming from either the imperial government or local officials—neither being a likely prospect under the difficult political circumstances at the time of this document's composition.

E. Overall Philosophy

There seems to have been a return in the early thirteenth century to strict disciplinary provisions with accompanying punishments (cf. (34) *Machairas* [122] ff.) recalling the resort to monastic confinement seen in the much earlier Studite-Athonite documents (4) *Studios* [25] and (11) *Ath. Rule* [19]. Even in (32) *Mamas* [24] in the twelfth century, there are unmistakable indications of the rising popularity of the pseudo-Basilian *Penitential*, from which our author makes citations (not always accurately) in [CB1] through [CB20]. Strictly interpreted, these had the effect of making the superior the arbitrator of all of the comings and goings of his monks and of their relations with the outside world. Of particular relevance (and irony, given the author's personal history) are the provisions punishing monks who leave the monastery without the superior's consent [CB2], help others to flee the monastery [CB3], fail to try to persuade them not to [CB1], or simply do not inform the superior of those who hoped to make an unauthorized departure [CB4]. Considering that the author himself was tracked down [4] through the efforts of the officials at the monastery of St. John Chrysostom and jailed as a fugitive, the evidence suggests that the personal freedom of individual monks was coming into question.

The author himself states [C19] that he had previously cited disciplinary canons without

punishments for transgressors “so as not to make the canons burdensome,” but in this present document he instructs his successors to apply appropriate punishments. A key to the penal system was the sanction of excommunication, the terms of which the author had had inscribed [13] in the narthex of the church and which he provides should be read out each Sunday after the catechetical instruction in the liturgy, thereby visibly excluding and humiliating offenders.

F. External Relations

1. Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

Unlike many founders, our author seems to have enjoyed cordial relations with the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Not only did he receive [5] crucial support from Basil Kinnamos, bishop of Paphos, for some four years at the beginning of his residence at the hermitage, but good relations continued during the tenure of Bishop Bakchos, who confirmed [22] his predecessor’s ratification of the *Rule*. Even the document itself was drawn up by a diocesan notary. Moreover, our author had accepted ordination as a priest from Bishop Basil early in his career. Accordingly, our author was willing to concede to the local bishop liturgical commemoration [12] and the right to grant permission [15] to hear confessions, minimal recognitions though these were of the hierarchy’s claims to spiritual authority over the foundation.

2. Institutional Philanthropy

The hermitage was to provide [C18] charity at the gate to beggars, except, as usual, to women (cf. [19]), on the grounds that “it is indecent and wrong for women to sit by the gate and the enclosure and look inside with dainty eyes”—the first explanation of the basis for the *topos* found in (22) *Evergetis* [38]. Nevertheless, since our author does not neglect to provide [19] a punishment for women who disregard the ban and enter the gate, it appears that there were women living in the vicinity, perhaps as tenants on the hermitage’s properties. Hospitality to visitors “who daily come and visit the hermitage on account of its fame,” perhaps to venerate the relics described in [20], is cited [10] as one of the monastery’s greatest expenses though the document provides no information on specific philanthropic provisions.

Notes on the Introduction

1. Revised second edition of a lost first edition, drawn up ca. 1177.
2. See Galatariotou, *Making of a Saint*, pp. 13–14; Kazhdan, “Neophytos,” p. 1454; and Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” pp. 122–24.
3. Galatariotou, *Making of a Saint*, pp. 15–16; Laurent, “Typicon,” pp. 52–55; and Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” p. 124.
4. Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” p. 127, n. 25, based on a note in Codex Parisinus graecus 301, fol. 315.
5. For an exhaustive list, see Galatariotou, *Making of a Saint*, pp. 261–81; cf. Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” p. 128.
6. Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” p. 122, n. 5.
7. See Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, pp. 351–54, and Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” pp. 129–32.
8. Cf. [C6] and [9] on the number of monks permitted at the foundation.

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9. For the chronology, see Mango and Hawkins, "Hermitage," pp. 122–26, with dating of the first *Testament* at p. 124.
10. (22) *Evergetis* [5], [9], [13], [15], [19], [22], [23], [27], [38], [43].

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Translation

Table of arrangement of the *typikon* with [the help of] God.

Chapter

1. Concerning the drawing up of the *Rule*.
2. Concerning remembrance of death.
3. Concerning my own reflections and flight from the world.
4. Concerning what followed these and of my establishment in the hermitage and certain mysteries.
5. Concerning the construction of the hermitage and bishop Kinnamos and certain mysteries.
6. Concerning the Paphians.
7. Concerning the King of Cyprus and administrator of the present hermitage.
8. Memorandum to the emperor.
9. Concerning the number of brothers and prohibition of instruction of children.
10. Concerning poverty and the economic remedy.
11. Concerning the reading of the *Rule* and the canons.
12. Concerning the ecclesiastical office and the priest and the holy vessels and the books of the recluse.
13. Exhortation to the brethren and remembrance of excommunication.
14. Concerning the election of the recluse and prayer for the recluse and the hermitage.
15. Specific exhortation to the recluse.
16. Concerning my own successor and nephew, the ordained monk Isaiah.
17. Concerning the *kelliotai*.
18. Concerning the garden of the hermitage.
19. Concerning the hermitage's inaccessibility to women, and concerning female beasts.
20. Concerning the buildings erected at the hermitage and consecrated to God and concerning the church.
21. Concerning repentance and confession of sins in deed and thought.
22. Concerning the authorization of the *Rule* by bishop Kinnamos and ratification by bishop Bakchos. [p. 72] Then an excommunication against removing or adding anything to it.
23. Concerning the recluse, twenty ascetic canons to the brethren, and twelve from the epitome of canons of Basil the Great.
24. Concerning my own passing away and concerning the older hermitage and the tomb, and a final prayer for the brethren. [p. 73]

Testamentary *typikon* of Neophytos, priest, monk and recluse with [the help of] God. Concerning my own hermitage in the eparchy of the Paphians in the island of Cyprus, the one also called the New Sion, being a godly watch-tower through the goodwill of God. Father, bless.

+ Neophytos, worthless monk, priest and recluse of the Holy Cross, signed with my own hand at the beginning of my testamentary *typikon*. + + + + + + +

First Chapter: Concerning the drawing up of the *Rule*

The greatest of all good things is reverence for God (Rom. 3,18) and remembrance of death. Amazed by [the latter's] thieving and secret nature I, after eighteen years of my enclosure in the hermitage, made dispositions, such as the needs of those times demanded of me. But since the provider of life extended the span of my life and fifty-five years have already gone by, the need also arose for another testament. So that certain things shall be removed from the old one, and that the necessary things shall be inserted in the new one, so that they shall be found not to be extraneous and strange, but familiar and relevant, narrating usefully and harmoniously both a testament and a sequence of expedient things.

Chapter Two: Concerning remembrance of death

No mortal has escaped the arrow of death. Wherefore I certainly cannot possibly escape it either. But Christ, you who have died willingly for us, do not will that death should meet me like an arrow, but rather as if in good sleep in your grace.

But being still alive, I think it proper and useful to put in lasting form all about my circumstances, lest what happened and was said to the lazy servant who hid the talent uninvested happens to me (cf. Matt. 26:25). Since I too received this hermitage from the Lord God like a talent. For he offered it to me in a deserted state and he embellished it for me, as he willed. I again laid it upon his all-powerful [p. 74] hand, so that, both while I am alive and after I shall be gone, he shall preserve it and those dwelling in it from invisible enemies, in his grace.

Chapter Three: Concerning my own reflections and flight from the world

Having just reached the chapter bearing the same number as the Holy Trinity, it seems right to me to intimate briefly certain of my circumstances for those desiring [to know them], and thus incite the souls of certain God-lovers towards glorifying God, who not only prevented me from becoming bound under the shackle and yoke of laborious life, but who further acquainted me almost from birth with its difficulty, and with perceiving its sudden changes. For, one lamented for the loss which had suddenly come upon him, while another wailed that his child had met with untimely death. Another was afflicted by poverty because he had many children. Another, while he was rich and admired by all, suddenly fell into poverty, or, death, having suddenly come, deprived him of every happiness, and glory suddenly turned into ingloriousness, filling with wails and lamentations the house which a little while earlier was cheerful. Another fell from honor and dignity into worthlessness. Another was greatly oppressed by the cruelty of heartless tax-collectors. Yet another lamented upon the affliction which unexpectedly befell him.

But perceiving these, I thought to myself that, no doubt, I myself shall suffer the same, once I become entangled in life, and it shall be impossible to escape their difficulty. But even if one can escape such difficulty and revel in all the world's good fortune, what will his gain be since death lies ahead and, as I heard, another world awaits us?

But these thoughts and ponderings were not of my youth and boorishness but the work of certain divine grace and providence. This I artlessly assert in writing and in speech, and "God is my witness; I am telling the truth, I am not lying" (Phil. 1:8; I Tim. 2:7). For upon reflection, I was telling myself that, even if I utterly disappear from this life, God will certainly make me reappear

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in future life, and I shall again be found. But also, that which I shall now say, I shall truly say in the Lord: that, if some poor vagabond dressed in rags came to my father's house begging for bread, I counted his life as being enviable and blessed, and, had it been possible for me, I would have directly followed him.

But no one knew of these thoughts of mine, except for God who bestowed them on me. For which reason my parents earnestly wanted to join me in matrimony, [p. 75] I being then a son of eighteen years of age. For seven months earlier they had confirmed the customary contracts of marriage and the betrothal, and while they were hotly pursuing the things concerning the marriage, I was hotly pursuing ways and means of escaping. Why then, with God's most excellent goodwill and help, having departed secretly from the paternal home, I made my flight's way to the monastery of holy [St. John] Chrysostom on the mountain of Koutzovendis,¹ [believing] that place to be inaccessible to those who were bound to [try to] track me down. There is no need to tell what lamentations took place amongst parents and neighbors and acquaintances, and what searching through every eparchy of the island. I do not bear to speak extensively about how, having apprehended me, after two months, they brought me back again under the yoke, and after what fight and battle and deliberation I dissolved those marriage contracts, but this I shall briefly say, that, as the Lord wanted, so it happened.

Chapter Four: Concerning what followed these and of my establishment in the hermitage and certain mysteries

I deem it necessary also to narrate briefly what followed these, so as not to distress those who love to hear [the story], through interrupting the sequence of the narrative. It is as follows:

Having been deemed worthy of my own beloved tonsure, no bridal ornament, I believe, ever charmed any bridegroom as much, as did me the vesture of the monk's dress with [the help of] God. For I filled with kisses the tips of its cuffs, and I begged the Lord to preserve it pure and unblemished for me until the end. Because I had not been given over to even one day's studying of lessons by my parents, so that I was ignorant of even the first letters of the alphabet, I was thus permitted by Maximos the superior of the monastery to tend the vineyards at the so-called Boupai.

Having served there for five years, and having acquainted myself with the rudimentary elements of letters, and having learned with [the help of] God the Psalter by heart, I was transferred upon the command again of the aforementioned superior from there to the holy church of the divine [St. John] Chrysostom, forthwith holding the office of assistant ecclesiarch. Having clung to this service for two more years, I was greatly vexed by night and by day by love for the contemplative life, which vexed me even when I devoted myself to the services outside the monastery. But I was prevented from this by the superiors of the monastery because of tender youth. [p. 76]

Henceforward then, departing from the monastery, I arrived at the Holy Land of Jerusalem, both for the sake of worship, and in the hope of encountering in those deserts some solitary and eremitic man and follow him. For which purpose, having first searched out the region of Tiberias, even as far as the desert in which Christ blessed the loaves (cf. Matt. 14:17), and the hills of Magdala and Mount Tabor, and then, after venerating the holy and life-possessing tomb, and having searched the desert of Souka, the torrent of Saint Sabas and the regions of the Choziba and of the Jordan, searching the caves like a hunter of bees, and having failed in my aim, I was distraught.

But having spent six months there, I was told through a vision, by God's mercy, that I had to go, not in that desert, but to another place, upon which the King too, it said, shall descend and there stamp the bread. Henceforward then, departing from there, I sailed to Cyprus to the holy monastery of my holy father [St. John] Chrysostom, lest, I thought, my divine call concerning solitude is realized on the slopes of that mountain.

Because the Lord who foresees all did not will this, the heads of the monastery did not will it either, for which reason, immediately departing from there too, I arrived at the fort of Paphos, wishing to sail towards Mount Latros,² expecting to encounter on it some solitary man and serve him. But having been detected by the guards of the harbor and been seized by them as a fugitive, I was put in jail for a night and a day. They deprived me even of the two *nomismata* which I had for the fare. In their mistaken belief that they would find something more on me, the workers of greed even searched the very seams of my clothes. And injustice belied itself (Ps. 26 [27]:12), finding nothing more. But having been released by the guard through the mediation of some pious persons, I was at a loss, not knowing which was to be my ordained place of promise and rest.

I was forced to say all this, wishing to show how I came to possess the place of this hermitage, of which I was completely ignorant in the past. Now wishing to bypass the length of the story, I shall briefly say that instead of the renowned Latros God gave me this precipice and this smallest of caves. Which was deserted and a resting-place of various birds, but to me it appeared desirable because of the solitary nature of the place, and in hope I settled in it alone. [p. 77]

Chapter Five: Concerning the construction of the hermitage, and concerning the bishop and certain mysteries

In the year six thousand six hundred and sixty seven [= 1159 A.D.], of the seventh indiction, on the twenty-fourth of the month of June, on the birth-day of the venerable [St. John the] Forerunner, having resorted to the said cave, I was twenty-five years old, yet I searched out the solitude of the place even until the month of September. But having discovered that the place was quiet and undisturbed, I started hewing the cave and widening it, and breaking down its unsound parts, and I worked thus throughout all that year, up to and until the following September and the [feast day of the] Exaltation of the Holy Cross.³

Having also fully carved out a tomb deep inside the cave, I told myself: "You shall possess nothing more than this, even if you come to rule the whole world." I called the cave by the name of the Holy Cross, having fixed an altar for the holy rites, so as not to distance myself from the holy communion of the body and blood of Christ.

Five years having passed by, I was also aroused in a laborious search for [relics of] the Venerable Cross and, as always, he who said that "everyone who asks receives and he who seeks finds" (Matt. 7:8) was proved right. For I too found what I was looking for. Then also after some time, my unworthy mind's ear heard a certain honey-dropping strange and unusual voice, saying thrice, "Remember," that is to say "your prophesied profession in the desert," namely "Go to another place, in which the King too, descending there, shall stamp the bread." Together with this there are also certain other [things], but what need is there to reveal those too, as if my honesty would be observed from these? But let these be for the glory of God.

Moreover, after a few years, by means of a vision, I thought I was going up the mountain of Olympos, facing Lefkara [and] my native city of Amathous, as if to venerate the Cross of Christ,

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and lo, a voice saying to me “After fifty days” and anew for the second time “After sixty days.” [p. 78] The fulfillment of this saying still remains obscure.

During those years, the see of Paphos was vacant, and in the seventh year of my sojourn in the hermitage it was wedded to that blessed man Basil Kinnamos. For led by God, he showed great favor and faith towards my humbleness. He did not cease to incite me for an entire four-year period: on one hand he himself constantly visited me, and on the other, he exhorted me through his officials, until he placed me under the yoke of priesthood and persuaded me to take up a disciple to live with me, having also drawn up a *sigillion* for the sufficient living allowance.

Thereafter the structures of the hermitage began to be extended and adorned, and the entire length of the cliff was thoroughly hewn out for the construction of cells. In the twenty-fourth year of my enclosure, the hermitage was painted throughout, and the cliff next to it, hewn out, was consecrated as the church of the All-Holy Cross . . . [gap in text]

[Chapter Six: Concerning the Paphians] [Missing chapter]

Chapter Seven: Concerning the King of Cyprus⁴ and administrator of the present hermitage

[Gap in text] . . . but also, I implore you to attend to this my holy hermitage, as an administrator after God. Whenever because of some greed wrong is committed against it by one of the more cruel persons to the affliction of the brothers, with [the help of] God vindicate this quickly, as a man having power from God, and let your reward, from God, be the salvation of your soul. Thereupon, as benefactor, as administrator and as brother, you shall also have eternal commemorative services in my holy hermitage. If for a certain most urgent need the brothers think fit to send one of them to the emperor, [p. 79] co-operate with this and speak up for the brothers so that their request shall be met, and the mercy of God shall be upon you for this favor. Amen.

Chapter Eight: Memorandum to the emperor

We often see how a stone runs headlong down until [it reaches] the plain. I too, Lord emperor, with feet moving on their own, rushed to your noble [majesty], with this present writing. For I have heard that “a king loves justice” (Ps. 98 [99]:4) and I was convinced that you too, God-guarded from above, shall not overlook my memorandum, but shall fulfill, whichever is the request of my disciples and your servants who are praying for you, who persevere in this my holy hermitage and who officiate in the church of the Venerable Cross in it. Christ, “the king of glory” (Ps. 23 [24]: 7–10), shall reward by recompense your divine rule and shall strengthen and protect and make your reign mighty for long years. Amen.

Chapter Nine: Concerning the number of brothers and prohibition of instruction of children

In my previous testamentary *Rule* I had regulated for a very small number of brothers. But noting this provision in the rule, not just the brothers about me but also some of the learned laymen came together and they meekly requested that the number of brothers be raised up to twenty or even twenty-five, having also precisely calculated the sum of money necessary for such a number of church and attendant monks, “lest,” they said, “some of the good people may desire to live here and, if they are held back by the rule, you shall be found to be the cause of grief and faintheartedness both to them and to us.”

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I answered these by saying that I had not so regulated out of hatred for the salvation and communal living of the good and many, but because I was taught by experience, both of the cenobitic systems and of what I expressly wrote about in my sixteenth chapter, that communal living of the many and ignorant and knavish and unruly and querulous breeds much noise and scandal. If certain such good men resort here for the glory of God and their salvation and their number is raised, as you said, I myself would certainly be no obstacle to those in whom God delights. Let the number then be raised to fifteen or even eighteen. [p. 80] He who feeds and provides for the few, shall have no difficulty in feeding also the many, and especially if [they are] good. Let the most God-fearing and prudent among them be steward, and another of similar qualities, be treasurer, so that the recluse shall always remain quiet and undisturbed.

I neither agree with nor urge the instruction of lay children in the hermitage. For this is an indecent thing and strange and foreign to the tradition of the holy fathers. For which reason I too properly forbade it. "Remove not," it is said, "the old landmarks which thy fathers placed" (Prov. 22:28).

Chapter Ten: Concerning poverty and the economic remedy

I hold that of every material possession none is better than the estate of poverty, as it always accompanies holiness. For it was thus that those who shook off their own property cleaved to the apostles, as the book of their acts plainly describes (Acts 2:45). Having at all events, brethren, acquired this most precious estate of holiness, do not also acquire wealth and a pair of oxen and arable land and the disturbance of cattle, so as not, having approached the world, to lose solitude, harm greatly your soul, and place the public servants above your head. For behold, fifty-five years have gone by since this hermitage was constructed, and, possessing none of the things pertaining to life, the Lord deprived us of none of his goods.

These I had regulated fittingly and well in my first testament. But our country having fallen to the Latins⁵ and all the people having been deprived of every necessity, it was obviously natural that we would also fall into hard times, both because of the superabundance of the brothers and because of the increased expense, not simply because of our needs, but also because of the outsiders who daily come and visit the hermitage on account of its fame.⁶ But because great expense at all events needs certain income and expenditure, and the brethren with good reasons disturbed me with these, I myself submitted to their desire, that is to say to acquire a little arable land and a vineyard and moderate numbers of sheep, to serve their very basic needs. You, brethren, I implore the Lord God to preserve unharmed from their soul-harming effects, and me in His mercy to judge innocent of this action. [p. 81]

I exhort you, brethren, to hasten to be shown, with the help of God, as being disposed towards these acquisitions piously and wisely and without passion, seeing that I too, shrinking from their soul-harming effect, renounced their possession for fifty-five years. If now upon their acquisition you become enslaved to sin, let the Lord pronounce me innocent of such illness. For it is better to be dead to sin and alive to justice, than dead to justice and alive to sin. Let my witness be the Lord Christ. "What does it profit a man to gain the whole world and forfeit his own life?" (Mark 8:36). To him who has been enslaved in sin, many lands and numerous herds shall be of no benefit whatsoever. Better, it is said, "a pittance honestly earned than great gains ill gotten" (Prov. 16:8).

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Chapter Eleven: Concerning the reading of the *Rule* and the canons

But in order that all these are not submerged into the depths of forgetfulness by the lethargy-prone mind, we command you, brethren, to read out this present rule and the canons thrice a year on an important day, when none of the brothers is absent. Let then the first reading be on the eighth of the month of September because of the birthday of the Mother of God, and the second on the feast of Christmas, and the third on the Annunciation of the perfectly pure Mother of God,⁷ so that the reading of the rules provokes the brothers into preserving them.

For thus God also commanded in the old times through Moses, to read frequently the law (Deut. 31: 11). As long as the law was read frequently, the wickedness of the people was also more moderate, but when the reading of the law ceased, they fell into myriads of unlawful and impious acts. Thence forward, having proceeded little by little into total forgetfulness and contempt of the law, they neither observed Passover nor offered sacrifice to God, but lived as the rest of the “Gentiles who do not possess the law” (Rom. 2:14).

But in the days of Josiah the King, a certain archpriest (called) Hilkiah, having found the book of the law in the temple of God, presented it to Josiah the King. Josiah, realizing that the law had been rejected for many years and the people were lawless, “rent his clothes” (II Kings 22:12), and begged the priests and the prophets to appease God in his and his people’s favor, and he himself, inflamed by divine zeal, destroyed “pillars” of idols and sacred groves and “altars” and every abominable rite, and Josiah the King utterly destroyed those pagan [p. 82] temples “which Solomon had” built “for Ashtoreth” and “for Chemosh” (cf. IV Kings 23:13–15), for his foreign wives, Moabites and Ammonites, and he slaughtered the priests of the idols, and “ordered all the people to keep the Passover to the Lord their God, for no such Passover had been kept” since “the Judges were ruling Israel” (IV Kings 23:21–22). There was then great displeasure in God because of the abolition of the law, and God commanded that the entire people be delivered to captivity. But appeased by the King’s zeal, he again commanded that he end in peace all the remaining time of his reign, and so it happened.

During the reign of King Jehoiakin, Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon and Nebuzaradan his chief minister, coming up, destroyed the city and that famous temple, and led the people to captivity in Babylon, where they were enslaved for seventy years (IV Kings 25: 8–12).

I recollected this story very briefly, wishing to show how good it is to listen to and preserve salutary laws, and that we are justly delivered to afflictions and captivities for the overstepping of commands. Of which I do not wish to say more. But I shall only briefly say the wise proverb, that “He that keeps the commandment keeps his own soul” (Prov. 19:16). I, placing my trust in the Lord, say that he who shall keep what has been laid down in this book, shall be saved with the grace and help of God. Amen.

Chapter Twelve: Concerning the ecclesiastical office and the priest and the holy vessels, and the books of the recluse

Since the *typikon* of the church explains about the daily church service, I consider it unnecessary to talk at length about it. But I shall briefly say this, that this command of the *typikon* must not be overlooked and the reading of the Psalter must not be touched on cursorily, and that you must not neglect reading the liturgical books in time, nor be lazy in reading the catechism, for the glory of God and the benefit of those desiring it.

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You must observe daily during the vespers and the matins and the holy liturgy the prayers for the emperors and magistrates and bishops and for the ministers [of God] past and present. You must not neglect the services for the Saturdays and Sundays and feast days and of the great saints. [p. 83] If this is not a burden to you, present God with an offering for me too at every liturgy.

Let the officiating priest be pure and unblemished with [the help of] God, so that his sacrifice would be welcomed by God. For, if according to the divine Paul, the unworthy layman “falls under judgment” (I Cor. 11:29) for partaking of the mysteries of Christ, so much more does the sacrificer and celebrant of the body of Christ. If you carry on with [the help of] God according to our instructions, I trust that, as obedient, you shall also enjoy in greater abundance God’s protection and salvation of the soul, by Christ’s grace.

The holy vessels and the books and the holy icons, as having been consecrated to God and to the holy hermitage once and for all, no one should remove any of them, either by authority or as a gift, lest both the giver and the receiver be subjected to the curse and excommunication from the church. Beware!

There are with [the help of] God also the writings of the recluse, sixteen small and large books, of which the three larger are *panegyrikai*.

Two other books of many letters very beneficial to the soul, in which are also four hundred ascetic chapters and twenty-four *Telonia*.

A book in fifty chapters, containing also a commentary on the Song of Songs.

Another, [The book] of the *Divine Sign*.

Another, a commentary on the *Hexaemeros* in sixteen homilies.

Another, a commentary on the Psalms in twelve homilies.

Another, a commentary on the canons of the twelve feasts of the Lord.

Another [book] in twelve chapters, the notebook of the recluse, referring to [the events] of forty and fifty years and to natural phenomena.

Another [book] in twenty chapters, contains clear and concise commentaries on the Lord’s commandments in the Old and New Testaments.

Another, the book of catechetical instruction.

Another small [book] of penitential *stichera*.

Another, this present testamentary *Rule*.

Yet another, the so-called Last [Book].

Sixteen books altogether, which, being new, must not be overlooked at all events by those who love virtue and God. But having perceived that the writings are not of human wisdom or subtle verbiage but of the grace of the Holy Spirit, they shall glorify the Triune God. Amen. [p. 84]

Chapter Thirteen: Exhortation to the brethren, and remembrance of excommunication

Let us hurry, brethren, God helping, to be detected by the all-cultivating God as being clean soil, fruit-bearing and receptive of spiritual seed, so that when the summer of our life comes we shall fill our bosom with the sheaves of eternal life.

Let us know a time for fasting and a time for eating, a time for sleep and a time for waking, a time for rest and a time for labor.

Let no discord and envy, strifes and knavish rivalries settle in your midst.

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Do not work at covert and improper errors. For God sees everything. Basil the Great commands eschewing the sin of secret eating, even that of merely licking and tasting.⁸

Having hated the grievous illness of covetousness, be healthy in poverty. For those who fell ill with that illness died while still living. As for you, acquiring no money of your own, be content with what God provides the monastery.

Let us hasten to achieve a humble spirit before God and men.

But before all these comes a sacred and pure life. Do not forget the excommunication which I have inscribed in the narthex of the church that does not permit him who has fallen into sin to dwell here, unless he quickly rises through confession and sincere repentance. For God loves the pure and uninhabited desert more than the soiled world. This excommunication must be read out every Sunday, after the reading of the catechetical instruction, without fail, so that the brothers are incited to safe-conduct, with the help of God.

Chapter Fourteen: Concerning the elections of the recluse and prayer for the recluse and the hermitage

When, brethren, the incumbent passes away and departs from this life, do not strive against each other who shall first grab the seat of the hermitage. For such wretchedness is a mark of love of glory and conceit. For he who sits in the hermitage vaingloriously and heedlessly, shall be found out to be more of a simpleton than the one who dwells in virtue outside it. Since it is not the place but the manner [of living] with [the help of] God which saves man. For if the place on its own and without the manner saved man, the angels would not have fallen from heavens, our forefathers would not have fallen from paradise, Judas would not have become a traitor from the apostolic company. [p. 85]

Although I can mention a great many examples of this sort, I shall not because I prefer above all to speak briefly. Thence I shall briefly say that, avoiding every intrigue and envy, you shall elect him who in word and deed is worthy of the life of a recluse, and, when you will have carried out the forty [days'] commemorative services for the past recluse praising God in a vigil, then, after the end of the holy liturgy, you shall bring him with [the help of] God up to the hermitage, the New Sion, and after the customary *trisagion*, read out to him also the prayer which I wrote for the recluse and the hermitage. You, on the one hand, must come down immediately, and let him, on the other, begin resolutely the life of enclosure, with the help of God.

I do not advise him against well-timed spiritual talk to the brethren, and especially if he is blessed with the art of speech and knowledge. Talk is better than silence. For silence only benefits its own laborer, while the word also benefits many others. Christ the Lord also taught this in deed, on some occasions habitually visiting and teaching the crowds, on other occasions spending his time on the mount in solitude and prayer. If we also do likewise, we shall reap the benefit of both.

Prayer: "Christ our God, the cause and provider of everything good through the goodwill of thy Father and the cooperation of the Holy Spirit, thou who strengthened and shed thy grace on Elijah of Tishbe in the old days and more recently upon John thy Forerunner and Baptist so that they led the solitary and eremitic life and achieved the angelic life on earth (emulating their life and following on their footsteps were Antony, Euthymios, Onouphrios and their companions). Thou, O Lord, the giver of good things, shelter, preserve, sanctify, hold steadfast and strengthen

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this slave of thine, too, who has forsaken everything by his own free will and chosen the life of a recluse and a solitary, so that, strengthened by thy might, he may follow in the footsteps of thy aforementioned saints and the holy men who shone forth [from the top of] pillars. By thy mercy make also this hermitage inaccessible to invisible and visible foes, through the intercessions of thy perfectly pure Mother, thy all-venerable Cross and all thy saints. Amen.”

Chapter Fifteen: Specific exhortation to the recluse

This exhortation is laid down not just for one recluse, but for each one from generation to generation.

You, brother, who have chosen the life of a recluse, acquire [p. 86] above all remembrance of death and prepare your actions for your life’s end. Acquire freedom from care, the best foundation of solitude. Live with the chanting of psalms and prayer and reading, through which many came near God.

Practice simple handiwork, not wracking your brains for base profits. Alleviate the sickness of covetousness with the medicine of poverty. Preserving meditation and mastery over your thoughts, do not engage from the beginning of [your life as] a solitary in conversation with many [people] and especially stupid ones.

Do not hear the confessions of some [of the brothers] before you acquire spiritual mastery. For this caused many to fall into the pit of perdition, as I have found out from them, and instead of uplifting others they themselves fell and instead of healing [others] they were invisibly wounded. But when you avoid passionate thoughts and pleasure-loving inclinations through the divine inclination leading to the love of God, and are tonsured in the great habit and receive the official blessing of a bishop, as the Fathers prescribe,⁹ then you shall not be lacking anything to be proclaimed a spiritual father. For they say of him who receives confessions without [having received] this blessing that neither his censure has any force nor is his release considered a release. For it is said: “What have you that you did not receive?” (I Cor. 4:7).

Have “a broken heart and a humble spirit” (cf. Ps. 50 [51]:17) before God, patience with everyone, and practice as much fasting as your strength permits.

In all your affairs appeal for help with all your heart to Christ our God, the helper of the helpless; and, brother, take courage leaning on good hopes. For it is said: “Did ever any trust in Lord and was confounded?” (Eccl. 2:10) or “Did any abide in His fear and was forsaken?” (Eccl. 2:10) and “Will God forget to pity?” (Ps. 76 [77]:9) or “Will a woman forget her child, so as not to have compassion upon the offspring of her womb? But if a woman should even forget these, yet I will not forget thee, saith the Lord” (Isaiah 49:15, 8). Even if “the gate is narrow” at the beginning for want of experience and “the road is hard” (Matt. 7:14) for our want of strength, yet with the passage of time, the “yoke is easy to bear” and “the burden” is found to be “light” (Matt. 11:30).

Staying within, “go forth” like a man to your spiritual “work and to your labor till the evening” (Ps. 103 [104]:23) of your life, so that you may say rejoicing: “How great are thy works, O Lord! In wisdom hast thou wrought them all” (Ps. 103 [104]:24) even with regard to me.

Refrain from discontent and muttering that you may not be found onerous and troublesome about your food and drink and the [p. 87] lighting up of your cell, but gratefully satisfied with what is easily available. For if self-control and contentment with little is praiseworthy in every

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man, it is even more so in the case of a monk leading the anchoritic and solitary life. For although I, too, many times wished to have just ten grains soaked in water during the public festival of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, they were not given to me nor did they remember me. Yet, I reckoned that this was not done out of contempt but because of the multitude of people and because I was hidden away and not easily seen. This happened not once but at different times during public festivals, seeing that I did not touch anything softened by fire. I did not want to mention this, but mention it I did, brother, in order to incite you to patience.

Thus when you have finished the race well and arrived well at the end, by the grace of Christ, you will have certainly glorified by your good deeds the Father together with the Son and the Holy Spirit. He promised to glorify in turn those who glorify him (cf. John 17: 22–24).

Whosoever wishes must not come up to the upper hermitage unimpeded, so that there may not be confusion and disturbance [in the upper hermitage] as there is in the lower one; unless, of course, a few and pious men request to come up out of faith.

Chapter Sixteen: Concerning my own successor and nephew, the ordained monk and steward Isaiah

Firstly I entrust this place of my holy hermitage and those settled in it to Christ my God and his undefiled Mother and his divine Cross, and then to my nephew, the ordained monk and steward Isaiah. I place the holy hermitage and all that accrues to it and the spiritual and physical protection of the brethren under his authority and power, with the help of God, not indeed out of a feeling of family affection, but because he was raised here from a tender age and I have had good hopes for him. If perhaps a malicious and envious man, motivated by the workings of the Devil, annoys and offends him, causing him to run away from here, let the “wrath of the Lord” (Zach. 7:12) be his just adversary and let him have the Lord’s Cross as his implacable enemy. Heed this warning! [p. 88]

But if he, by his own free will, departs from here in some mad thirst for fame, or if he is seen to be disposed of carelessly, neglectfully and contemptuously towards what has been imparted and entrusted to him, he himself will certainly reap the benefits of his labors, for “a man reaps what he sows” (Gal. 6:7) as both experience and the divine Paul teach. Pay attention also to what Solomon advises: “Son,” it is said, “if thou be wise for thyself, thou shalt also be wise for thy neighbor; and if thou shouldst prove wicked, then thou alone will bear the evil” (Prov. 9:12).

Let these be sufficient, child, for your safety. But if you decline the appointment, either because of your still flourishing youth, or because of your continuous ministration as steward, you do not have the strength required for the enclosure of the hermitage, elect another, with God’s goodwill, only one virtuous and greatly experienced and fittingly dignified for this service, for the sake of his own abundant good repute and salvation, and the strengthening of many, and God’s glory. Amen.

Chapter Seventeen: Concerning the *kelliotai* [Missing chapter]

Chapter Eighteen: Concerning the garden of the hermitage

[Gap in text] . . . the deepest seasonal river cutting through the middle of this garden. Against the cells hewn on the precipice of the hermitage, the depth and the length of the ravine has been filled and covered with earth, and (the bed of) another seasonal river was forcefully cut through against the opposite side.

Whenever it overflows more violently and deviates into the garden and buries it with sand and stones and utterly covers it, who is capable of describing how much tormenting labor is required of the brethren in order to clean it up? However, because, as we have already said, it has four-fold authority from divine providence, and serves as a courtyard of the hermitage and as a place of manual labor for the brethren, let no one hinder its use in the hermitage so as not to find God as his avenger, for having hindered God's providence. [p. 89]

Chapter Nineteen: Concerning the hermitage's inaccessibility to women and concerning female beasts

Safety [from danger] and [from] the unforeseen is always good. "All things are lawful for me," it is said, "but not all things are helpful" (I Cor. 6:12) and, "let all be done decently and in order" (I Cor. 14:40). For this reason I too command that the bounds of the holy hermitage be inaccessible to any woman. If any woman, out of depravity, enters inside the outer gate, she shall fall under the punishment of feeding on dry food for forty days, and of carrying out the same number of genuflections throughout these days, so that both she is taught and she teaches others not to cross boundaries of discipline and not to overstep salvific rules. We have decreed thus, not because we loathe our fellow-human beings,¹⁰ but we wrote thus in order to preserve the discipline of the place. For it is unbefitting for the shipmaster to permit causes of scandal and shipwreck to enter the harbor. For the region of the hermitage being separate from the world and solitary, it ought to preserve also the likeness of a haven of salvation.

But together with these we also command this, that it is unbefitting to have for service in the monastery of the hermitage a female donkey or a mule. For such a thing is blameworthy and indecent and unbecoming, and supportive of "the devices of the devil" (Eph. 6:12) towards evil, and especially for those who are still morally unstable and lacking in the fear of God.

Let Christ my God, the master of all, steer also this hermitage and all those in it towards harbors of salvation by his grace. Amen.

Chapter Twenty: Concerning the buildings erected at the hermitage and consecrated to God and concerning the church

It is not unbefitting that the buildings at the monastery of the hermitage would appear to be built by God, for there was no intention on my part to build. For this reason, I had built some small enclosure against the edge of the cliff from the beginnings [of my sojourn]; this and only this existed for eleven years, and I did not wish to build anything more nor to accept cohabitation with any disciple.

However, the fifth chapter has intimated briefly about the hermitage and the hewing out of the nearby cliffs for the building of cells, and so this chapter shall briefly speak about the following buildings. These are as follows: [p. 90]

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Far from the hermitage we laboriously built a big gate, having seats and recumbent benches, affording an adequate resting place. But having ascertained that a certain mischief and pollution had taken place therein, I said “Hateful repose, cause of hell,” and requested the brothers to demolish it to its foundations, and to rebuild another gate at some distance from it farther up, constructing neither a broad roof nor seats in it: which stands to this day with [the help of] God free from any mischief.

Then [there are] a bakery, a kitchen, a store-house, with its upper storey for putting away produce, various cells, and two more [cells] in the garden. Likewise the cells by the fountain, those of the lower floor being for stabling animals and storing hay, while those of the upper floor, for habitation. Then, the steward’s office and above it the portico with its five arches, and within these arches hewn in the precipice the refectory for midday meals.

Then, the narthex and its upper storey [which is] the sacristy. Again above this, my sanctuary and holy chapel, wherein I am sanctified by partaking of Christ’s sacraments and by the chanting of the holy hymns. Again, above the aforementioned sanctuary, [is] the new hermitage of the New Sion, the work abounding in God’s providence. And another cell, the one called the cell of [St. John] the Forerunner, hewn in the precipice.

Then again, the very great building by the seasonal river, which was very laboriously built with many arches. Upon these arches, if and when God wills it, there shall be built another church in the name of the holy and consubstantial and life-giving Trinity.¹¹ I neither agree nor urge that you begin this building while you lack the funds and are unable to meet its expenditure and costs, so that you may not be begging and annoying certain people because of lack of necessities: unless a rich and imperial right hand is extended to you by God’s guidance, or some magistrate’s support is providentially forthcoming. For holy and very great works are also in need of [great] expenditure. But if however such assistance does not materialize and your hand remains poor, you shall be satisfied with the church of the Holy and all-venerable Cross of Christ which I myself have hewn out of the cliff. So much about these.

Concerning the divine icons and the holy vessels and the precious woods of the Cross and the holy relics of martyrs and holy men, whose number is thirty, and which I embellished in longing desire and faith as well as I could, the inventory [p. 91] expands on these in greater detail. These were furnished here not through my power, but through the providence and sanction of God, in whose all-powerful hand I have entrusted piously all these and this place and those living herein.

Chapter Twenty-One: Concerning repentance and confession of sins in deed and thought

It is written that “they were baptized confessing their sins” (Matt. 3:6), and “He that covers his own ungodliness shall not prosper” (Prov. 28:13). For this reason I too exhort my brothers in Christ, those staying in the monastery of my holy hermitage from generation to generation, to confess readily their mistakes and their wretched thoughts either to the recluse father or to whosoever he shall promote [as confessor] from those here. For the fathers do not advise having as spiritual father a monk in an alien monastery, because an alien father does not care much about alien children. To triumph over sin through pure confession is proof of repentance and abstinence from evil. For he who still retains evil also hides it. Thence I command such a person not to partake in communion of the awesome sacraments of Christ. For of those enslaved in sin “no one

will see the Lord” (Heb. 12:14), without repentance and confession of sins. The Lord Christ is the true witness saying “Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand” (Matt. 4:17). Of which may he deem us worthy in his mercy.

Chapter Twenty-Two: Concerning the authorization of the *Rule* by Bishop Kinnamos and ratification by Bishop Bakchos

[Gap in text] . . . I command that none of the superiors or of the monks, or simply any other person whosoever, shall alter or overturn something from the rules of the said recluse, or shall cause any distress to the brethren staying in the hermitage, unless he happens to be a lover of injustice and a stranger to goodness, and wishes to bring upon himself the curses of the three hundred and eighteen God-bearing holy fathers, and to be subjected by our mediocrity through the Holy Spirit to excommunication from the holy church and from communion of the holy body and blood of Christ.

Let those who ratify in deed the rules and are well-disposed towards everything concerning the hermitage [p. 92] have from God the blessing of the patriarch Abraham and the support of the Cross of Christ.

I wrote these in my own hand in the presence of many witnesses and with great confidence, and, knowing well about the said recluse, I ratified this his rule on the sixth of the month of January, of the eighth indiction.¹²

+ Basil by the mercy of God the lowly bishop of Paphos +

The copy of the signed ratification of lord Bakchos, bishop of Paphos.

Our lowliness having read the present *Rule*, and having ascertained the rules herein to be good and to God’s liking, I signed it in my own hand for further assurance and confirmation, in the month of May, of the twelfth indiction.¹³

+ The worthless sinful monk Bakchos and, even though unworthy, bishop of Paphos. +

This then is the testimony and signature and confirmation of the aforementioned bishops.

Then an excommunication against either removing or adding.

I, having composed this *Rule* of twenty-four chapters, deemed it right to secure it by means of an excommunication, so that no one shall dare to add or remove anything from it. For I have indeed known that, after the death of certain founders, some of those in the monastery dared to adulterate certain of the rules of the *typikon* and to cross out whatever they wished, as if they had not heard: accursed is he who “removes the ancient landmark” (cf. Prov. 23:10) and “Remove not the old landmarks which thy fathers placed” (Prov. 22:28).

I therefore write for security thus:

If someone contrives to destroy this present rule or to add or remove anything from the rules of mine laid down by me with [the help of] God, [p. 93] let him firstly fall under the above-mentioned curse, and then be excommunicated from God’s glory and the holy church and the sacraments of Christ.

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Chapter Twenty-Three: Concerning the recluse, twenty ascetic canons for the brethren, and twelve from the epitome of canons of Basil the Great

+ Table of Twenty Ascetic Canons [C]

- Ch. 1 Concerning the purpose of the canons
- Ch. 2 Concerning the ecclesiastical office and the midnight service
- Ch. 3 Concerning the need to run quickly to church
- Ch. 4 Concerning eating dry food for three days and concerning the holy fasts
- Ch. 5 Concerning staying out of the monastery and poverty
- Ch. 6 Concerning monks playing, and that physical labor is also useful
- Ch. 7 Concerning a brother fallen into sin
- Ch. 8 Concerning grievous slavery
- Ch. 9 Concerning bath and bed
- Ch. 10 Concerning not having one's own money nor food in the cells
- Ch. 11 Concerning secret eating, and of the need to inspect the cells of the brothers
- Ch. 12 Concerning no complaints over food
- Ch. 13 Concerning self-control and handiwork
- Ch. 14 Concerning separation from secular relatives
- Ch. 15 Concerning clothing and the madness of vainglory
- Ch. 16 Concerning the number of brothers
- Ch. 17 Concerning invitations and concerning the newcomer
- Ch. 18 Concerning beggars at the outer gate
- Ch. 19 Concerning the punishments, and the recluses
- Ch. 20 Concerning love, and a summary in verse [p. 94]

+ Twenty ascetic canons of Neophytos, ordained monk and recluse, to the brethren of the hermitage

Father, bless.

[C1] Canon One: Concerning the purpose of the canons

In my desire, brothers, that you be ascetics in word and deed, I imitate the painstaking toils of painters, who, desiring to complete a drawn image, are liberal in their application of colors, and then by applying varnish¹⁴ over it, they brighten up the painted image, and bind the colors together. Just like them, I too mixed together many colors in the form of words through panegyric writings, through catechetical instructions, through epistles, through punishments, through the rule. Then, in place of varnish, I also wrote the present canons, so that, with the help and grace of Christ, we shall return again to our original beauty in God's image, from which we fell.

[C2] Canon Two: Concerning the ecclesiastical office and the midnight service

Concerning the ecclesiastical office we have already written in the twelfth chapter of the rule. But concerning the midnight service we say this, that it is unbecoming for a monk to lie [sleeping] as if dead until the striking of the semantron but one ought to have already gone to the church and

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be singing “At midnight I rose to give thanks to Thee” (Ps. 118 [119]: 62) and so on. During the summertime, because of the length of the day and the very short duration of the night, he who does not have the strength to sing the usual midnight service in its entirety should not miss the whole service, but he should sing at least half of it. For the half-withered is preferable to the completely dried-up, and the one-eyed is better than the entirely blind.

[C3] Canon Three: Concerning the need to quickly run into church

Once the wood [semantron] is struck, one must quickly hasten to church, in the same way that, when the wood [semantron] is sounded for meals, everybody hurries towards the refectory, lest they miss any of the food served. They are distraught if something has already been consumed and they were not there in time. Yet one ought to be far sadder if one sleeps uncaringly or in some other way neglects and does not partake in the inexhaustible food of divine doxology. But he who is truly ill or with good reason otherwise busy, is worthy of forgiveness.

[C4] Canon Four: Concerning eating dry food for three days and concerning the holy fasts

On Monday, Wednesday and Friday of each week, [p. 95] the brothers living the ascetic life in the hermitage must eat dry food, except when engaged in heavy labor or commemorating one of the great saints. But during the great and holy Lent one must eat dry food on five days of each week. Those who wish to and are capable of more [than this], shall also reap more of the fruits of goodness. But the days of fasting during the fast of Christmas and that of the Holy Apostles¹⁵ must be kept without fail according to the command of the *typikon* of the Church, and we demand no more than that, because of the hot weather and the length of the daytime.

[C5] Canon Five: Concerning staying out of the monastery and concerning the safety of the monks

Unless there is a most pressing need, an ascetic of the hermitage must not stay out [of the monastery], and especially in the company of laymen. For such a thing is improper and truly dangerous. But, just like a fish cannot bear to stay on dry land, fearing death, but eagerly seeks the water, likewise the true monk does not bear staying out of his cell.

[C6] Canon Six: Concerning monks playing and that physical labor is also useful

Secret and unattested is the fall of two monks who playfully embrace each other, especially if they are younger [monks], as I heard from those who suffered this. But it is necessary to punish and stop those who playfully embrace thus.

We know that physical labor is useful to all. This little I myself know from experience. For one who labored wisely and harvested, shall say: “God see my humiliation and my labor” (Gen. 31:42), and forgive all my sins. He shall be confident that this shall come to pass.

[C7] Canon Seven: Concerning a brother fallen into sin

If one of the brothers is led astray to a carnal sin, which I pray may not happen, if his soul is wounded and with confession he hastens towards repentance, let him be allowed [to remain here], and let him carry out the work of the punishment relative to the sin, so as to make sure that he shall

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not sin again. As for the one who is not so inclined, let him be ousted from here like a diseased sheep, so as not to spread the disease to the rest of the monks as well. For it is easier to participate in evil than to partake in goodness.

[C8] Canon Eight: Concerning grievous slavery

Our country having been terribly enslaved to a Latin nation, and divine providence having preserved us free, we, brothers, have a duty to preserve ourselves free from sin, [p. 96] with [the help of] God, and to thank and glorify God our benefactor as he so deserves, so as to attract even more of his divine providence.

[C9] Canon Nine: Concerning bath and bed

A monk of the hermitage, and especially a young one, must not bathe and add fire to fire, except in case of illness or infirmity due to old age. Neither must a monk lie down to sleep on a bed, but on a mat, just as the angel of God enjoined godly Pachomios.¹⁶ But he who uses a bed because of illness or old age is not to be blamed.

[C10] Canon Ten: Concerning not having one's own money nor food in the cells

To have one's own money or food in one's cell is the clearest proof of covetousness and gluttony and a dissolution and transgression of community order. He who is not content with the provisions of the monastery is condemned as greedy. For the cells of the brothers must not stink like taverns, but must smell sweetly as places of prayers.

He who acquires his own silver or copper is at all events led by his increasing passion to recklessly commit sacrilege, stealing and selling and appropriating the property of the monastery. Such petty cash then also incites one to desert the monastery.

He who keeps food in his cell and is not content with what is offered in the refectory is doubly condemned, both because he was a glutton and because he became a bad example to the brothers. Such a monk must be punished, until he learns to conduct himself like a monk.

[C11] Canon Eleven: Concerning secret eating, and of the need to inspect the cells of the brothers

The gluttonous disease of secret eating caused the fall of many, and caused the first-formed himself to be utterly cast off from paradise. I therefore beseech you, brothers, not to be defeated by this passion, like the "poor man devouring in secret" (Hab. 3:14), as it is written, so that you shall enjoy the manifest delights of paradise when the time comes.

The leading monks of the hermitage must examine the cells of the brothers and, if any food or any other superfluous thing is found, they must remove it, and urge the brother not to do anything like that again. This is not simply a new rule devised by me, but one which has been laid down by the God-loving scriptures and by many of the holy fathers¹⁷ [p. 97] for the correction and safety of the more gluttonous of the brothers, in order that they shall be saved.

[C12] Canon Twelve: Concerning no complaints over food

They say "Eat, as it becometh a man, those things which are set before thee; and devour not, lest thou be hated" (Eccl. 33:16). For the true monk does not complain in the refectory nor does he

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say why this or that food or drink is not offered, but “gives thanks to God” (Rom. 14:6), “content with what he has” (Heb. 13:5), and they become his salvation and flesh and blood, and his spoon like a two-edged sword slaying complaining thoughts. But if they eat their fill and complain, “when their food was yet in their mouth,” they say “the indignation of God rose up against them” for their ungratefulness “and slew the fattest of them” (Ps. 77 [78]:30–31). But we have an obligation, brothers, to thank God, whether for richer or for poorer. For we did not promise God to “fatten” ourselves like pigs for “the day for slaughter” (James 5:5). Instead, we promised to walk “the straight and narrow road” (Matt. 7:14).

[C13] Canon Thirteen: Concerning self-control and handiwork

The greatest wisdom for the monk is the control of tongue and belly. For they say that “every athlete exercises self-control in all things” (I Cor. 9:25). But those who, against the advice of the superior, occupy themselves with handiwork for their own profit, have their hands truly plunged into injustice, eating the bread of the monastery and pursuing their own profit at the same time. But the holy fathers offered their handiwork at the same place as fed them with bread. For, according to Basil the Great, the ascetic must not have private occupations.¹⁸ I also give this advice to my monks in the hermitage, not to be distracted by anything outside your own monastic life, nor to get entangled in machinations, so as not, having lost the call of obedience, to reap the fruit of following one’s own devices.

[C14] Canon Fourteen: Concerning separation from secular relatives

It is improper to be attached to secular relatives . . .

[Gap in text] . . . [p. 98] relatives, so as not to appear to God that we betrayed our promises of renouncing the world.

[C15] Canon Fifteen: Concerning clothing and the madness of vainglory

I do not approve that the brothers of the hermitage wear a dark-dyed or black or double-woven outer garment, but one that is battered, grey and shabby, as befits true monks. For adornment is superfluous to the monk. For a layman in the world adorns himself, as perhaps when he is about to enter into marriage. But the monk must also adorn himself with virtue, as he too is about to enter into heavenly union.

But one must also be on his guard against the madness of vainglory. For this embellisher, being the beginning of the fall and the foremost evil, accompanies not only fine array but also squalid rags and coarse clothing.

[C16] Canon Sixteen: Concerning the number of brothers

Suffice what I wrote in the ninth chapter of my regulation as to the number of brothers, and [only] if they are found to be good. But if not, it is better for a shepherd to have ten sheep rather than fifty goats. God does not want a multitude of monks, crawling in sin.

For I once decided, following the exhortations of many, to admit certain [monks] for the sake of [their own] benefit. The number was raised to fourteen, who, instead of deriving any benefit, were harmed and their discord threw us into disarray. For four of them, getting together in bad

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company, held drinking sessions and secret conversations, not listening to my words of warning, were complaining, and everything that they had “said in the dark” was “proclaimed” not only “from the housetops” (Luke 12:3), but even outside the monastery due to the violence of the upheaval. Divine providence allowed none of that disorderly group of four to remain here. Whose sin may the Lord forgive, and as for me, I learnt from experience that it is a mistake to dwell with many and wicked [people]. I therefore advise that a small number [of monks], peaceful and contemplative, must remain in the monastery of the holy hermitage.

[C17] Canon Seventeen: Concerning invitations and concerning the newcomer

If some laymen or monks have invited a monk of the hermitage [to celebrate] feast days and commemorations of saints, [p. 99] I do not permit [the monk] to follow him who extended the invitation, so that he does not, having returned to his cell like a prisoner, stand in need of toil and trouble and many days to free his mind from the fantasy of what he heard and saw.

When some newcomer requests to be admitted in the hermitage, these canons must first be read by way of preface to him, and, if he undertakes and is capable of living according to their content, well and good, and let him be admitted, but if he stumbles, let him be ousted.

[C18] Canon Eighteen: Concerning beggars at the outer gate

I praise and urge that you do as much good as you can, to those arriving at the outer gate and begging for some of the necessities, but in no wise to women, as I have also commanded in the nineteenth chapter of my rule. For it is indecent and wrong for women to sit by the gate and the enclosure, and look around inside with dainty eyes. For the Lord loves almsgiving, as a great almsgiver [himself], but he also hates almsgiving causing sin. Therefore I too have forbidden such almsgiving without hesitation.

[C19] Canon Nineteen: Concerning the punishments and the recluses

It was necessary for us to define also the punishment, in accordance with the custom of the old canons, for those who might in future transgress. But I readily passed this by, on the one hand so as not to make the canons burdensome, and on the other so that, if the canons are kept not through force but through free will, those who keep them shall be seen to be more praiseworthy. For “He that keeps the commandments,” they say “keeps his own soul” (Prov. 19:16).

However, those who hold the office of recluse at any time shall have the authority, with [the help of] God, to punish in moderation and humaneness the transgressors. For example: Has someone stayed out? Let the cause be interrogated, and, if it is a reasonable one, let him be forgiven, but if it is unreasonable, let him be punished accordingly. Does another, having affection towards worldly relatives and having been advised, disobey? Let him be excommunicated from the church, and debarred from the refectory, until he corrects himself. Likewise, for the one having silver or copper. Likewise and for the rest of the canons, those who clearly transgress them, shall be punished with the purpose of salvation, for whose sake I myself have drawn up these canons with [the help of] God.

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[C20] Canon Twenty: Concerning love

“Love” is the “wholeness of knowledge and prophecy alike” (cf. 1 Cor. 13:8–10), through which God himself, becoming a man, [p. 100] suffered death, and, having decreed love to be the sign of his teaching, he said: “By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another” (John 13:35).

For hatred is compared to a most wild sea, while love to a most calm haven. Which I pray, brother, you shall carry as most blissful money and purse in the bosom of your heart, so that, according to the divine commandment, you shall live in peace and “love one another” (John 13:34). For which reason I too, like a key of pure gold together with a precious seal, placed love as the end of the canons, safely keeping out the foe of love.

“Then the peace of God, which passes all understanding, will keep” (Phil. 4:7) the hearts of all of us in his grace. Amen.

+ Summary in verse.

Pay attention, brethren, to the laws of God, for “the words that I say to you I do not speak on my own authority” (John 14:10).

One, I painted an august picture of virtues.

Two, I gave counsel to chant psalms in the middle of the night.

Three, I provoked you to run willingly to church.

Four, I laid down a rule for passion-killing fasting.

Five, I forbade staying out and excessive possessions.

Six, It is bad for monks to play, and good to labor.

Seven, He who is wounded by sin should lament.

Eight, To be enslaved to sin is foreign to monks.

Nine, It is necessary to abstain from bathing and bed.

Ten, Do not usurp money or food.

Eleven, Do not eat in secret, and search the cells.

Twelve, One must thank, not moan when eating.

Thirteen, Self-control and communal labor are noble.

Fourteen, Affection for relatives turns the heart towards the world.

Fifteen, Comely clothing is a sign of conceit.

Sixteen, Better a few than a bad multitude of men.

Seventeen, It is good to flee harmful fairs.

Eighteen, It is good to give alms to those from whom no harm will accrue.

Nineteen, The recluse must punish with compassion.

Twenty, The apex of all good things is possession of love. [p. 101]

God shall preserve for those who preserve these [canons] an undecaying and eternal life. Amen.

+ A selection of benefit for those who wish it from the *Epitome* of Canons of Basil the Great, twelve canons. [CB]

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[CB1] Canon One: He who knows of a brother contemplating flight from the monastery, or, having conversed with him, agrees with him and does not denounce his plans, shall be excommunicated for one week.

[CB2] [Canon] Two: If one, contrary to the superior's opinion, goes out of the monastery without the blessing and full consent of the superior, he shall remain without holy communion.

[CB3] [Canon] Three: If one conspires with another to depart from the monastery, he shall remain without holy communion.

[CB4] [Canon] Four: If one knows of a brother contemplating to depart secretly from the monastery and does not impart this to the superior, he shall be excommunicated.

[CB5] [Canon] Five: If one is found writing to someone or accepting a letter without the superior's knowledge, he shall be excommunicated.

[CB6] [Canon] Six: If one is found in the night in private with another, he shall be excommunicated.

[CB7] [Canon] Seven: If one, being in good health, remains asleep, while there is chanting of psalms at church, he shall be excommunicated.

[CB8] [Canon] Eight: If one, who has a quarrel with a brother, is about to receive holy communion, before he is reconciled with him, he shall be excommunicated.

[CB9] [Canon] Nine: If one exacts vengeance on another, chastising him over an error, he shall be excommunicated.

[CB10] [Canon] Ten: If one, without having been commanded, gives out or receives something, he shall be excommunicated.

[CB11] [Canon] Eleven: If one, contrary to the superior's opinion, sends to or receives a gift from someone, he shall be deprived of the gift [of blessed bread].

[CB12] [Canon] Twelve: If one is deprived of the gift [of blessed bread] and, being annoyed, does not accept this, he shall be excommunicated for one week.

This dozen of canons then gathered from the canons of Basil, the wise in the things of God and great illuminator and our father, was added to ours like a divine relish for embellishment inspired by God, since "the inferior is always blessed by the superior" (Heb. 7:7). Yes indeed, but also for the embellishment and salvation of such souls as choose to preserve saving commandments. Because it is said that "he that keeps the commandments keeps his soul safe" (Prov. 19:16), and that he who transgresses them shall be known. What shall he be known as? [p. 102] It is clear that he shall be known as a willing transgressor and a man contemptuous of his own salvation.

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+ Next concerning a request and memorandum for release of the excommunicated.

+ By Neophytos, priest, monk and recluse to the brothers of the monastery of [St. John] Chrysostom in the Queen of Cities¹⁹ a memorandum concerning . . . [gap in text]

Chapter Twenty-Four: Concerning my own passing away, and concerning the older hermitage and the tomb, and for the brothers, and a last prayer

Father, bless.

“O incredible miracle!” it is much more fitting to say: “O incredible death.” For “death succeeds all these.” So that “even if a man should live a thousand years they are as yesterday” (cf. Ps. 89 [90]:3) to him, and even if he rules all the lands and all the seas, from all that infinite and great power, he is found to be the ruler of only one rod of earth, in which he was buried.

But I do not bear to go on philosophizing about these. But rather, having discussed some brief thoughts about the sunset of our lives, I shall end the road here.

If I then am found worthy upon that hour to be called before God—for all die upon God’s beckoning, but not all are called to ascend towards God. For how can those who came to pass all their life in impiety and uncleanness and greed, then go up to all-holy God? For “light can not consort with darkness” (II Cor. 6:14). When God-fighting kings, tyrants and men alienated from God die, does God call them to him? Will he not rather say: Away with all sinners so as not to see “the glory of the Lord?” (cf. Ps. 96 [97]:6). But concerning these also I do not wish to say more. But if, as I said earlier, I am found worthy to be called towards God and Jesus Christ our Lord, do not, brothers, weep for me profusely, for you shall be seeing nothing foreign to any mortal nature, but instead, having carried out the proper prayers for me and having glorified the all-pitying God and having sent upwards to him the customary hymns, bury my humble corpse in the tomb which I have hewn out in the cliff of the hermitage, having dressed it with the burial rags which I put together long ago and placed in a coffin made of pine, cedar and cypress wood.²⁰ Bury it that way with the mercy of God the Father and pray be with it also the grace of his only-begotten and beloved Son, who willingly suffered for us and was buried and resurrected after three days through the power of his divinity, [p. 103] and the great gift of the all-holy and life-giving Spirit. May the Triune God save it together with my soul, to its praise and glory, through the intercession of the sacrosanct Mother of God and the all-sacred Cross and all the saints.

But having destroyed the wall of the tomb in order to insert the coffin, and again rebuilding it afterwards, do not let there be a little door as there was before, but enclose it completely, and outside, where the little door stood before, paint an icon, whichever the Lord brings to your mind. Thus build up the place, so that many of the strangers will not know that a tomb lies inside it.

But do not let this complete enclosure be a cause of grief to you, nor disobey, so as not to fall into the sin of disobedience, but rather [act] so that the Lord shall furnish you with the reward of obedience. Because, just as, while alive, this frail body embraced solitude as a gift from God, likewise, having died, it chose to preserve [solitude] until the common resurrection, when “all who are in the grave shall hear the voice of the Son of God and all who hear shall come to life” (John 5:25, 28) and they “will rise to meet the Lord” (I Thess. 5:17) and venerate him.

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But let me make this also known to you, brothers, that this older and presiding hermitage,²¹ because of the holy and august icons painted in it, maintains the full measure of a holy place of prayer. That is why certain men, having rushed once and twice to sit down in it, were unable to do so. For it seems to me that no one has so far been able to sit down in it. For if the Lord treasured it for some other use, who is he who has the power to disagree? and if some insolent man wants to simply sit down in it as if in a common cell, this is unholy and repugnant, and he shall be seen to be a foe of his own self and plotting against himself.

Last prayer for the brothers

May God the father, “who” through his only-begotten and beloved Son and our Savior Jesus Christ “called” us “in his eternal” kingdom and “glory, establish and strengthen” all of “you” (I Pet. 5:10), brothers, in his all-holy and saving will, and grant deliverance of sins, through the intercessions of the all-blameless Mother of God and the all-sacred Cross and all the saints. Amen.

+ +

+ of Neophytos, priest, monk and recluse

+ The hand of Neophytos the recluse after prefixing [his signature] has presently sealed this book, having placed his own signature as a fence. +

My present testamentary *typikon* with [the help of] God, [consisting] of twenty-four chapters, was written by the hand of worthless Basil, priest, teacher, and notary of the notaries of the most holy bishopric of Paphos, the son of the catechist, on the month of May the ninth, of the second indiction, in the year 6722 [= 1214 A.D.]. + + +

Notes on the Translation

1. For this foundation, see Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, pp. 356–58.
2. The famous monastic settlement near Miletos, for which see (7) *Latros*, Institutional History.
3. Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, September 14.
4. This would have been Hugh (1205–18).
5. Cyprus was conquered from the usurper Isaac Komnenos by the crusader King Richard I the Lionheart of England in 1191.
6. Perhaps to venerate the relic of the Holy Cross mentioned above in [5]; cf. discussion of the public festival of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in [15] below.
7. Feast of the Annunciation of the Mother of God, March 25.
8. Basil of Caesarea as quoted in John Klimakos, *Scala paradisi* 14, *scholion* 20, PG 88, col. 733C.
9. See the discussion of this issue in (28) *Pantokrator* [120].
10. Cf. the language of (22) *Evergetis* [38], ed. line 1185.
11. The monastery’s *katholikon* was not actually built until the early sixteenth century; see Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” p. 129.
12. Probably 1190 A.D.; see Laurent, “Typicon,” p. 54, endorsed by Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” p. 124, n. 13.
13. Probably 1194 A.D.
14. *beronike*: not in the dictionaries. The context indicates that it is here synonymous with the modern Greek *berniki*, “varnish.” See Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v. *berniki(on)*.
15. The Christmas fast or fast of St. Philip, from November 15 until Christmas; the fast of the Holy Apostles is from Monday after the feast of All Saints (Sunday after Pentecost) through the vigil of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 28.

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16. See the *Regula monastica ab angelo allata* 32, ed. C. Butler, *Lausiac History*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1904), p. 89. On the word for “mat,” *charadriou*, see Lampe, *PGL*, s.v.
17. See (22) *Evergetis* [27] and related documents.
18. Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 41 ([LR 41]), *PG* 31, col. 1021BD.
19. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 271–72.
20. See Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” p. 197.
21. See Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” p. 129.

Document Notes

- [1] Discussion of the need for another testament. See other examples of revisions of prior testaments in (24) *Christodoulos* [B], cf. [C]; (25) *Fragala* [B], [C], cf. [A]; and (51) *Koutloumousi* [B], [C], cf. [A].
- [2] Meditation on death. See also the other reflections on this subject in (5) *Euthymios* [3]; (6) *Rila* [2]; (7) *Latros* Introduction; (10) *Eleousa* [1]; (24) *Christodoulos* [B1]; (25) *Fragala* [A6], [B6]; (30) *Phoberos* [1]; (34) *Machairas* [1]; (35) *Skoteine* [1]; (41) *Docheiarion* [1]; (44) *Karyes* [1]; (48) *Prodomos* [1]; (49) *Geromeri* [2] ff.; (50) *Gerasimos* [1]; and (51) *Koutloumousi* [A1], [C1].
- [3], [4], [5] Founder’s autobiography. See Galatariotou, *Making of a Saint*, pp. 13–18, and Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” pp. 122–29; cf. the accounts of contemporary foundations in (34) *Machairas* [6] ff. and (35) *Skoteine* [2] ff. For a subsequent allusion to the role of Bishop Kinnamos and his successor Bakchos, see also [22] below.
- [6] Concerning the Paphians. A missing chapter, perhaps specifying the relationship of the foundation to the local diocesan authorities; cf. [5] above and [22] below.
- [7] Designation of the king of Cyprus as trustee. See also a possibly similar arrangement suggested in (34) *Machairas* [147], [161], cf. [160].
- [8] Memorandum to the emperor. Perhaps, like [12] below, a holdover from the first edition of Neophytos’ *Testament*; see also a similarly anachronistic reference in (34) *Machairas* [160]. For the author’s political outlook, see Galatariotou, *Making of a Saint*, pp. 205–25.
- [9] Increase in the number of monks; ban on the instruction of lay children. For the number of monks, see also [C16] below and (22) *Evergetis* [23]; for explicit divisions of the community into church and attendant monks, see also (28) *Pantokrator* [19], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [3], (35) *Skoteine* [9], (37) *Auxentios* [6], and (39) *Lips* [4]. (34) *Machairas* [115] also forbids the instruction of lay children, but (36) *Blemmydes* [9] argues otherwise; even our author was evidently willing to make an exception for a close relative, for which see [16] below.
- [10] Utility and dangers of landed property. For the latter, see also (34) *Machairas* [111], which permits alienation of distant properties whose administration might involve the risk of “spiritual harm.”
- [11] Provision for reading the *Rule* and canons. See also (22) *Evergetis* [43] and related documents, (32) *Mamas* [16], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], and (58) *Menoikeion* [9]. For reading of the canons to postulants, see [CB17] below.
- [12] Importance of performing the office; required commemorative and liturgical observances; moral character of officiating priest; inalienability of consecrated objects; inventory of books. Cross-referenced in [C2] below. For the daily celebration of the liturgy, see (22) *Evergetis* [5] and related documents; for the inalienability of consecrated objects, see (22) *Evergetis* [19] and related documents. Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” p. 128, discuss the contents of the foundation’s library; the existence of a longer inventory is noted in [20] below.
- [13] Exhortation to the monks; no secret eating, ban on personal possessions; threat of excommunication. For the ban on secret eating, see also (22) *Evergetis* [9], [22] and related documents. For the ban on personal possessions, see also [C10], [C19] below and (22) *Evergetis* [22] and related documents.
- [14] Election of the recluse. See also the original governing role of the recluse in (22) *Evergetis* [13].
- [15] Exhortation of the recluse. For the recommendation of manual labor, see also [18], [C6] and [C13] below; for hearing confessions, see also [21] below.
- [16] Designation of a successor. For use of a testament to designate a successor, see also (1) *Apa Abraham*

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- [1]; (10) *Eleousa* [11]; (24) *Christodoulos* [B3], [B5], [C1]; (25) *Fragala* [A7], [B7]; (41) *Docheiariou* [4]; (48) *Prodromos* [6]; (49) *Geromeri* [14]; (50) *Gerasimos* [3]; and (52) *Choumnos* [A3]. Note that in (22) *Evergetis* [13], there is also a presumption that the steward will be advanced to the superiorship.
- [17] Relations with *kelliotai*. A missing chapter; cf. comparable chapters in (24) *Christodoulos* [A24], (34) *Machairas* [152], (37) *Auxentios* [11].
- [18] Maintenance of the hermitage's garden. For monastic gardens in other documents, see (23) *Pakourianos* [32]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [79]; (34) *Machairas* [22]; (35) *Skoteine* [36]; (39) *Lips* [44], [49]; (40) *Anargyroi* [4]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [16]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [124], [145], [157], [159]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [C4].
- [19] Ban on women and female animals. Cross-referenced in [C18] below. For similar bans on women, see (22) *Evergetis* [38] and related documents, (53) *Meteora* [7], (58) *Menoikeion* [14], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C2]; for the fear of bestiality, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [5], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31], and (30) *Phoberos* [58].
- [20] Description of new buildings at the hermitage. See discussion of these structures in Mango and Hawkins, "Hermitage," pp. 133–35. The inventory mentioned here is not preserved, but see the list of books in [12] above.
- [21] Confession exclusively to the recluse or his designee. See also [15] above, with (22) *Evergetis* [15] and related documents; cf. alternate arrangements tolerated in (32) *Mamas* [29] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [29].
- [22] Episcopal confirmations of the *Rule*; curse on transgressors. For the role of the bishops of Paphos in the foundation of the hermitage, see also [5] above; there was probably a further discussion of their rights in [6]. For other thirteenth-century curses on transgressors, see also (35) *Skoteine* [46] and (37) *Auxentios* [2].
- [23] Introduction to the ascetic and Basilian canons. There is a mostly different set of the pseudo-Basilian canons in (34) *Machairas* [122] through [134].
- [C1] Purpose of the canons. For reading of the canons to the monks and to postulants, see respectively [11] above and [C17] below.
- [C2] Regulation of the midnight office. See also other regulations for this office in (20) *Black Mountain* [15], [16], (22) *Evergetis* [6] and related documents, and (44) *Karyes* [9].
- [C3] Prompt response to the summons to the offices. For the use of the semantron, see (4) *Stoudios* [2], (11) *Ath. Rule* [1], and (22) *Evergetis* [6] and related documents.
- [C4] Diet for fast days and other periods of fasting. For diets for fast days, see also (7) *Latros* [8]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [30]; (20) *Black Mountain* [38], [43]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [46]; (30) *Phoberos* [16] ff.; (32) *Mamas* [17]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], (34) *Machairas* [77]; (36) *Blemmydes* [11]; (39) *Lips* [32]; (43) *Kasoulon* [2], [5]; (55) *Athanasios I* [5]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [8]. For the regulation of the Lenten and other fasts, see also (4) *Stoudios* [29], [30]; (7) *Latros* [5]; (11) *Ath. Rule* [23], [24], [25], [26]; (20) *Black Mountain* [38R], [54], [56], [62] ff.; (22) *Evergetis* [10] and related documents; (23) *Pakourianos* [10]; (31) *Areia* [T5]; (28) *Pantokrator* [12]; (43) *Kasoulon* [2], [9], [10]; (44) *Karyes* [7]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [82]; (58) *Menoikeion* [8]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [17].
- [C5] Only exceptional absences from the monastery permitted. See also similar provisions in (3) *Theodore Studites* [10], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [33], and (55) *Athanasios I* [6].
- [C6] Playful embraces banned; commendation of manual labor. For fear of homoeroticism, see also [CB6] and (possibly) [C7] and [C9] below. For manual labor, see also [15] and [18] above and [C13] below.
- [C7] Treatment of carnal sin. Possibly a reference to homoerotic behavior; see [C6] above and [CB6] below.
- [C8] Reflection on the Latin conquest. See Galatariotou, *Making of a Saint*, pp. 219–20, and Mango and Hawkins, "Hermitage," pp. 126–27.
- [C9] No bathing or use of beds. (30) *Phoberos* [46] also forbids bathing; for the use of mats in place of beds, see the Pachomian *Praecepta* [87], ed. A. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina* (Louvain, 1932), p. 38; trans. A.

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- Veilleux, *Pachomian Chronicles* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1981), p. 160: “For sleeping . . . one must always use the reclining seat allotted to him.” with *Praecepta* [88], ed. Boon, p. 39, trans. Veilleux, p. 161: “And no one shall spread anything on his reclining seat except a mat.”
- [C10] No money or food in cells. See also [13] above, [C11] and [C19] below, and (22) *Evergetis* [22] and related documents.
- [C11] No secret eating; inspection of the monk’s cells. See also [13] and [C10] above, [C19] below, and (22) *Evergetis* [22] and related documents.
- [C12] No complaints over food. In a more specific case, see also (22) *Evergetis* [41] and related documents.
- [C13] No pursuit of handiwork for profit. For manual labor, see also [15], [18], and [C6] above.
- [C14] Impropriety of attachment to secular relatives. See also (3) *Theodore Studites* [8], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [32], and (22) *Evergetis* [18] and related documents; the penalty of excommunication is prescribed for violators below in [C19].
- [C15] Clothing to be very modest. See also (3) *Theodore Studites* [19], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [33], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [104].
- [C16] Number of monks. See also the discussion of this issue in [9] above.
- [C17] Reception of postulants. See also (24) *Christodoulos* [A26], (34) *Machairas* [60], and (55) *Athanasios I* [8].
- [C18] Charitable distribution at the gate except for women. See also [19] above, with (22) *Evergetis* [38] and related documents.
- [C19] Authorization of moderate punishments. See [13] for the sanction of excommunication inscribed in the narthex of the church.
- [C20] Scriptural lesson on love; verse summary of the canons. Cf. table of contents in [23] above.
- [CB1] Punishment for not betraying a monk planning to flee. Cf. [CB4] below and *Poenae* 40, *PG* 31, col. 1312B.
- [CB2] Punishment for unauthorized departures from the monastery. Cf. *Poenae* 12, *PG* 31, col. 1308C.
- [CB3] Punishment for conspiring to leave the monastery. Cf. *Poenae* 14, *PG* 31, col. 1308C, and the author’s personal experience as a fugitive from his original monastery in [4] above.
- [CB4] Punishment for not betraying a monk planning to flee the monastery. Cf. [CB1] above and *Poenae* 40, *PG* 31, col. 1312B; also found in (34) *Machairas* [122].
- [CB5] Punishment for unauthorized correspondence. Cf. *Poenae* 59, *PG* 31, col. 1313C; also found in (22) *Evergetis* [22] and (34) *Machairas* [131].
- [CB6] Punishment for spending the night with another monk. Cf. *Poenae* 23, *PG* 31, col. 1309B, and [C6] and (possibly) [C7] above.
- [CB7] Punishment for sleeping during chanting of psalms. Cf. *Poenae* 1, *PG* 31, col. 1305C.
- [CB8] Punishment for those receiving communion before reconciliation. Cf. *Poenae* 38, *PG* 31, col. 1312A.
- [CB9] Punishment for those exacting vengeance. Not found in our text of the *Poenae*.
- [CB10] Punishment for unauthorized distributions or receipts. Cf. *Poenae* 49, *PG* 31, col. 1312D.
- [CB11] Punishment for unauthorized donation or receipt of gifts. Cf. *Poenae* 60, *PG* 31, col. 1313C.
- [CB12] Punishment for not accepting deprivation of blessed bread. Cf. *Poenae* 29, *PG* 31, col. 1309C.
- [24] Burial prescriptions and the founder’s tomb. The tomb was later reported to have miraculous powers; see discussion and description in Mango and Hawkins, “Hermitage,” pp. 129, 183–85, 197–98.

46. *Akropolites: Testament* of Constantine Akropolites for the Monastery of the Resurrection (*Anastasis*) in Constantinople

Date: 1295–1324¹

Translator: Alice-Mary Talbot

Edition employed: H. Delehay, “Constantini Acropolitae hagiographi byzantini epistularum manipulus,” *AB* 51 (1933), 263–84, with text at 279–84.

Manuscript: Codex Ambrosianus H. 81 sup. (14th c.)²

Other translations: None

Institutional History

*A. The First Foundation*³

The origins of this Constantinopolitan monastery are obscure. The claim that it was founded by Helen, mother of the first Christian emperor Constantine (306–337), as stated [2] in the document translated below, is surely apocryphal. It was in existence by the twelfth century, when it served as the site for the liturgical commemoration of St. Auxentios, and was noted by the Russian pilgrim Antony of Novgorod. Before his election to the patriarchate, Theodotos II (1151/52–53/54) was a monk at this monastery. During the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–61), the monastery was taken over by Latin canons, at least down to 1232. According to our document, the monastery church fell [2] into disrepair and was “almost completely destroyed.” If accurate, this may have happened during the last decades of Latin rule.

B. Restoration under the Patronage of the Akropolites Family

George Akropolites, who held the office of Grand Logothete (from ca. 1259–82) under Michael VIII Palaiologos, is credited [3] by our document with the restoration of this foundation.⁴ His son Constantine, our author, is anxious to claim a commensurate share of credit for the restoration, though the extent of his actual role is open to question (see below, Analysis). That Constantine bought [6] an auxiliary chapel for the monastery that he subsequently dedicated to St. Lazarus⁵ cannot be doubted, for this donation gave rise to our document. The gift may well have been associated with an undated chrysobull of Andronikos II (1282–1328), which joins the Constantinopolitan monastery of the *Anastasis* with its much older counterpart on Mount Galesios.⁶ Janin’s conjecture that the former was restored specifically to provide a place of refuge for monks of the latter after the Turkish conquest of Asia Minor is certainly reasonable, for the translation of the head of St. Lazarus of Galesios to Constantinople on October 25 is a Palaiologan feast.⁷

In a hortatory epistle, Constantine Akropolites exhorts the monks of an unnamed monastery to care for the sick housed in a public charitable institution (*katagoge*) belonging to them.⁸ The editors suggest that the monastery in question was that of the *Anastasis* and that the letter dates from towards the end of Akropolites’ life.

C. Subsequent History of the Foundation

In May 1324, after Constantine Akropolites' death, a monk Nicandros brought a complaint before the patriarchal synod of Isaïas (1323–32) alleging that his agreement with Makarios Tarchaniotes, superior of the *Anastasis* monastery, to build a church with a few monastic cells on a neighboring property belonging to that monastery had been violated by Akropolites, who ordered the demolition of these structures.⁹ The synod ordered the monastery to repay Nicandros his expenses and the rent payments he had already made in accordance with his prior agreement. In 1367, Myron, another superior of the *Anastasis*, stood trial before the patriarchal synod of Philotheos (1364–76).¹⁰ The last mention of the monastery is in the fifteenth century, when a meeting was held there to discuss the church unification proposals of Pope Eugenius IV (1431–47); therefore it is likely to have survived down to the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

Analysis

This document was written for a traditional private religious foundation, of which the author's father, George Akropolites (1217–82), was [3] "master" (*kyrios*), thanks to his role in rebuilding it from ruins after the Byzantine reoccupation of Constantinople in 1261.

The author is anxious to assert his own claim to being considered a founder (*ktetor*) or at least a restorer (*anakainistes*) of this foundation. More than half of this document ([1] through [5]) is given over to an elaborate attempt to build up the author's personal role in the reconstruction of this foundation. Since he admits [3] that he was only a child at the time, his actual role must have been minimal or non-existent. Previously when the concept of hereditary patronal rights was stronger, it would have been sufficient for the author to establish his relationship to the founder rather than (as here) make an elaborate defense of his personal contribution to the foundation's welfare.

Of his father's claim to the title of *ktetor* there could be no doubt. The author provides [3] interesting details of the financial accounting done for the reconstruction and notes that his father spent some 16,000 gold pieces until he decided to stop counting. The author claims [4] his father reduced his expected inheritance in view of the expectation that he would be inheriting the church from him instead. Later, his father reduced [5] the author's original inheritance of 7,000 gold pieces further in order to cover unanticipated expenses of the reconstruction. It is noteworthy that, long after the triumph of the reform movement's ideas on the inalienability of ecclesiastical property, the patronage of a church could be quantified in a sum of money thought comparable to a share in an inheritance. The father told his son to appeal to an icon of Christ in the church should he ever find himself in need. This may be taken to mean that the author considered that the foundation had an obligation to bail him out of any future financial difficulty.

The author's actual financial contribution [5] to the foundation was considerably more modest than that of his father, even on his own admission, some 1,000 gold pieces as opposed to more than 17,000 for his father. On the grounds of this expense as well as his foregone inheritance, the author considers [6] that "rightly double the [reward] of founders" was due to him. He had already buried his wife Maria in the monastery, a traditional patron's right. However, his principal concern in this document was to instruct the officials of the foundation how they were to discharge the "debt" owed to him. Specifically, the foundation was to conduct [6] commemorative services in the large church for the author, his children, and his descendants. At the chapel of St. Lazarus, a priest and two other resident clergy were to celebrate the liturgy at least three times a week, more

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often if the chapel should gain additional funding from other benefactors. Saturday liturgy was reserved for the author, his wife, and his mother Eudokia.

The author also provides [6] for the celebration of the morning and evening hymnody. Services were to be coordinated with those taking place in the main church so that they occurred simultaneously, synchronized by the ringing of the church bell. Morning services would begin [7] in the large church, then the clergy assigned to the chapel would depart to start the hymnody in the chapel “together with the public congregation.” Additionally, annual commemorations were to be performed for the patron saint, and for the author, his wife, and his mother “in accordance with the times and prosperity (of the monastery),” a note of realism born of the newly restored empire’s poverty.

The author did not want professional singers (known as *kraktai* or *kalliphonoi*) to participate [7] in these commemorative services, “for it is intended that they should sing when there is a congregation of people, but only the monks should perform the hymns of the vigil.” This restriction was to hold also on feasts of the Lord and on the feast day marking the inauguration of the chapel. Judging from other documents,¹¹ it appears that the *kalliphonoi* had been developing since Komnenian times as professional singing troupes. There was one associated with the imperial court in the late thirteenth century, and the growing taste for secular musical performance apparently led to similar groups being imported into some monastic communities to lend extra festivity to special feast days. But being hired troupes, founders like our author may have thought that they would not be as efficacious as monks as intercessors.

The author emphasizes [8] the supplementary nature of the present document and its applicability only to the chapel of St. Lazarus, “while all the (affairs) of the monastery should be administered and managed as has been previously ordained and regulated”—presumably in a formal *typikon* issued earlier by his father. Nearly two hundred years before, (27) *Kecharitomene* [76] explicitly recognized the validity of documents like this one in decreeing: “The commemorations for those who were glad to offer and dedicate something of their own possessions will be carried out in whatever way they decree from what is given by them, that is, as an addition (*eis prostheken*) to what has been decreed by us.” This document then is an example of such a *prosthete*. Our author asserts that “my desires are not burdensome, nor do they require any expenditure of funds, as you yourselves can calculate.” This must have been an important consideration in order for foundations to be assured that carrying out the conditions of certain benefactions did not actually cause a drain on the resources of their principal endowments.

Overall, the author stresses the contractual nature of the relationship between himself and the foundation, stating at one point, “In view of my demands, it would be sufficient to bind you with a reasonable and acceptable oath.” This is a testimony to the significantly increased institutional autonomy that even a private monastery might enjoy in Palaiologan times thanks to the generalized acceptance of once radical reform ideas on this subject. If, as this document shows, the memory of more substantial financial rights of patronage had not entirely faded from the minds of contemporary benefactors, in actual practice holders of hereditary *ktetoreia* found themselves reduced to the status of the outside benefactors anticipated in (27) *Kecharitomene* [76], entitled to only such rights as they could negotiate with the recipient foundation in exchange for their tangible assistance.

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Notes on the Introduction

1. The document must date from after 1295, when Constantine Akropolites' wife Maria died (so Nicol, "Prosopographical Note," pp. 252, 253), for Maria herself was deceased when it was drawn up. A decision of the patriarchal synod under Isaias (1323–32) (ed. MM 1.102–04 = Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2110), dated to May 1324, provides a *terminus ante quem*, since Akropolites is mentioned in it as being deceased.
2. See description in Delehay, "Constantini Acropolitae," pp. 264–69.
3. See Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 20–21.
4. For the author's father, see Macrides, "George Akropolites," p. 49.
5. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 298.
6. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 2085, ed. MM 5.264–67.
7. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 21; cf. vol. 2, p. 249.
8. Dennis and Miller, "Care for the Sick," pp. 416–20, with English translation, pp. 417–21.
9. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2110, ed. MM 1.102–4.
10. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2529, ed. MM 1.490.
11. (27) *Kecharitomenē* [75] and (37) *Lips* [39]; cf. the attitude shown towards sung hymns in (36) *Blemmydes* [13].

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Translation

A testamentary oration on the restoration of the church of the Resurrection of Our Lord.

1. What worthy offering could one make to God, who fills the heaven and earth, who has provided us with our very existence, and who was made incarnate and surrendered himself to death so that we might recover once more the well-being that we had lost on account of our transgression? How could one repay him for so many and such great blessings? Even if one were to offer himself in addition to his ostensible property (and I say "ostensible" because in truth nothing belongs to us who have been born and received mortal life), he will still fall immeasurably short in his debt; for what he has given is what he has received [from the Creator], and what payment would he need to pay off his debt? What repayment could one make equivalent to such gifts, where would he find them, from whom could he borrow them? It is in no way possible, in no way, to repay our benefac-

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tor for our blessings. Because he who is superior to us, and above all nature superior to ours [sc. nature of angels], was born in our likeness for our sake, we would not be able to repay him with deeds, nor to show our worthy gratitude with mere words. Nevertheless, [praise be to his] supremely infinite goodness, to his incomparable compassion and goodness to us, he accepts our grateful thanksgiving alone as a sufficient repayment, and presents in return a many times greater gift, and lavishes upon us the enjoyment of eternal blessings.

2. Thus, when I mulled over these things in my mind, I thought of the church dedicated to the Resurrection of our Lord and Savior, which was originally constructed from its very foundations by the celebrated St. Helen,¹ mother of the famous emperor Constantine, the equal of the apostles. For it was damaged by “time which subdues all,”² and was restored and consolidated again with imperial support, but after the conquest of Constantinople by the Italians it was once more reduced to ruins and almost completely destroyed, so as to have no expectation of reconstruction. Since I did not think it right to neglect it, although most everyone else equal to me, or even superior to me in rank and wealth, did not dare to lay a hand on it, [p. 280] I undertook the restoration, or rather reconstruction of this church, totally and with all my soul, and spared no expense. For many blessings have been granted to me by the bountiful right hand of God, from whom I received the greatest gift, a reputation for learning and wisdom, as others might perhaps say, although I myself would say a desirable education and a noble pursuit.

Therefore I spent a considerable sum of money to restore the fallen blocks of the holy structure, and properly braced and stabilized the roof, which was supported as it were on unstable [trusses] (so that I may say something similar to the one who said that the universe moves on an immovable foundation), and was in imminent danger of collapse; and the sight of these is the proof and my actions are unimpeachable witnesses to my words. Let me briefly describe the church or rather the present monastery.

3. I paid a salary of 1000 gold pieces, which was counted out and weighed, to the men who excavated the dirt, and cleared the area of debris, both the foundations and their surroundings. I will omit how I shared the labor of removal with my employees. But I will add another point to give greater credence to my tale. Specially assigned secretaries recorded in detail on paper the gold pieces delivered to the supervisors of the project, as is customary for those who undertake large projects. They made a monthly accounting, and after a year had passed, the expenditure was reckoned; when the supervisors stated that they had spent 16,000 gold pieces, my father [George Akropolites] said in reply: “From now on I do not want the expenses to be recorded in a ledger; for I do not give this [money] to man, I offer it to God who gave [it to me]. Thus, as if he were supervising, spend what you receive, and, as they say, ‘the experiment will show’³ how much was given and spent.” But now let me explain why I spoke as I did and how I joined my father in this notable project, and said I would be his associate in this magnificent undertaking, and how I accomplished this in a not unreasonable manner. For it is clear that he was the master of his property and whatever is and is shown (?) was accomplished by him alone. For I was still a child when this project was completed.

4. Therefore I included myself in the project, and made his purely personal undertaking common to both of us, not because I was born of him, nor because I happened to be his first-born son

(although [p. 281] this did contribute in a small way to my decision), but because he wished to bequeath to me as his first-born more than to the others. When I became involved in the project, he reduced my inheritance more than that of the others. For standing before the Lord and Savior, whose name the church bears, he spoke as follows to me—when I was devoting my time to school, as he urged, studying a general curriculum and visiting him from time to time—for he entrusted me to instructors and appointed tutors.

5. Thus once when I left my lessons and went to see him, when I learned that he was at the monastery, inspecting the progress, I was filled with concern and anxiety; for I thought that he would ask me one of his usual questions, such as: “What have you been taught this week? About whom did you learn yesterday? The day before?” He said nothing about these subjects, however, but took me by the hand and, entering the church, gazed at the icon of our God and Savior. “This is the One,” he said, “who provided being to those that exist, he who grants life to the living, the total Creator of everything. ‘He produced everything from non-being,’⁴ he also governs everything. According to the psalmist, ‘When he opens his hand, he fills every living thing with pleasure’ (Ps. 144 [145]:16). He is the One who also provided me with learning, the most honorable thing in life, which nothing on earth can equal, as one of the wise pagans testified;⁵ on account of it I became illustrious and prosperous, and I assisted most of my relatives; for I will pass over how I relieved the need even of strangers to the best of my ability. Now for the sake of these [blessings] and on account of them, I have undertaken this great project and have spent a lot of money, and am willing to spend in the future; therefore I intend to reduce your inheritance significantly. For I originally proposed to give you more; but since I need more [money], subtracting one-seventh in addition to one half of the remainder, I will bequeath the rest to you. (The sum he originally planned to give me was 7000 gold pieces.) But if you should ever be in want of necessities, God forbid, then come to this [icon], and gazing at the Lord Christ, say to him: ‘Benevolent Lord, as thou knowest well, my father spent most of my inheritance on thy church, and now I am in need and am in want of necessities. Therefore do not allow me to continue longer in miserable need, O bountiful provider.’ My dearest child, I am confident that, as a result of the ineffable mercies of this infinitely good Christ, he will not leave you unprovided for; [p. 282] but whatever you need, he will provide you with unexpected means.”

6. For these reasons I spoke as I did, and did not lie by saying that I collaborated with my father in the work; therefore, I, too, became with good reason a founder of this monastery, or rather a restorer, as I have explained; and rightly double the [reward] of founders is due to me. For when my wife [Maria Komnene Tornikina] died, I buried her body in this [monastery]. I purchased the chapel which is inserted near the large church, donating the gold pieces which the monks agreed to spend for its completion, and I want this debt [i.e., contribution] to be used for my commemorative services. For they should be performed in the large church on behalf of myself and my children and their descendants; but I also desire and wish that certain special [feast days] be celebrated there. Therefore I donated 300 gold staters and I ordered that next year the same amount be added.

The chapel which I bought and acquired should be honored with the name of the holy and miracle-working Lazarus.⁶ Therefore from now on no one should call it by any other name. As is

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the custom in churches named after holy men or martyrs, the name of the saint should be included in the prayer of dismissal at both morning and evening services. The divine and holy liturgy should be celebrated in this [chapel] three times a week; but if it should be necessary for the liturgy to be celebrated there more often, on account of certain people's request or some other necessity, I do not forbid it, rather I like and welcome [the idea]. But right now three should be celebrated. As for the large church, it is my pleasure and decision that all services be performed as has been previously ordained.⁷

The first [liturgy] should be offered to our Savior Christ on the first day [of the week], the Lord's Day, as is customary; the second on Thursday, in commemoration of the memory of St. Lazarus, after whom the church is named; and the third on Saturday, the last day of the week, on behalf of the soul of my late mother Eudokia, and on behalf of myself, Constantine, and my wife Maria. I want a priest who is a precentor to reside there, as well as two other members of the clergy, in order to offer up to God the Savior morning and evening hymns every day; and I want them to be at the same time as the [services] in the large church, and for the hymns to be sung together in both places. For the [p. 283] *semantron*, the holy bell, ought to awaken and assemble everyone together in the church named after the Lord.

7. Since the arrangement of the public and communal hymnodies is greatly lengthened by introductory and additional prayers and psalms, and by the reading of holy Scriptures, and especially in the stricter monasteries, among which this monastery of the Resurrection of Christ once numbered (and may it take the lead again as it did once in the past), the [monks] assembled in the large church should participate in the hymns and prayers until the beginning of the canons; and then two or three, together with the precentor—to whom the superior of the monastery would grant permission—would go to the sanctuary of St. Lazarus to perform the morning hymnody to Christ the Savior, and should finish it together with the public congregation. They should follow the same procedure at the divine liturgy. For it must be celebrated in the large church, preceded by the singing of selected verses of the Psalms and the *stichera*, as it is usually extended. Therefore the bloodless and salvific sacrifice should not begin in both churches at the same time, but the time should be calculated, for the reasons which I have mentioned, so that if possible neither of them finish before the other.

The annual commemoration of St. Lazarus should be celebrated forthwith and in perpetuity, and it should be celebrated solemnly and in a manner befitting God. *Kraktai* (to whom most people give the more euphonious name of *kalliphonoi* "singers with beautiful voices") should not be invited, nor should they come and enter uninvited; for when there is a congregation of people, it is intended that they should sing, but only monks should perform the hymns of vigil. The same should hold true at the dominical and important feast day of the *enkainia*.⁸ I do not make these statements by way of injunctions, but I am giving instructions and setting forth what seems to me a more solemn procedure. Immediately after the feast day of the saint my own commemoration should take place, that is, of my late mother, and myself, and my wife. It should be celebrated in accordance with the times and the prosperity [of the monastery]; I only beg that it not be overlooked.

8. These are the [services] I wish and desire to be performed in the church [of Lazarus] that I

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acquired, while all the [affairs] of the monastery should be administered and managed as has been previously ordained and regulated. Therefore, by our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, by the blessed hopes for which you renounced the world and the ruler of the world, [p. 284] do not disobey my wishes and request. For my desires are not burdensome, nor do they require any expenditure of funds, as you yourselves can calculate. In view of my demands, it would be sufficient to bind you with a reasonable and acceptable oath. But let me add something else, much less important than what I have said, but more customary for Christians and especially for monks. Thus, may you enjoy your salvation, may you attain the promised blessings, as you maintain and strive to accomplish these things. May both you and we attain them, you who dwell in this divine enclosure, and we who take confidence in your prayers, through the intercessions of the eternally virgin Mother of God, through the supplications of the holy Constantine and Helen, the equals of the apostles, through the prayers of St. Lazarus, renowned for his asceticism, through the grace and loving kindness of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ, to whom is owed all glory, honor and veneration, together with his eternal Father and the all-holy and good and life-giving Spirit, now and unto everlasting ages, Amen.

Notes on the Translation

1. An apocryphal attribution; see above, Institutional History.
2. Simonides, *Fragm.* 5 [4].5.
3. Plato, *Theaet.* 200e.
4. John Chrysostom, *Liturgy*, ed. F. E. Brightman (London, 1896), p. 369, lines 27–29; p. 384, lines 27–28.
5. Unidentified quotation.
6. The mid-eleventh century author of (9) *Galesios*.
7. Presumably in a formal *typikon* issued by the author's father George Akropolites; see also [8] below.
8. For the feast of the *enkainia*, see (39) *Lips*, n. 11.

Document Notes

- [1] Impossibility of repaying the Creator. See also the reflections on this subject in (19) *Attaleiates* [2], (27) *Kecharitomene*, Prologue, and (38) *Kellibara I* [1].
- [2] Prior history of the foundation. For other foundations restored in Palaiologan times after ruination during the Latin conquest of Constantinople, see (37) *Auxentios*, Institutional History, and (38) *Kellibara I* [12].
- [3] Patronage by George Akropolites. For the author's father, see Macrides, "George Akropolites," p. 49.
- [4] Origin of Constantine Akropolites' role. For inherited roles in patronage of religious institutions, see also (27) *Kecharitomene* [3], [80]; (28) *Pantokrator* [70]; (32) *Mamas* [3]; (35) *Skoteine* [7], [8]; (37) *Auxentios* [15]; (38) *Kellibara I* [16]; (39) *Lips* [3]; (56) *Kellibara II*, Institutional History; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [19], [146], [158], [159].
- [5] Reduction of Constantine's paternal inheritance. For the explicit derivation of a private profit from a religious institution, see (19) *Attaleiates* [24], [37].
- [6] Assertion of patronal privileges; prescriptions for commemorative liturgies. For contemporary assertions of these rights, see (37) *Auxentios* [13]; (39) *Lips* [30], [42], [52]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [113], [114], [117], [116], [119], [134], [136], [142], [149], [150], [151]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [C15].
- [7] Coordination of services in the church and chapel; ban on use of *kraktai*. For liturgical processions elsewhere, see (4) *Stoudios* [A2]; (28) *Pantokrator* [29], [31]; and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [103]. For analogues to the *kraktai*, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [75] and (39) *Lips* [39].

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- [8] Confirmation of existing regulations; new requirements not financially burdensome; benefits of fulfillment. For respect for prior *typika* in other foundations, see (13) *Ath. Typikon* [12], [13], [18], [20], [23]; (14) *Ath. Testament* [3]; (15) *Constantine IX*, Introduction, [1], [2], [3], [6], [7], [8], [13]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [51]; (34) *Machairas* [4]; (40) *Anargyroi* [1]; (59) *Manuel II*, Introduction; and (60) *Charsianeites* [A12], [B1], [C10].

47. *Philanthropos*: *Typikon* of Irene Choumnaina Palaiologina for
the Convent of Christ *Philanthropos* in Constantinople

Date: ca. 1307¹

Translator: Alice-Mary Talbot

Edition employed: Ph. Meyer, “Bruchstücke zweier *typika ktetorika*,” *BZ* 4 (1895), 45–58, with text at 48–49.

Manuscript: Iveron codex 593 (1540 A.D.)²

Other translations: None

Institutional History

A. Foundation under the Choumnos Family

Irene Choumnaina, the daughter of the influential courtier Nikephoros Choumnos, was the founder of this convent, to which she retired under the monastic name Eulogia after the death of her husband the *despot* John Palaiologos, eldest son of Andronikos II and Yolanda-Irene of Montferrat, in 1307. This foundation was built into the Theodosian sea walls in the extreme easternmost part of Constantinople, on the site of an earlier monastic complex about which nothing is known. For nearly fourteen years until his death in 1322, Eulogia’s spiritual advisor was Theoleptos, metropolitan of Philadelphia. Five of his letters to her on monastic subjects are preserved. These provide useful insights into Eulogia’s suitability for leadership and various disciplinary problems in the foundation. Some ten to fifteen years after Theoleptos’ death, Eulogia acquired another spiritual advisor, a young monk whose identity is unknown. An extensive correspondence between them has been edited by Angela Hero.³

There was a companion male monastery associated with the convent also bearing a dedication to Christ *Philanthropos*. At the conclusion of his career, Nikephoros Choumnos retired to this monastery under the monastic name Nathaniel. In his *Testament*, he leaves instructions for his burial there and claims that he and his wife were responsible for building it.⁴ His wife, Eulogia’s mother, evidently retired at the same time to the convent under her daughter’s direction. Nikephoros died at the monastery in 1327, and his wife at the convent a little later. Eulogia herself died circa 1355.

*B. Subsequent History and Fate of the Foundation*⁵

The Russian pilgrim, deacon Zosima, reports the existence of the convent of *Philanthropos* ca. 1420. Other Russian travelers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries point out a famous miracle-working image of Christ. There was also a miraculous, healing fountain located under the church which flowed into a cistern on the beach outside the sea walls and then out onto the sand. Majeska (*Russian Travelers*, pp. 373–74) reports that this fountain was visited by local Greek Christians

down to the nineteenth century even though it was then on the grounds of the sultan's palace, the construction of which surely led to the demolition of the rest of the Christian complex. Both the cistern and substructures of various monastic buildings still exist on the site. Excavations carried out by the French army of occupation in Constantinople in 1921–23 have made it possible to identify the foundations of the former church.

Analysis

This text owes its preservation to Pachomios Rhousanos, a monk of the Athonite monastery of Iveron, who in 1540 transcribed the surviving excerpt of this document along with that of (56) *Kellibara II* in support of his attack on the idiorhythmic monastic foundations that were popular in his own day. He was clearly looking for authoritative pro-cenobitic citations such as this document provides. His excerpts from (56) *Kellibara II* are concerned with related themes of monastic equality ultimately derived from the Evergetian monastic reform movement.

A. Model Typikon

The excerpt that makes up all that remains of this document here is a reworking of Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene's (27) *Kecharitomene* [2].⁶ Since the Komnenian empress was also the founder of an identically named male monastery of Christ *Philanthropos* for which she presumably wrote a *typikon* analogous to (27) *Kecharitomene*, the document represented by this excerpt here may have been an adaptation (genders changed) of that institution's lost *typikon*.⁷ However, Janin thought that the Komnenian and the Palaiologan foundations were entirely different foundations, located in different areas of Constantinople.⁸

In any event, this document is a valuable example of the utilization and elaboration by an author in Palaiologan times of a much older document in the Evergetian tradition. Even if there was in fact no institutional link between the Komnenian and Palaiologan monasteries of the Philanthropic Savior, there is other evidence of a renewed popularity of the Evergetian monastic usages in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. As we have seen, (37) *Auxentios* shares certain usages and even a few similarities of diction with (22) *Evergetis*. Like (47) *Philanthropos*, (58) *Menoikeion* appears to copy another document in the later Evergetian tradition, specifically (32) *Mamas*. Moreover, (39) *Lips* and (56) *Kellibara II* both suggest an acquaintance with Evergetian models, (27) *Kecharitomene* and (22) *Evergetis* respectively.

B. Lives of the Nuns

The author's enthusiastic endorsement [1] of cenobitic life, while actually traceable to (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], is credited both to "the holy and inspired fathers of old" and contemporary authorities, namely bishops, ascetics, monks and nuns, presumably including (so Trone, "Philanthropic Savior," p. 84) the author's own spiritual mentor Theoleptos, metropolitan of Philadelphia († ca. 1322) and Patriarch Athanasios I (1289–1293, 1303–1309), author of (55) *Athanasios I*. The essentials of the cenobitic life [2] were the common refectory, kitchen, and manual labor. Nuns were expected to devote the "appropriate amount of attention" to the communal activities of handiwork, ecclesiastical services, housekeeping duties, and reading and prayer in their cells. This suggests a common participation in these activities rather than the specialization by particular

classes of nuns that was featured at other contemporary institutions, e.g., (39) *Lips* [4]. A nun caught practicing private crafts or cooking food in her cell was to be disciplined “no matter who she is” (i.e., regardless of social standing) and expelled if unrepentant.

The author singles out [2] for condemnation nuns having an entrepreneurial approach to their work. As in (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], the convent’s cenobitic constitution was not to change [3] regardless of whether the foundation became richer or poorer in the future. Her adoption of her model’s prescription [4] that the superior should oppose the nuns or vice versa should any constitutional change away from cenobiticism be proposed omits the oversight roles provided for in (27) *Kecharitomene* [2] for the protectress and the founder’s relatives. At the end of his excerpt, Pachomios Rhousanos appends a note that suggests that the lost text of our document continued at length in a similar vein, emphasizing the virtues of monastic poverty.⁹

Notes on the Introduction

1. See Hero, “Irene-Eulogia” (1981), p. 5.
2. See Meyer, “Bruchstücke,” p. 50.
3. Hero, *Woman’s Quest*, pp. 26–100, with English translation, pp. 27–101.
4. Nikephoros Choumnos, *Testamentum*, PG 140, cols. 1465–98, esp. 1481.
5. See Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 528, and Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 371–74.
6. First noticed by Salaville, “Formes,” p. 46.
7. For pronoun gender changes, see Trone, “Philanthropic Savior,” p. 84.
8. Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 527–29, cf. 525–27.
9. The note may refer to a lost chapter of (47) *Philanthropos* based on (27) *Kecharitomene* [50], though that particular chapter is not in fact very long. It is also possible that Pachomios’ reference is to other lost chapters in (47) *Philanthropos* and/or (56) *Kellibara II* that were independent of those extant in the known models for these respective documents.

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Key: As noted above, the author of this *typikon* utilizes a portion of (27) *Kecharitomene*. In our translation, the borrowings are indicated in boldface type.

Translation

[An excerpt] from the *typikon* of the venerable monastery of Christ the Philanthropic Savior, restored from its foundations by the pious princess Irene Laskarina Palaiologina, who took the name Eulogia after adopting the divine and angelic habit, and by her parents,¹ [the said *typikon*] having been expounded and issued by her.

[1.] [cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], ed. lines 218–23]: I think it would be **right that something be said more clearly and briefly next concerning the way of life of the nuns and the whole**

organization of life in the convent. For **what will be prescribed on this matter will be compatible with what has been clearly stated and declared by** the holy and inspired **fathers** of old, the present holy bishops and the most experienced ascetics and monks, as well as elderly nuns, who over a long period of time have assembled exact and true experience of asceticism. **For they decided and laid it down that those** who have renounced the world and worldly things **and took refuge in the calm harbor of monastic life** in accordance with God, that they should follow a **cenobitic way of life and give themselves up to [a life of] submission, renouncing their own will,** which the fathers termed “mortification.”

[2.] [cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], ed. lines 226–29]: **Therefore obeying these [authorities], I very much wish and desire that the nuns in the convent** of my Philanthropic Savior **should live in a cenobitic order and way of life** and not only should they all have a common refectory, but also a common kitchen and the same handiwork. For thus [the nuns] would devote the appropriate amount of attention [to all their] common [activities], their handiwork, church services, all the [housekeeping] duties, reading [p. 49] and prayer in their cells, and all other spiritual labor, since thereby they behave like nuns and not like businesswomen and even worse than laymen. If one of the nuns should be caught doing her own private handiwork, or preparing food in her private cell, she should be severely censured and disciplined, and banished from the church and the refectory until she mends her ways, no matter who she is. If she should disobey and act insolently and not be willing to mend her ways, she is to be expelled from the convent. For a few women gathered in the name of the Lord are far superior to many who reject a life in accordance with God and the monastic and ascetic mode of conduct.²

[3.] [= (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], ed. lines 229–39]: Thus my majesty wishes that **the rule** of such a cenobitic system **should always be in force in it, unchanged and unaltered and unshaken by every misfortune, perverted or changed in no way during the existence of this whole age, nor altered for any reason or pretext whatsoever, neither because of wealth or poverty, neither through scarcity or abundance, nor any other plausible reason or pretext whatsoever, but the cenobitic order and way of life should be completely preserved in every way unbroken for ever. Even if the entire income of the convent should happen to be reduced to what would be enough for two nuns, we wish them to live in the cenobitic way and conform to the rule for this way of life.**

[4.] [= (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], ed. lines 239–48]: **If a future superior wants to countermand this, the nuns** have permission **to speak against it, and if the nuns** should attempt **the opposite,** she has permission to overrule them. **But if she and the nuns should both be led astray, we grant permission to anyone who wishes to fight for a holy object to go to court for goodness itself and the reward for this, to seek that what we have laid down should be effective and that those chiefly responsible for the dissolution of the cenobitic way of life be expelled from the convent and not consider this a small achievement but one that is very great and brings salvation.**

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[Scribal note:] The *typika*³ of the pious rulers also had other chapters on poverty, but I omitted them because of their length.

Notes on the Translation

1. Nikephoros Choumnos and Choumnaina; see Verpeaux, “La famille Choumnos,” pp. 254–57.
2. Cf. the language of (22) *Evergetis* [23].
3. (47) *Philanthropos* and (56) *Kellibara II*.

Document Notes

- [1] Sources of authority for the cenobitic life. Shared in part with (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], (32) *Mamas* [5], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [5].
- [2] Common refectory, kitchen, and handiwork; practice of reading and prayer in the cells but no private handiwork or cooking. Shared in part with (27) *Kecharitomene* [2].
- [3] Inalterability of the cenobitic life. Shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [2].
- [4] Superior and nuns may prevent one another from instituting changes; outsiders may bring suit to prevent abandonment of cenobiticism. Shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [2].

48. *Prodromos: Testament of Neilos*¹ for the Monastery
of St. John the Forerunner (*Prodromos*) on Mount Athos

Date: 1330–31²

Translator: Stephen Reinert

Edition employed: Nicolas Oikonomides, *Actes de Docheiariou* (= *Archives de l’Athos* 13) (Paris, 1984), 133–38, with text at 135–38.

Manuscript: Docheiariou 101 (possible 14th-c. autograph)³

Other translations: None

Institutional History

According to the *Testament* translated below, the site of this foundation had originally been [2] the residence of a solitary named John, the author’s spiritual father, located in a densely wooded area of Mount Athos belonging to the Docheiariou monastery for which (41) *Docheiariou* had been written in the early years of the twelfth century. Our author Neilos, who joined John there, inherited [3] the improvised settlement when the latter died on a journey in Thessalonike. Neilos managed to obtain [11] from Arsenios, who is attested as superior of Docheiariou in 1287, an annual stipend (*diakonia*) for the support of a more permanent dependency. According to an inscription of the seventeenth or eighteenth century, this small dependency of the Docheiariou monastery was built in 1294–95 during the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328).⁴

The present *Testament* would have been composed a generation later, in 1330–31, as the founder Neilos sought to arrange [6] the succession in favor of his own spiritual sons Daniel and Iakobos. The ruins of this foundation are to be found on Mount Athos an hour’s journey from Docheiariou towards the mountain’s administrative center at Karyes.

Analysis

This brief *Testament*, composed by the founder Neilos for the small monastery (*monydrion*) of St. John the Forerunner (*Prodromos*), is useful, considered along with (44) *Karyes*, for illuminating the relationship between a mother house (here, the Athonite monastery of Docheiariou, for which see also (41) *Docheiariou*) and one of its dependencies. Unlike the author of (44) *Karyes* [13], however, who was much more assertive of his foundation’s entitlement to non-interference from its mother house, our author here seems to have been in a weaker position, bound by prior engagements to the great monastery in exchange for its financial support.

Although this is essentially a transmissory document rather than a regulatory *typikon*, it incorporates several common features of the latter genre, including the foundation history [2], [3], a prohibition on alienation of property [7], prescriptions for commemorative services [9] and illumination of the church [10], and an inventory [14] of movable property. This is additional evidence for the convergence of the once very distinct testamentary and regulatory foundation documents.

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A. Lives of the Monks

As an essentially transmissory document, the *Testament* has little to say about the lives of the monks. The monastery was designed [3] to house “a sufficiently large community of brothers.” They were, however, to offer [9] commemorative services (*mnemosyna*) and offer *kollyba* (on Fridays) for the emperors (perhaps in acknowledgement of imperial patronage for the mother house), for the founders (*ktetores*) of Docheiariou, its superior and its brotherhood, and for the author himself. Except for Neilos’ own commemoration, these were likely obligations of the mother house that passed down to its dependencies.

B. Constitutional Matters

1. Relationship with the Mother House

There seems to have been another document, or perhaps an oral understanding, between Docheiariou and Neilos permitting the latter to build this dependent monastery. The monks of Docheiariou apparently drove a hard bargain, requiring Neilos to seek [17] their approval (and that of the Athonite *protos*) for transmission of the monastery to his successors, to provide [9] commemorative services for themselves and their patron the emperor, and to deliver [15] a half-share (later increased to virtually all) of the monastery’s olive and wine crop.

Accordingly, the author records [4] clearing his plans for the succession with the *protos* of the holy mountain and the superiors of the greater monasteries; he also consulted with and obtained [17] the permission of the monks of Docheiariou. Having established [17] that the present document introduced nothing “perverse or injurious” to the interests of Docheiariou, he makes bold [16] to threaten anyone from the main monastery with “canonical penalties” and the vengeance of the patronal saint, John the Baptist, if there is any attempt to overturn his *Testament*.

2. Governance

The author provides [6] that the ordained monks Daniel and Iakobos, his spiritual sons, were to take joint charge of the monastery after his death. The author had himself inherited [3] the site where he was to build the present monastery from his own spiritual father John. Of the author’s successors, Daniel was to be the senior partner, but he was to govern [8] with the advice and consent of Iakobos, not arbitrarily. However, if Daniel should decline the monastery’s leadership, he was not to be allowed to take [12] any of the institution’s property with him. If he accepted, Iakobos was to succeed him as leader should he die in office. After Daniel and Iakobos, the author provides [13] that an ordained and virtuous monk should be superior, assisted by another ordained monk.

Neilos’ injunctions [7] to his successors reflect conventional concerns of private patrons as well as the traditions of the Athonite communities: they were not to appropriate anything of the foundation for themselves, have a horse or servant, or make frequent excursions away from Athos.

C. Financial Matters

The monastery was the recipient [11] of an annual stipend that Arsenios, the superior of Docheiariou, and his elders had granted for its support; the author expected that this would continue after his own death. The monastery owed [15] certain dues to Docheiariou as well, including all the pro-

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duce from an olive grove and a vineyard except for a section marked off for its own use. The author also makes a donation of ten *hyperpyra* as a gift to Docheiariou, perhaps for memorial services for himself.

There is a brief inventory [14] of the monastery's movable properties, including sacred vessels, service books, and a few volumes of ascetic literature by John Klimakos, Makarios of Egypt, and Mark the Hermit.

Notes on the Introduction

1. Oikonomides, *Docheiariou*, p. 134, bases this attribution on the dating; Neilos "of the monastery of the *Prodromos* of Docheiariou" is known as the signatory of an act of the Xenophon monastery, dated to 1322.
2. Dating is based on a note on the verso of the document by an annotator made in 1785, based on a portion of the text now lost; see Oikonomides, *Docheiariou*, p. 134.
3. See Oikonomides, *Docheiariou*, p. 133.
4. See Oikonomides, *Docheiariou*, p. 134.

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Translation

[1.] Inasmuch as I see the end of [my] life approaching—and this [my] advanced age proclaims distinctly—I deem it necessary to make arrangements for the brothers under me and the small monastery¹ which I raised up with God[’s help], and which is honored with the name of John, the venerable and glorious Prophet, Forerunner and Baptist. But lest the ignorant be uncertain about the background of this [monastery], and whence my zeal for it originated, it is fitting that I begin by relating [these matters].

[2.] My spiritual father, that holy abba John of blessed memory, was ever content, in accord with his personal goal, to inhabit those places he might find suitable for tranquil solitude. He loved to dwell in that spot where presently the aforementioned small monastery which we built [can be] seen, and which lies within the territory of the venerable monastery of Docheiariou. At that time [the place] was harsh and cheerless, yet it was pleasing for his purpose, and indeed offered [him] everything. [He and I] dwelt there together a considerable length of time in some small makeshift cells, and we were content with what we had procured as a dwelling place.

[3.] [His] life came to an end while he was away in Thessalonike on some spiritual necessity. Thus was I left alone, yet I decided that I should not depart from this place owing to [his] paternal command [that I remain]. I began, with all [my] might, to clear the dense woods in that area, and thus to change its savagery into docility—but not without the knowledge and consent of the supe-

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rior of the venerable monastery of Docheiariou, and of the entire community. So, with God[’s help], first, I raised up this church, as seen, in the name of John, the venerable and glorious Prophet, Forerunner, and Baptist. [p. 136] I built cells for a sufficiently large community of brothers, and with much labor I dug a well, and planted a vineyard and an olive grove. I provided holy icons and books for the church, each of which will be described below.² Without elaborating point by point [all that I did, suffice it to say that], with God’s assistance, I completed this small monastery, such as it appears now, from nothing.

[4.] Wishing to make future arrangements for [this monastery] according to my intent, I relayed and made known this [desire] to our most holy common father, the *protos* of the Holy Mountain,³ and he, as well as [our] most holy fathers, the superiors of the venerable monasteries there, resolved that I did not wish anything unjust or unbefitting our spiritual state. Accordingly I now make [the following] arrangements.

[5.] First of all, to all Christians I offer forth the prayers and forgiveness still owed [by me to them], and in return I implore the same [from them] for the remission of my numerous sins.

[6.] Next [I ordain that], after me, lord Daniel and lord Iakobos —among the ordained monks my beloved spiritual sons, whom from the beginning, with God’s help, I have spiritually educated— jointly take charge of the aforementioned small monastery and those belonging to it when I am gone. [I ordain] that they concern themselves, as I did, with the salvation and spiritual progress of my other spiritual children, and the betterment of the small monastery. However, should the ordained monk lord Daniel be found dwelling here, in accord with [my] paternal injunction, and conducting his life in a highly spiritual manner, consonant with monastic propriety and order, [then I enjoin that he] preside and serve as superior over my spiritual children, as have I.

[7.] Neither of my two successors should appropriate anything [for himself], nor should he have a horse, or his own servant, or anything else unbecoming and alien to the spiritual custom of the small monastery as it has always [been observed], for a spiritual settlement [such as this] has no need of these things. Nor should they make frequent excursions into the world—only once a year, and then in connection with some urgent labor, and they ought to return as quickly as possible. Nor should they have a horse, as mentioned, but only a donkey for the service of the small monastery, on account of the harshness and ruggedness of the terrain.

[8.] [Daniel] should not arbitrarily do what he wants, but should act with the advice and consent of my son lord Iakobos, and he ought to keep with him perfect peace and accord. [They] ought thus to show a profound respect for one another, as the holy apostle says (Rom. 12:10), so that the spiritual state of my other children will be preserved for the glory of God.

[9.] Let [the monks] uphold the memory of our powerful and holy masters and emperors; of the holy founders of the venerable monastery of Docheiariou; of the superior and brethren [of Docheiariou]; and of me, a sinner. Let *kollyba* be [offered] in their memory each Friday throughout the entire year (following the custom of the large monasteries), excepting those designated

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Fridays on which it is not customary (according to the tradition of the church) to commemorate the dead.

[10.] Except in [circumstances of] pressing need, lamps should be kept continually burning before the three sacred icons set out for veneration: that of the Virgin; that of the venerable [St. John the] Forerunner; and that of the Dormition of the holy Mother of God.

[11.] It was ordained by the blessed lord Arsenios,⁴ who served as superior of the venerable monastery of Docheiariou, as well as the honorable and eminent elders who were practicing [the monastic life] there at that time, that once a year they provide a stipend to our small monastery in memory of the founders of [their] monasteries, and all the monks in it. While I was alive, I used to accept this, and when I have passed away, they still ought to provide [us with this].

[12.] Concerning my spiritual son, the ordained monk lord Daniel—if as stated above, he should completely withdraw from the world and [still] be dwelling here (as I have enjoined) [when I die], then [let him] take charge and assume care for my other spiritual children, [p. 137] as well as the greater progress of the *kellion*.⁵ If he does not wish to remain here, as I have already spiritually enjoined, let him be fully excluded from the *kellion*, [and let him not] despoil anything whatsoever of the monastery's property—unless, that is, he desires to experience the educating wrath of God. But if [Daniel] assumes the spiritual direction of this small monastery of mine (as would be pleasing to God, and as I have enjoined), and if he should perish in it when he reaches the end of his life, then at his passing let the monk lord Iakobos succeed him. He should also live and conduct his life in the manner I have outlined above.

[13.] Thus I provide for the leadership of the small monastery up through my first two successors. If upon the passing of these [two] any of my spiritual children should still happen to be alive and present, then I spiritually ordain that a virtuous man who is adorned with priestly ordination as well as [devotion to] the monastic state be present in the small monastery [as its superior], and that he have [assisting him] an ordained monk.

[14.] I have dedicated to the monastery holy icons and books, each of which will be described below:

One paten and chalice; [several] silken chalice veils; two sets of vestments; one pair of eucharistic cuffs; two stoles; two *podeai* of gold [thread]; and two of silk; two *lamnai*; two candelabra for the entrance, and a censer.

[I have also dedicated to the monastery] these books:

A book containing the four Gospels and a *Praxapostolos*, [both] on parchment; *Menaia* of the twelve months in eight fascicles, also on parchment; a parchment Psalter; a parchment book by St. [. . .]; [John] Mauropous' *Canons to the Virgin*,⁶ on paper; a book by [Michael] Glykas;⁷ a parchment *Euchologion*; two *Synaxaria*; two parchment *Parakletikai*; another book of *Theotokia*, this on paper; two books by John Klimakos—one on paper, the other on parchment; a book having

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various chapters; a book by St. Makarios [of Egypt]; and another by St. Mark [the Hermit]; a book by St. Theodore of Edessa;⁸ a parchment *Panegyrikon*; a book of *propheteiai*; and a *Triodion* with the *propheteiai*.

[15.] Now, as I said, when I began to clear [the terrain] and build the small monastery, I also [expended] much labor and raised up a vineyard and an olive grove. Quite a few years ago I decided that after my death the small monastery should have one-half of the grapes and olives for its maintenance, and the monastery of Docheiariou should have the other half. Sometime thereafter, however, the area was devastated because of a very severe winter. There were torrential floodings, and these endangered and at length destroyed the vines and the olive-bearing trees. I set myself again to hard work, and planted another vineyard and olive grove, [these being located] towards the Megale Petra.

I now dedicate this vineyard and olive grove—the ones [located] towards the Megale Petra—to the venerable monastery of Docheiariou, except for a section of the vineyard and olive grove which I have marked off. I have decided that the *kellion* should have [this latter section], along with all the older vines and trees which I replanted [there].

I dedicate ten *hyperpyra* as a gift to the monastery of *Docheiariou*.

[16.] These [provisions] I set forth for my spiritual children and for the aforementioned small monastery, which I—with the [help of] God and the others—labored so hard to erect. No one in the monastery of *Docheiariou*, either present or future, ought [to dare to] dissolve this [*Testament*]. Should anyone attempt to set aside the fitting and just [provisions] which I have made through God's grace for my [spiritual children], he shall first of all experience and be educated by God's mighty wrath. He shall also be subject to the canonical penalties which the holy fathers have prescribed for those who dare [to do] such things. In addition, on the Day of Judgment, he shall have as his plaintiff the venerable [St. John the] Forerunner [himself].

[17.] As previously stated, from the very beginning I never undertook to raise up this small monastery contrary to the wishes of [my brethren], and I have not been moved to make the [provisions] which I have just now made without [their] counsel, or unreasonably. Nor do I bring forth or introduce anything perverse or injurious to this venerable monastery of Docheiariou—as someone viewing [the matter] incorrectly might suppose. Rather, I have performed this as a spiritual act which is pleasing to God himself, and which will also [redound to the benefit] of that very monastery [of Docheiariou]. [p. 138]

[Drawn up] in the presence of the virtuous and holy men who have signed their names below.⁹

Notes on the Translation

1. *monydrion* (“small monastery”), used interchangeably here with *kellion*.

2. In [14] below.

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3. The nominal leader of the Athonite community resident at Karyes; see Alexander Kazhdan and Alice-Mary Talbot, “Protos,” *ODB*, pp. 1746–47, and (44) *Karyes* [3].
4. Attested as superior of Docheiariou in 1287; see Oikonomides, *Docheiariou*, p. 25.
5. Used interchangeably here with “small monastery” (*monydrion*).
6. For these, see Beck, *KTL*, p. 556.
7. Either his *Chronicle* or his *Ninety-Nine Responses to Scriptural Questions*; see Oikonomides, *Docheiariou*, p. 135.
8. Subject of a hagiographical romance, possibly based on events of the eighth century; see Alexander Kazhdan, “Theodore of Edessa,” *ODB*, p. 2043. For the ascetic works of Pseudo-Makarios, see *PG* 34, cols. 401–968, and for those of Mark the Hermit, see *PG* 65, cols. 905–1140.
9. The last line is incomplete; the author ends the document with his signature, and there is a fragmentary reference to the indiction year.

Document Notes

- [1] Need for the *Testament*. See also the rationale in (45) *Neophytos* [1].
- [2] Prior use of the site by a solitary. See also the similar origin of another foundation in (45) *Neophytos* [4].
- [3] Foundation history. See also the brief foundation history for another Athonite dependency in (44) *Karyes* [2].
- [4] Consultation with the *protos* and the Athonite superiors. See also the cautious approach taken in [17] below.
- [5] Forgiveness asked of all Christians. See also the similar requests expressed in (49) *Geromeri* [15], (50) *Gerasimos*, and (51) *Koutloumousi* [B15].
- [6] Designation of successors. See also [12] below. For use of a testament to designate a successor, see also (1) *Apa Abraham* [1]; (10) *Eleousa* [11]; (24) *Christodoulos* [B3], [B5], [C1]; (25) *Fragala* [A7], [B7]; (41) *Docheiariou* [4]; (45) *Neophytos* [16]; (49) *Geromeri* [14]; (50) *Gerasimos* [3]; (52) *Choumnos* [A3]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [B10], [C18].
- [7] Disciplinary injunctions to successors. See similar provisions in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31], [33], [34], which are themselves based on (3) *Theodore Studites* [6], [10], [18], [20].
- [8] Two successors to govern collaboratively. Cf. arrangements made in (50) *Gerasimos* [3] and (52) *Choumnos* [A3].
- [9] Required commemorations with offerings of *kollyba*. For use of *kollyba* elsewhere, see (4) *Stoudios* [A30]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [71]; (28) *Pantokrator* [8], [44], [49], [53]; (32) *Mamas* [39]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [39]; (35) *Skoteine* [25]; (37) *Auxentios* [13]; and (43) *Kasoulon* [9].
- [10] Continuously burning lamps. See similar provisions for these lamps in (27) *Kecharitomene* [66], [68]; (28) *Pantokrator* [6], [29], [34]; and (34) *Machairas* [26].
- [11] Annual stipend from the main monastery. See the similar arrangement in (44) *Karyes* [3], and the payments made by the dependency to the main monastery as discussed in [15] below.
- [12] Contingent provisions for the succession. See also [6] above.
- [13] Provisions for subsequent successions. See also (50) *Gerasimos* [3] for a somewhat different attempt to rotate the succession to the superiorship among a founder’s disciples.
- [14] Inventory of sacred vessels and textiles; books. For the former, see also lists in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 6], [INV 8], [INV 18]; (23) *Pakourianos* [33B]; (31) *Areia* [T11]; (35) *Skoteine* [25], [28], [42], cf. [45]; and (61) *Eleousa Inv.* [5], [6]. For the latter, see the lists in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 7], [INV 12] ff.; (23) *Pakourianos* [33B]; (34) *Skoteine* [24], [27], [28], [42]; (54) *Neilos Damilas*; and (61) *Eleousa Inv.* [3].
- [15] Payments in cash and in kind to the main monastery. See also [11] above.
- [16] Warning to violators of the *Testament*. See analogous provisions in (35) *Skoteine* [46], (37) *Auxentios* [2], (45) *Neophytos* [22], (49) *Geromeri* [16], (54) *Neilos Damilas* [24], and (60) *Charsianeites* [B22].
- [17] Justification of arrangements as being in the interest of the main monastery. See also [4] above.

49. *Geromeri: Testament of Neilos Erichiotes for the Monastery of the Mother of God Hodegetria in Geromeri*

Date: 1337

Translator: George Dennis

Edition employed: Basiles Krapsites, *Thesprotika*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1972), pp. 160–68, with text at 163–67.

Manuscript: Ms. Geromeri library (19th c.)¹

Other translations: None

Institutional History

The monastery of the Mother of God *Hodegetria* is located above the modern town of Philiates north of Igoumenitsa in the northwestern corner of Greece near the Albanian border. The attribute may be derived from the monastery of Hodegon in Constantinople where this pious icon, allegedly painted by St. Luke, was kept. Some details of its founder Neilos Erichiotes' life are known from the brief hagiographic tract devoted to him by a monk named Job that is preserved in a sixteenth-century copy at the monastery.² Early in his monastic career, Neilos, then resident in Constantinople, suffered persecution and exile for his opposition to Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos' church reunification policy based on agreements reached with the Roman papacy at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274. After the abandonment of the unionist policy upon the accession of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328), Neilos relocated to the Holy Land, where he lived for thirty-one years at Mount Sinai, Mount Carmel, Jericho, and a monastery near the Jordan River. Later, he moved again, this time to Greece, finally settling at Erichos near Valona in the territory of the independent despotate of Epiros. Nicol (*Despotate*, p. 243) estimates that Neilos founded the monastery of the *Hodegetria* around 1330.

The founder's *Testament* translated below was confirmed by the despot of Epiros, John II Orsini, in 1337, probably at the end of Neilos' life. This document is preserved only in a copy of the nineteenth century in the monastery's library. Preserved separately is a record of the intervention of Patriarch John XIV Kalekas (1334–47) in a dispute in 1336 between the monks of an unnamed monastery and the bishop of Bouthrotos and Glyky. Asdracha ("Deux actes," p. 163), has suggested that the unnamed monastery may have been that of Geromeri.³

According to Nicol (*Despotate*, p. 243), the present monastery church dates from a renovation in 1568, long after the fall of the Despotate of Epiros to the Ottoman Turks in 1479. At the time of its renovation, Geromeri held a patriarchal *stauropegion*, specifically exempting it from the authority of the metropolitan of Ioannina. However, if Asdracha's identification is correct, the monastery's patriarchal *stauropegion* might conceivably have dated back to as early as 1336.

Analysis

Most of this short testament is taken up by the author's confession of faith ([1] through [11]), understandable enough for an author like this one who suffered persecution and exile for his opposition to the Union of Lyons in the late 1270s (cf. [12]).⁴ One must go all the way back to (3) *Theodore Studites* to find another document in our collection in which a confession of faith plays such an important part, but it is noteworthy that our author's opponent, Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, lists "correct faith in the divinity" in (37) *Auxentios* [3] as one of the qualifications for election to the superiorship.

In the style of an old-fashioned founder, our author exercises [14] his right to appoint the monk Isaias as his successor and provides for his own burial at the monastery. His original disciples Gerasimos and Kallinikos were always to be welcome at the monastery even if they should leave for a time and want to come back later. Yet "unsuitable and rebellious" monks had no such right to stay but should be expelled.

The author also obliges [15] his monks to pray for the various benefactors of his foundation. Above all, these included the Despot John Angelos Doukas, better known to history as John II Orsini (1323–1336/7),⁵ despot of Epiros, and his wife the *basilissa* Anna Palaiologina. The author appeals to the ruling couple to provide "protection and guidance" for the monks, just as they had previously undertaken to protect him.

Locally, the nobleman John Apsaras, who donated [13] an ancient vineyard which the monks then restored, was one of the first benefactors of this foundation. By the time this document was drawn up, another member of his family, Nicholas Apsaras, appears [15] along with Aristarchos Kapandrites in the author's list of benefactors for whom the monks should offer prayers. The author entreats these local noblemen "to distribute the necessities to the monks" insofar as their own resources should permit. The traditional curse of the 318 Nicaean Fathers concludes [16] the *Testament*, warning off the aristocracy, priests, other ecclesiastics, monks or "anyone else" who might attempt to harm the monks or nullify the author's *Testament*. The despot himself⁶ confirms the provisions of the testament in a subscription.

Evidently like his counterpart the author of (35) *Skoteine*, our author owed the good fortune of his foundation at least in part to the patronage of supportive members of the local nobility. Here, however, Apsaras and Kapandrites seem to have become the foundation's lay protectors (*ephoroi*), in practice if not also in title. (58) *Menoikeion*, a contemporary document from an independent monastery, illustrates how a protectorate could become the functional equivalent of old-fashioned ownership (*ktetoreia*). Perhaps the author's attempts to build equally good relations with the rulers of Epiros were intended to prevent this from happening so readily to his foundation.

Notes on the Introduction

1. See Nicol, *Despotate*, p. 243.

2. *Vita*, ed. Krapsites, *Thesprotika*, vol. 2, pp. 161–62; content summarized in Nicol, *Despotate*, p. 244.

3. Nicol, *Despotate*, p. 237.

4. Nicol, *Despotate*, p. 244.

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5. So Nicol, *Despotate*, p. 95.

6. For the identification, see Nicol, *Despotate*, p. 244.

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Translation

[1.] In the beginning God made all things, and after he had done that he created man, Adam and Eve, endowing them with the divine gifts of grace and guarding them by his commandment. But owing to the envy of the devil and the inexperience of the woman—alas for our weakness—because of our forefathers who did not heed the command of their creator, from disobedience we have harvested death. Instead of being immortal we have become mortal, instead of indestructible, destructible. Like a flower of the field which blossoms today and like the grass which springs up, such is our nature. Tomorrow it withers away and vanishes as a flower and dissipates like a shadow. I am well aware that I am human, that I have fulfilled the allotted days of my life, and that I am already approaching extreme old age. Tied down by my weakness and oppressed with other infirmities, although death is not yet upon me, I have decided to make a formal profession of my religious beliefs, to make it clear to all who know me as well as to those who do not know me. I shall then briefly explain about my way of life.

[2.] I preface what I am to say with the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, in whom I was baptized and in whom I have lived and to whom I offer pure worship, as I begin with these words. I believe in one God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, one essence, one godhead, one majesty, made known in three hypostases, characterized by three distinct properties and by three sanctifications which come together in one lordship and godhead glorified by the seraphim. I give praise to the unborn Father, to the Son born of the Father, to the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father, having complete existence from him, consubstantial and of the same origin as the Son and through him provided and sent to creation.

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I profess that the Father is the one origin, the one source of both. These are caused by him, equal in honor, transcending time, and without separation. I proclaim that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone. I hold wholeheartedly to the true teaching in the Gospels of Our Lord Jesus Christ that he is the only cause and sender, and I turn away from all false and illegitimate doctrines. It is proper to the Father to give birth and to send forth and not to be born or to be sent forth. It is proper to the Holy Spirit not to be born or to give birth. The three are without beginning and coeternal; this is true of the Father, true of the Son, true of the Holy Spirit. I shall describe him who is above us by using examples that are on our own level such as sun, light, ray; fountain, water, river; mind, word, spirit. The three are equal, divided and undivided, divided in hypostasis and undivided in essence, one God, triune, consubstantial, inseparable, indivisible [p. 164].

I confess that the only-begotten Son of God, the Word, came down for us and for our salvation and assumed flesh from the all-holy and virginal blood of the most holy and supremely spotless Mother of God, the ever-virgin Mary. He became that which he was not. He did not depart from his godhead, nor did he undergo change, confusion, or division, but he preserved what was characteristic of each of the converging natures safe and unchanged. Indeed, from this very unity he deified what was added, in the manner of an exchange. He remained what he was and he took on that which he was not, one Christ manifested in two natures, the divine and the human. He has two wills and two energies. He has fully realized all the natural and blameless sufferings of humanity. Then for our sake he underwent the cross and death. He rose again in three days and was taken up from earth in glory. He is seated at the right hand of God the Father. He shall come again to judge the living and the dead and to recompense each person according to his deeds.

[3.] I believe that the Holy Spirit has spoken through the prophets. I acknowledge one holy, catholic, and apostolic church, and that the remission of sins is accomplished by one holy baptism. I hope and look for the resurrection from the dead of all human nature, as well as judgment and retribution, and eternal life in the age to come. I hold to the holy symbol of faith, firmly and unshaken, nor do I accept any addition or any removal. Moreover, I embrace the seven holy ecumenical councils. I also embrace with my soul, will, mind, and speech the revered, orthodox, local synods which decreed matters of ecclesiastical discipline, expositions of sacred dogmas, and canonical regulations. Whatever they affirmed, so do I affirm, and in turn, what they rejected, so do I reject and disavow. I cast out those whom they cast out, and in turn I receive those whom they received. Those whom they anathematized I too subject to anathema.

[4.] I honor the first [ecumenical Council of Nicaea I (325)]¹ which decreed that the Son is consubstantial with the Father. I anathematize Arius and those who agree with him and abusively call the Son a creature and later [in time]. I confess that the Son of God is coeternal with the Father and without beginning, the creator of all things and not a creature, the maker not something made, the craftsman not the product, before time and not subject to time.

[5.] I revere the second [ecumenical Council of Constantinople (381)]² and I reject Makedonios, who fought against the Spirit and is hated by God, as well as his fable that the Holy Spirit is less and is subservient to the Father and the Son. I give glory and power to the Holy Spirit as being

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equal in divinity and glory to [the Father and the Son]. In like manner I hate and abhor the blasphemy of Apollinaris teaching that the flesh of the Lord was without a soul. I believe correctly and firmly that mind and soul dwell in it, with a rational soul and intellect.

[6.] I associate myself with the third [ecumenical Council of Ephesus (431)],³ and I spit out Nestorios, that Judaizer and worshiper of humanity, who divided and cut up the one Christ into two, and who asserted that he was simply a man and not God made flesh, and likewise that the holy virgin who brought forth the Lord was not the Mother of God but [only] “Mother of Christ.” I glorify the holy virgin especially and truly as Mother of God and the one Son in one *hypostasis* who without seed took flesh from her as our Lord Jesus Christ, true God and Son of God.

[7.] I adhere [p. 165] to the fourth [ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451)]⁴ and I utterly reject and declare the opposite of the unfortunate Eutyches⁵ and the wicked, demonic Dioscoros, with all those who turned away from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ and made up the story that he bore his flesh in imagination only and so babbled about one nature and linked suffering to the godhead. I wholeheartedly and clearly proclaim that the one Christ our God is perfect God and perfect man in two natures without confusion or division.

[8.] I revere the fifth [ecumenical Council of Constantinople (553)],⁶ condemning] the deviant Origen, Evagrius, and Didymos, who taught there is to be an end to punishment and uttered thousands of other blasphemies. I also set at naught and utterly reject Theodore of Mopsuestia, the teacher of Nestorios, with his blasphemous doctrines.

[9.] I take to heart the sixth [ecumenical Council of Constantinople (680–81)],⁷ and I loathe the heresiarchs hated by God Theodore of Pharan, Honorius, Cyrus, Peter, Pyrrhos, Sergios, Paul, as well as the deviant Makarios, his disciple Stephen, and Polychronios, the old man who thought like a child, who said that our Lord Jesus Christ even after taking flesh had one will and one energy. I confess that our Lord Jesus Christ had two natural wills and two natural energies after taking flesh, not in a division of persons but in that not one of the two natures is without a will or an energy.

[10.] I revere the seventh and final [ecumenical Council of Nicaea II (787)],⁸ and I reject those God-hating, loathsome fighters against images who claim that the uncircumscribed must be without flesh and who therefore set aside the adoration of the sacred icons. I also reject as impious and accursed those who think that it is someone else besides the Son⁹ of God who has freed us from the error of idolatry. I venerate the holy icons, and I honor and embrace them, since the honor shown them goes on to the prototype, according to the great Basil noted for his divine [learning].¹⁰ I give glory to our Lord Jesus Christ circumscribed according to his humanity, uncircumscribed according to his godhead, subject to suffering and not subject, created and uncreated, the same and also God.

[11.] In the same way I honor all the holy councils inasmuch as they agree in all sound teachings.

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But I anathematize the heresies which have appeared at various time and places, . . . barbarism and other wicked opinions, and everything uttered by the impious¹¹ to justify them, such as the blasphemies and nonsense of Simon Magus (Acts 8:9–24), of the *Medenistai*, the *Bogomils*,¹² the *Chatzitzarii*, the *Sabellians*,¹³ the *Paulianists*,¹⁴ and the rest of the heresies, and likewise I anathematize everything taught by atheists.

[12.] Desirous of briefly explaining my situation, I shall begin immediately. It was in fact as a child that I put on the wonderful yoke of the Lord and took up his burden which is light (Matt. 11:30). I bid farewell to everyone and fled a long distance away. I settled in a place I thought would be conducive to my salvation.¹⁵ But the sower of weeds (Matt. 13:39), our enemy the devil, spread weeds and dissension in the church trying to besmear it with new-fangled terms and herodox teachings. I cannot begin to describe how much I suffered in the way of exile and other afflictions at the hands of those whose beliefs were wicked. How many places I journeyed past, how many customs I witnessed, how many holy men also, how many regions of the earth I explored, and the benefits I derived from these, according to God's will, it is impossible to commit to writing.

[13.] Finally, some time ago I came to this very country, and with me were two monks, [p. 166] Kallinikos, who was ordained, and Gerasimos. We found this place rough, impassable, uncultivated, and not at all suitable for human habitation and settlement. By the sweat of our brow, strenuous labor, wearisome and unceasing toil, we cleaned up the place, as can be seen today. The place was made useful and suitable for the settlement of monks. There was an ancient vineyard located a bit outside the village of Geromeri, and this was given to us by the noble lord John Apsaras.¹⁶ We labored long and hard in that vineyard and made it fruitful again.

[14.] This then, is a true account of our situation. For myself now, I can see that life is soon to leave me and that death is drawing near. So that after my death there will be nothing concerning our disciples which is not properly arranged, I make the following dispositions. This body of mine, composed of earth and clay, should be given burial in this place in which, as was mentioned, we labored so much. In my place I designate the honorable monk, lord Isaias, to remain here with those chosen souls. They should owe him complete obedience, love, and honor, and should readily obey him as their superior. They should listen attentively to what he may say to them concerning their salvation and spiritual welfare. If the ordained monk Kallinikos or the monk Gerasimos should be troubled by certain thoughts and leave there and then want to come back again, let them be received since they have truly and generously labored there previously and are our disciples. But if a person seems unsuitable and wants to rebel against his own superior, let him be expelled from the monastery in dishonor, inasmuch as he did not wish to remain in the order to which he was called, according to the holy Apostle (I Cor. 7:20).

[15.] Having now disposed of these matters in this way, I assure my lords in the spirit and my sons, the pious and most noble Lord John Angelos Doukas and the most Christian *basilissa*,¹⁷ Lady Anna Palaiologina, of my heartfelt prayer. I beg God always to bestow his gifts on them, to grant

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peace to the empire and victories over its enemies, visible and invisible, and an abundance of all sorts of good things. After ruling on earth to a ripe old age, may they be found worthy of the kingdom of heaven. I pray too that their children may be protected by God and as their heirs succeed to their authority and lordship enlarging in the future “the line of their inheritance” (Deut. 32:9). I place a fitting request before their majesties to provide protection and guidance for the humble monks with me, just as, led as they were by God, they undertook to protect me.

To my sons, the officials of this place, the most noble *kaballarios* lord Nicholas Apsaras and lord Aristarchos Kapandrites I leave assurance of my prayer and pardon which I owe them. I entreat them to look reverently upon the aforementioned monks and to love them. In accord with their own resources, may they be willing to distribute the necessities to the monks, just as other religious Christians who love the monks. In turn, these monks are obliged to pray regularly in a special way for their orthodox and pious lords, for their Christ-loving army, and for all other rulers and ruled, as they have been taught by me. Moreover, I ask pardon of every orthodox Christian [p. 167] and beg the favor of their prayers, so I might have them as provision for my journey away from here. In turn, from the bottom of my soul I leave behind pardon for all Christians who have both hated and loved me.

[16.] If anyone should see fit to oppose this present plain and true *Testament* of mine and think to take steps to nullify it, and if he should provoke any disturbance or try to bring about any harm to our monks, whether he be of the ruling class, be enrolled among the priests, in the ecclesiastical order, or wearing the monastic habit, or anyone else, at any time whatever, may such a person never come to stand at the right hand of Christ, may he fall under the curses of the three hundred and eighteen God-bearing Fathers in Nicaea and of the other six holy and ecumenical synods, and of all the saints who have pleased God from eternity, and of myself a sinner.

[Confirmation]

The present *Testament* of the most holy and divine father, lord Neilos, Erichiotes, founder of the revered monastery of the most holy Mother of God *Hodegetria* located in the place called Geromeri, has been gladly received by my majesty, read, and thoroughly understood. It has been confirmed by the present customary bull of my majesty, for the perpetual security and eternal observance of its sacred commands and dispositions. It shall be preserved inviolate by our majesty and by our legitimate successors forever.

In the month of December, the fifth indiction, the year 6845, and from the birth of Christ 1337 [A.D.].

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of our translator, George Dennis [GD], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. For this council and its personalities, see Aristeides Papadakis, “Nicaea, Councils of,” *ODB*, pp. 1464–65.
2. For this council and its personalities, see Aristeides Papadakis, “Constantinople, Councils of,” *ODB*, p. 512.

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3. For this council and its personalities, see Aristeides Papadakis, "Ephesus, Councils of," *ODB*, p. 707.
4. For this council and its personalities, see Aristeides Papadakis, "Chalcedon, Council of," *ODB*, p. 404.
5. Contrasted as *Eutychea ton dystyche* in the Greek text. [GD]
6. For this council and its personalities, see Papadakis, "Constantinople, Councils of," p. 512.
7. For this council and its personalities, see Papadakis, "Constantinople, Councils of," pp. 512–13.
8. For this council, see Papadakis, "Nicaea, Councils of," p. 1465.
9. *eisin*, which should read *hyion*; see J. Guillard, "Le Synodikon de l'orthodoxie," *T&M* 2 (1967), 1–316, at p. 296, line 92. [GD]
10. Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 45, PG 32, col. 149C.
11. *eusebon*, which should read *asebon*. [GD]
12. See Dmitri Obolensky, "Bogomils," *ODB*, p. 301.
13. The text reads: *Sadelianoï*; for Sabellianism, see Karl-Heinz Uthemann, "Monarchianism," *ODB*, p. 1391. [GD]
14. *Paulianistai*, possibly the same as the *Paulikianoi* (Paulicians), for whom see Nina Garsoïan, "Paulicians," *ODB*, p. 1606. The other two obscure sects mentioned here, the *Medenistai* (lit. "nihilists") and *Chatzitzarii* could not be identified. *Medenistai* may be a scribal error for *Montanistai*, for whom, see T. E. Gregory, "Montanism," *ODB*, p. 1401.
15. Constantinople; see above, Institutional History.
16. Spelling of his name follows Nicol, *Despotate*, p. 244.
17. Title of the wife of the despot of Epiros; see Nicol, *Despotate*, p. 105, n. 84.

Document Notes

- [1] Meditation on death. See also the contemporary reflections on this subject in (50) *Gerasimos* [1] and in (51) *Kouloumoussi* [A1], [C1].
- [2] Confession of faith. See also the confessions in (3) *Theodore Studites*, Concerning Faith, (7) *Latros* [1], [2]; (10) *Eleousa* [2]; and in (54) *Neilos Damilas* [1].
- [3], [4], [5], [6], [7], [8], [9], [10] Endorsement of the seven ecumenical councils. See also earlier endorsements in (3) *Theodore Studites*, Concerning Faith, and (7) *Latros* [3].
- [11] Condemnation of heresies. See also earlier condemnations in (3) *Theodore Studites*, Concerning Faith, and (7) *Latros* [3].
- [12] Early autobiography. The holy man's *Vita*, ed. Kraptsites, *Thesprotika*, vol. 2, pp. 161–62, provides additional details of the events of his life alluded to here.
- [13] Foundation history; patronage by lord John Apsaras. For similar local patronage, see (35) *Skoteine* [9], [10], [45].
- [14] Founder's dispositions. For the founder's burial at his monastery in this era, see (39) *Lips* [42]; for burial of other relatives, see also (46) *Akropolites* [6] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [142]. For appointment of a successor, see the contemporary (48) *Prodromos* [6] and (50) *Gerasimos* [3]. For discussions of the rights of monks who have departed to return, see (24) *Christodoulos* [B6] and (48) *Prodromos* [12].
- [15] Prayers for the despot of Epiros and his wife; request that local officials patronize the monastery in return for prayers. For similar arrangements, see (35) *Skoteine* [10]; (45) *Neophytos* [7]; (53) *Choumnos* [A18], [A20], [A26]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [1], [16], [22].
- [16] Curse on violators; confirmation by the despot of Epiros. For use of such curses elsewhere, see (35) *Skoteine* [46]; (37) *Auxentios* [2]; (45) *Neophytos* [22]; (48) *Prodromos* [16]; (50) *Gerasimos* [5]; (51) *Kouloumoussi* [A15], [B20]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [24]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [B22]. For a similar imperial confirmation of a private testament, see (35) *Skoteine* [46].

50. *Gerasimos: Testament of Gerasimos for the Small Monastery of St. Euthymios in Jerusalem*

Date: November 18, 1344

Translator: George Dennis

Edition employed: A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta Hierosolymitikes Stachyologias*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1894), pp. 255–57; cf. chronological notes, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1894), p. 245.

Manuscript: Library, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem¹

Other translations: None

Institutional History

This fourteenth-century “small monastery” (a *monydrion*, like the dependency for which (48) *Prodromos* was written) of St. Euthymios in Jerusalem is not attested outside this document, which, among other anomalies, has led Bryer and Winfield (*Pontos*, vol. 1, p. 127) to question the authenticity of the text translated below. *Gerasimos’ Testament*, does not, however, claim any connection for this foundation with the famous late antique monastery of St. Euthymios the Great, located outside of Jerusalem and definitively destroyed after 1177.² That a certain John Doukas Trichas, described as a representative of the Trapezuntine emperor, presumably Michael (1344–49), should have been willing to endorse the document in spite of the fact that it was [4] the “ancestral property” of the late Empress Anna Anachoutlou (1341–42), who had recently been deposed and strangled,³ should not, despite Bryer and Winfield’s assertion to the contrary, be surprising, for Trichas is here witnessing the second founder *Gerasimos’ Testament*, not approving “Anna’s deeds.”

Bryer and Winfield’s objections to the witnesses of this document are more troubling, though not insuperable, given how incomplete our knowledge is of the major personalities of the resident Christian communities in the Holy Land in the early fourteenth century. None of the witnesses are otherwise known, including the Arsenios said to have been patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Elias who signs as bishop of Bethlehem some decades before the next indication of the existence of a Greek Orthodox see at that city. However, the greatest difficulty with accepting the document’s authenticity is chronological rather than prosopographical.

If our author *Gerasimos* did indeed find [2] the monastery “completely in ruins and without resources” on his arrival there despite the relatively recent death of its patron Anna in 1342, there is perhaps too little time left to account for its complete restoration and the deaths of two of *Gerasimos’* monastic colleagues before the present *Testament* was issued in 1344 unless some major calamity had intervened to reduce the monastery to ruins before *Gerasimos’* arrival.

Analysis

This is a simple testament, professedly drawn up for a foundation that must have been similar in size, if not in function, to the dependencies of larger monasteries described in (44) *Karyes* [2] and (48) *Prodromos* [2].

When our author Gerasimos began the restoration of this facility, once the property of Empress Anna of Trebizond, he was accompanied [2] by two other monks at the monastery. Now, as the sole survivor among them, he designates [3] four other monks as his heirs and successors. He appoints the ordained monk Blasios as superior, but sets up a sequence of succession in which each of the other monks would in turn have a chance to become superior after the death of his predecessor. This curious order of succession, unlikely to work unless each of the four monks was younger than the one before him, recalls (48) *Prodromos* [6] ff., in which that document's author designates two monks as his heirs, but makes one of them superior.

None of Gerasimos' successors were to consign [4] the monastery to anyone but a Trapezuntine since it was the "ancestral property" of Empress Anna. The incumbent patriarch of Jerusalem was to continue to receive liturgical commemoration (*mnemosynon*). A space is left blank for the name of the foundation's administrator (*epitropos*) who was to be the incumbent superior of the Georgian monastery of the Life-Giving Cross. The document closes [5] with the customary curse of the 318 Fathers of the First Council of Nicaea on transgressors of Gerasimos' *Testament*.

Notes on the Introduction

1. See Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta*, vol. 1, p. 255, n. 255, for a note on this and other witnesses.
2. For this foundation, see Vailhé, "Saint Euthyme."
3. For Anna, see Miller, *Trebizond*, p. 49.

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Translation

Copy and likeness of the *Testament* of the monk Gerasimos concerning the monastery of St. Euthymios situated within the holy city of Jerusalem, which lists his arrangements for the monastery, and which was reproduced from an old prototype. In the year 6852 [= 1344 A.D.].

[1.] According to the great Basil, the definition of philosophy consists in meditating on death.¹ But some people have paid no heed to this and have let the opportunity slip by without realizing how untimely death can be. The result is that the thief comes suddenly and snatches them away, and they leave their affairs in disorder. I too fear the uncertainty of this.² As the corn gets close to

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harvest, so I, while still whole and of sound mind, not compelled by any necessity or force, but freely and of my own will, wish to make proper disposition of all my affairs. First of all, I offer my prayers for our powerful and holy emperors, as well as for my most holy lord the patriarch, and likewise for all Christians, for whom I pray for love and pardon in Christ. I now make the following disposition of my affairs. [p. 256]

[2.] By ways known to God and by his favor, I came to the holy place in Jerusalem and dwelt in the small monastery of the great Euthymios there, which belonged to the late empress of Trebizond, the Lady Anna, Born in the Purple.³ There also was the ordained monk, the late lord Pambo, and the monk, the late lord Sophronios of Trebizond, and I remained there until their deaths. After they had paid back our common debt, I was left behind by myself. How much I labored and suffered in this small monastery, for I found it completely in ruins and without resources, let God be my witness. Then, with the mercy of God, our own labor, and the assistance of the Christians, I managed to salvage it entirely. My predecessor Sophronios from Trebizond had given two hundred *aspra* towards its restoration. I raised it up and built the monastery as it is seen today.

[3.] Here with me now are the ordained monk, my beloved son lord Blasios, [as well as] Kyrillos, Gennadios, and Theodoulos. I designate them as my heirs and successors. Since it is necessary that one of them be placed over the other three, I therefore appoint the ordained monk Blasios to preside over them as superior. The others should accord him prompt and ready obedience in all things just as they would to me. Moreover, since we all owe the common debt, after his death I designate next as superior my beloved son Kyrillos, after his passing Gennadios, and then Theodoulos. Their relationship to one another should be marked by love, pure and harmonious peace, unity of desire and will. No one, superior or anyone else, should be allowed to drive another away, except for a good reason or suitable cause, such as scandalous behavior or causing a disturbance. I myself in this *Testament* expel anyone who will not be at peace and lead a tranquil life. In harmony and in peace, then, the four should really be as one, observing of course the special honor due the superior.

[4.] I declare that none of the four should have any permission to consign this small monastery to a person of any nationality other than to someone from Trebizond, since, as mentioned above, [p. 257] it was the ancestral property of the late empress of Trebizond, Lady Anna. They should also continue to commemorate the patriarch of Jerusalem who is in office at the time. I designate as administrator for the small monastery . . .⁴ for my beloved sons whoever is superior at the time of the revered monastery of the Iberians [Georgians], which is named after the precious and life-giving cross.

[5.] These are the dispositions I make of my affairs. May whoever wishes to overturn this testamentary arrangement incur the curses of the three hundred and eighteen God-bearing fathers in Nicaea. For this reason the present testamentary regulation and disposition has been drawn up and given to my beloved sons and successors for their security and strength.

On the eighteenth of November, the twelfth indiction.

- + The *doulos* and *apokrisiarios* of our holy and mighty lord and emperor,⁵ present at the making of this *Testament* and in solid confirmation thereof, I subscribe, John Doukas Trichas, *logothetes ton oikeiakon*.⁶
- + The *doulos* of our powerful and holy lord and emperor, George Doukas Maniates Kourtikas.⁷
- + Arsenios,⁸ by the mercy of God, patriarch of Jerusalem.
- + The humble metropolitan of Basan, Germanos.
- + The humble sinner, Matos [metropolitan] of Gaza, *hypertimos*.
- + The humble bishop of Bethlehem,⁹ Elias.

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of our translator, George Dennis [GD], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. This Platonic allusion (*Phaedo*, 81a) is found not in the works of Basil of Caesarea but in John Klimakos, *Scala paradisi* 6, PG 88, col. 797c.
2. The text has *adolon*, “guiltless,” which should be corrected to *adelon*, “uncertain.” [GD]
3. Anna Anachoutlou (1341–42).
4. A space is left blank for the name of the *epitropos*.
5. Michael (1344–49).
6. Logothete of the household, at this time a purely honorary title; cf. *Pseudo-Codinos: Traité des Offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), index, s.v. Nothing else is known about this individual; see D. Polemis, *The Doukai* (London, 1968), p. 185. [GD]
7. Nothing else is known about this individual; his last name should perhaps be Kourtikes; see Polemis, *Doukai*, p. 139. [GD]
8. According to Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, p. 127, n. 24, a Greek Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem with this name is otherwise unattested; cf. V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958), p. 452.
9. According to Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, p. 127, n. 24, this bishop occurs nearly a half century before the Greek Orthodox bishopric of Bethlehem is otherwise known to have existed.

Document Notes

- [1] Meditation on death. See also the contemporary reflections on this subject in (49) *Geromeri* [1] and in (51) *Koutloumoussi* [A1], [B14], [C1].
- [2] Restoration of the monastery. See also other restorations in this era described in (37) *Auxentios* [1], (38) *Kellibara I* [12], (40) *Anargyroi* [2], and (46) *Akropolites* [2].
- [3] Order of succession to the superiorship. Cf. arrangements for the succession in (48) *Prodromos* [8] and (52) *Choumnos* [A3].
- [4] Monastery not to be consigned to anyone not a Trapezuntine; commemoration of the patriarch of Jerusalem; designation of an administrator. For other ethnic restrictions and preferences, see (21) *Roidion* [B3], [B4]; (23) *Pakourianos* [24]; (42) *Sabas* [2], [9]; and (51) *Koutloumoussi* [B17]. For commemoration of the local patriarch, see (38) *Kellibara I* [15] and (39) *Lips* [1]; for use of administrators in a much earlier document, see (14) *Ath. Testament* [4], [6].
- [5] Curse on violators. For use of such curses elsewhere, see (35) *Skoteine* [46]; (37) *Auxentios* [2]; (45) *Neophytos* [22]; (48) *Prodromos* [16]; (49) *Geromeri* [16]; (51) *Koutloumoussi* [A15], [B20]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [21]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [B22].

51. *Koutloumoussi: Testaments* of Chariton for the Monastery of Christ Savior of Koutloumoussi on Mount Athos

Dates: *First Testament* [A]: January 1–August 31, 1370 *Translator:* George Dennis
Second Testament [B]: November 1370
Third Testament [C]: July 1378

Edition employed: Paul Lemerle, *Actes de Kutlumus*, 2nd ed. (= Archives de l’Athos 2²) (Paris, 1988), pp. 113–16, 117–21, 135–38; cf. notes, pp. 370–76, 384–88.

Manuscripts: *First Testament:* Kutlumus archives, no. 37; *Second Testament:* Kutlumus archives, no. II B; *Third Testament:* Kutlumus archives, no. 98. Illustrations in Lemerle, *Kutlumus*, pls. 42b–47, 53–54. All three manuscripts are 14th-c. autographs.¹

Other translations: None

Institutional History

*A. Origins of Koutloumoussi*²

The origins of the monastery of Koutloumoussi, the only Athonite foundation bearing a Turkish name, are obscure. A chrysobull professedly of Alexios I Komnenos that is preserved at the monastery today and regarded as its founder’s *typikon* is in fact a forgery.³ The first certain evidence of the monastery’s existence is the listing of its superior Isaias among the signatories of a document of 1169 from the Panteleemon monastery.⁴

Attempts to connect the monastery’s name with the family of Qutlumush I, founder of the dynasty of the Seljuk sultans of Rum, who perished in a revolt against Alp Arslan in 1063, remain conjectural. It is thought that perhaps one of his descendants defected to Byzantium, converted to Christianity, and concluded his life on Mount Athos where he might well have founded a monastery bearing his name, but there is no actual evidence as to who this Turkish renegade might have been or when he may have lived. Lemerle (*Kutlumus*, p. 5) nevertheless proposed a date in the first half of the twelfth century for the foundation of this monastery.

After a long period of obscurity, Koutloumoussi makes a reappearance in Athonite sources of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. An act of the Athonite *protos* Isaac donating the large property of Anapausa to Koutloumoussi in 1329 indicates that there were forty monks resident there, though much impoverished for lack of adequate resources.⁵ At this time Koutloumoussi, a small establishment, ranked low among the monasteries of Mount Athos, placed with other obscure foundations that over time tended to be absorbed by the larger monasteries.

*B. Role of the Superior Chariton*⁶

It was due to Chariton, whose tenure as superior of Koutloumoussi must date back to circa 1355–56,⁷ that the monastery achieved a solid structural and financial foundation that enabled it to

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survive down to our own times. He is eulogized in several documents preserved in the monastery's cartulary.⁸ As indicated in his three testaments translated below, Chariton's greatest achievement was securing the patronal assistance of John Vladislav, *voivode* of Wallachia (Ungrovlachia), a relationship certainly not without its problems but one which led to an enduring tradition of assistance to the monastery by the rulers of this Roumanian principality that was to survive until 1863. As a price of gaining the prince's assistance, Chariton had to allow John Vladislav to place Vlach monks in Koutloumousi under a lenient idiorhythmic lifestyle at variance with the monastery's traditional cenobiticism.

Chariton himself was appointed metropolitan of Wallachia by Patriarch Philotheos in 1372, doubtless with John Vladislav's endorsement.⁹ As early as 1376 Chariton had also become *protos* of the Athonite community.¹⁰ Chariton claims both titles in his *Third Testament* of 1378. He survived an outbreak of the plague at the time of this *Testament* and lived to participate in the patriarchal synod of Neilos Kerameus (1380–88) in Constantinople in 1380. Lemerle (*Kutlumus*, p. 297) suggested that Chariton died in 1381, perhaps in Constantinople.

*C. Subsequent History of the Foundation in Byzantine Times*¹¹

During the last years of Chariton's superiorship, Koutloumousi was troubled by the raids of Turkish pirates who were able to abduct and hold for ransom many of the monastery's monks in spite of the fortification of the foundation financed by John Vladislav in the early 1370s. Koutloumousi's superior Jeremias had to be ransomed from pirates sometime before 1386.¹² In 1393, Patriarch Antony IV (1391–97) awarded Koutloumousi a patriarchal *stauropoleion*.¹³ In 1428, Koutloumousi was permitted to annex the neighboring monastery of Alypiou through an administrative union confirmed by Patriarch Joseph II (1416–39).¹⁴

*D. Koutloumousi under Ottoman Rule*¹⁵

Shortly after its absorption of Alypiou, Koutloumousi, like the rest of Mount Athos, was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire. For a time it appears that both Koutloumousi and Alypiou were abandoned, then circa 1475 (so Lemerle, *Kutlumus*, p. 20), the foundation was repopulated for a time by a group of Bulgarian monks.¹⁶ For the second half of the fifteenth century, the support of various Vlach *voivodes* was crucial to the survival of the monastery. They obtained for it firmans from the Turkish sultans Beyazid II (1491) and Suleiman the Magnificent (1527) ordering the protection of its properties.¹⁷ Probably in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, a Greek community of monks had re-established itself in Koutloumousi, displacing the Bulgarians (Lemerle, *Kutlumus*, p. 21). The monastery then entered a new period of prosperity, and by 1574, it ranked sixth among the monasteries of Mount Athos.

*E. Koutloumousi in Modern Times*¹⁸

The monastery continued to benefit from the patronage of the princes of Wallachia down to the middle of the seventeenth century, but in 1863, Prince Couza decided to confiscate all the properties in Moldavia and Wallachia previously dedicated to the support of Orthodox religious establishments on Mount Athos and elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean.¹⁹ Koutloumousi was able to survive its losses by relying on other properties it had acquired. A few years earlier in 1856, Patriarch Cyril VII approved the return of Koutloumousi to cenobitic life.²⁰

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Rebuilt three times after devastating fires in 1497, 1767, and 1870, Koutloumoussi remains an active cenobitic monastery on Mount Athos, populated in 1980 by some fifty-five monks.²¹

Analysis

This document is exceptionally valuable for what it reveals about the nature of the patron/client relationship in Palaiologan times. No other document in our collection illustrates so vividly the problem nearly all founders (except perhaps those of the imperial families) must have faced in raising the necessary funds to support their foundations. As this document shows, this support often had a burdensome, disruptive price in patronal privileges. Here even a patron's extension of a loan to the monastery led to expectations of patronal rights. The document is also useful for illustrating the difficulty of supporting more than one form of monasticism in a single foundation as well as the intense resistance by champions of cenobiticism like our author to proposed variations like the incorporation of imposed guests (*katapemptoi*) or internal monks (*esomonitai*) into their communities.

The document is made up of three versions of the author Chariton's *Testament* [A], [B], and [C]. There is a considerable amount of duplication among the versions,²² but taken together they show the unfolding and resolution of the conflict between the author and his principal patron especially well.

First Testament [A]

In this part of the document, the author identifies [A3], cf. [B2], [C3] a letter of concession from Theodosios, the Athonite *protos*, and Iakobos, metropolitan of Hierissos as the basis for his authority over the monastery. The award seems to have obliged (cf. technical vocabulary in [B4]) our author to improve and strengthen the monastery, much like contemporary patriarchal grants for improvement (*beltiosis*) and maintenance (*systasis*).²³ The author records [A4], cf. [B5], [C4] his efforts to fulfill the terms of the grant, including new properties and incomes obtained not only from Byzantine subjects but also from the rulers of other Christian peoples such as the Serbs and the Vlachs. When our author determined that the monastery needed to be fortified, he turned to John Vladislav, the *voivode* of the Vlachs, whose father Nicholas Alexander had already laid the foundations for a great tower that remained incomplete.

Persistent solicitation won [A4] the required support for the project. In exchange for his financial support of the fortification project (provided through a loan [A7]), the *voivode* obtained recognition as "founder" (*ktetor*) and then insisted [A5], cf. [B6], [B7] upon the traditional founder's right to dispatch a number of candidates (Vlachs) to be maintained at the monastery (as *esomonitai* or *katapemptoi*). He wanted [B16] his appointees to receive not only the special treatment customarily accorded notables (e.g., in (22) *Evergetis* [37]) but also an exemption from the requirement of observing the monastery's cenobitic lifestyle (as in (27) *Kecharitomene* [4]).

Our author, seeing a serious threat to the monastery's cenobitic constitution, prevented [A5] the *voivode*'s personal representative John Neagu the *vitezes* from instituting these disruptive changes. After learning of Chariton's defiance, the *voivode* summoned [A6], cf. [B8], [B9] him before a council of his own ecclesiastical officials who accused our author of disobedience to the founder. Chariton agreed to take the dispute to the Athonite fathers for arbitration and to abide by

their decision. The latter, concerned like the members of the *voivode*'s council that Chariton risked losing future patronal benefits, urged [A8] him to exercise a "certain economy" (*oikonomia*) and accept the ruler's appointees under the terms previously proposed. For his part, our author makes [A9], cf. [B13] a conditional agreement to tensure two of the *voivode*'s appointees provided additional benefits of patronage were in fact forthcoming.

As this *First Testament* was being written in 1370, our author has drawn up [A10], cf. [B15] a proposed compromise "written as though composed by him (the *voivode*) personally" that was to be dispatched to the founder for his signature. According to Lemerle (*Kutlumu*s, p. 10), it is the monastery's copy of this document, also dated to 1370, that is preserved in Koutloumousi's archives.²⁴ Among other things, the document sought to show the diversity of the foundation's endowed properties and the many contributors (besides the *voivode*) who had donated them. Only the newly built fortification (*kastron*) is recognized (see also [A15], [B15]) as having been constructed at the *voivode*'s expense, and even for that project our author maintains that the monks contributed labor and income from other properties. Moreover, the monks had been required [A15] to deposit certain of the foundation's consecrated objects as security for the money loaned to them by the *voivode*.

As our author saw it, the *voivode*'s assistance with the financing of the fortification did not provide the foundation with the means to support the Vlach appointees "especially with [their] newly devised way of life," which suggests that the idiorhythmic lifestyle was not self-sustaining and had turned out to be more expensive to support than the cenobitic. To finance the newcomers, Chariton makes bold to propose [A12], cf. [B16], [B17] that the *voivode* cancel the monastery's indebtedness, erect a church large enough for all the brothers "present and yet to come" as well as a refectory of corresponding size, provide additional income-producing properties for the endowment, and formally acknowledge that the Greek monks were rightfully due "honor and precedence" over the Vlachs. Chariton and the brothers were to retain the right to choose [A13], cf. [B18], [C8] their own superior, but their choice would travel to the *voivode* to receive confirmation of office from him as founder. On the nominee's return, the *protos* of the Holy Mountain would bestow the pastoral staff. Our author makes [A14], cf. [B19] suspension of the cenobitic requirements for the Vlachs dependent on the *voivode*'s assent to these terms, while he himself reserves the right (exercised twice later in [B] and [C]) to make his own changes in the present document.

Second Testament [B]

The *Second Testament*, written some months later in 1370, provides [B5] more details on how the fortification project was carried out. There is the same attempt as in [A4] to emphasize the co-contributors (in addition to the *voivode*) to the project. The author is also much more critical of the *voivode*'s desire to alter the cenobitic constitution [B6], cf. [A5]: "while attentive to doling out funds, he paid little heed to the strictness of our way of life." He is equally harsh with the ruler's Vlach appointees, whom he claims wanted to live in a "relaxed, loose and irregular manner, inasmuch as they are mountain folk and unaccustomed to monastic continence and discipline." The discussion [B12] of the arbitration by the Athonite fathers is more nuanced and detailed than in the *First Testament* [A8]. Chariton records the praise he received as a true "founder" (*ktetor*) of his

monastery for instinctively resisting the *voivode*'s challenge to its cenobitic constitution, yet he also preserves his colleagues' argument for expediency in making concessions in common life and diet for "one who comes from a lordly and more luxurious way of living." Moreover, the fathers reminded [B13] Chariton that the last appointee sent by the *voivode* to Mount Athos had in fact been unable to persevere and eventually returned to his homeland.

The provisions of the document mentioned [A10] in the *First Testament* as having been drawn up by Chariton for the *voivode*'s signature appear to be incorporated in the *Second Testament* ([B15] through [B21]). Chariton insists [B16] that the Vlachs dispatched to his monastery be essentially self-sustaining, able "to regulate their manner of life as each is able from his own resources." The discussion of privileges to be enjoyed provides [B17] that a monk of either of the two nationalities is to "receive proper honor and reverence (i.e., preference) from his subordinates in food, drink, and seating, and, in corresponding manner, what is due to him according to the years and labors of each one." Thus this foundation appears to have been at this time a completely non-Evergatian, traditional monastic organization. In observance of traditional Byzantine piety towards the "first founder," the monastery was also to retain [B17] its name.

Third Testament [C]

By the time he composed his third version of the *Testament* eight years later in 1378, Chariton, weakened by the plague [C1], had become [C5] both *protos* of the Holy Mountain and metropolitan of the Vlachs. The contentious negotiations over the *voivode*'s patronal rights over Koutloumousi had receded into the background. The *voivode*, along with his wife Anna, receives posthumous credit for rebuilding [C4] the monastery (not just the fortification), though the contributions of other benefactors are also duly noted. There is, however, no mention of any patronal rights accruing to the *voivode*'s successor.

Chariton reiterates his earlier discussions of the basis for his authority [C3], cf. [A3], [B2], of his fund-raising activities [C4], cf. [A4], [B5], and of the procedures for the election of his successor [C8], cf. [A13], [B18]. He omits his earlier concessions that the new superior should receive confirmation from the *voivode* and his pastoral staff from the *protos*. He adds provisions for his own memorial services [C6], prayers [C10] for the emperors and other (Christian) rulers that God might "subject the foe and every enemy under their feet,"²⁵ sale [C6], [C9] of his vestments to raise money to ransom monks from the Turks, and an injunction to preserve monastic poverty [C7]. This part of the text is described as a "secret testament" (like (52) *Choumnos* [A3]) and a codicil (like (24) *Christodoulos* [C]), implicitly recognizing the earlier versions [A] and [B].

Notes on the Introduction

1. For details on these and other manuscript witnesses, see Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, pp. 110, 116, 134.
2. See Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, pp. 6–8, 292.
3. So Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, p. 1; ed. pp. 225–28.
4. Lemerle, *Actes de Saint-Pantéléemôn*, no. 8, line 57.
5. Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, no. 15 (1329), pp. 70–76.
6. See Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, pp. 8–13, 292–97.
7. He is mentioned first in Athonite documents of 1362 (see Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, p. 294), but his commission

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to maintain and improve Koutloumousi (mentioned repeatedly in the document below, [A3], [B2], and [C3]) from the Athonite *protos* Theodosios must date from the latter's first or second tenure of office, 1353 or 1355–56.

8. Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, nos. 25 (1369), pp. 99–102; 27 (1369), pp. 105–6; and 28 (1369), pp. 107–9.
9. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2654 (1372), pp. 547–48.
10. See Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, p. 296.
11. See Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, pp. 13–19, 297.
12. Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, no. 38 (1386), pp. 141–44.
13. Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, no. 40 (1393), pp. 147–48.
14. Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, no. 44 (1428), pp. 154–56.
15. See Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, pp. 19–22, 301–3.
16. Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, no. 48 (1501), pp. 162–63, with discussion, p. 301.
17. French translations by P. Wittek in Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, Appendix IV, pp. 234–39.
18. See Kadas, *Mount Athos*, pp. 70–73, and Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, pp. 23–25.
19. Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, p. 23.
20. Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, no. 80, pp. 222–24.
21. Kadas, *Mount Athos*, p. 73.
22. Meditation on death: [A1], [B14], [C1]; basis for Chariton's authority: [A3], [B2], [C3]; nature of the relationship with the patron: [A4], [B5], [C4]; patron's requirements: [A5], [B6], [B7]; conflict with the patron: [A6], [B8], [B9]; arbitration by the Athonite fathers: [A7], [B10], [B11]; their recommendations: [A8], [B12]; conditional acceptance of the patron's appointees: [A9], [B13]; sources of the monastery's endowment: [A10], [A11], [B15]; Chariton's proposal: [A12], [B16], [B17]; election of the new superior: [A13], [B18], [C8]; reservation of the right to make changes in the *Testament*: [A14], [B19]; condemnation of transgressors: [A15], [B20]; official confirmation: [A16], [B21], [C12].
23. For a discussion of these patriarchal grants, see Emil Herman, " 'Chiese private' e diritto di fondazione negli ultimi secoli dell'impero bizantino," *OCP* 12 (1946), 302–21, and my own *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987), pp. 249–62.
24. Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, no. 26 (1370), pp. 102–5, 367–68.
25. Prayers for military success are seen also in this era in (49) *Geromeri* [15], cf. (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [6], and earlier in (19) *Attaleiates* [43], (23) *Pakourianos* [18], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [47].

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Translation

First Testament [A]

[A1.] If man had remained in that condition in which he had been fashioned by the God of all and had kept his commandments, he would not have been given over to death, or be constrained by such a brief span of life. Things would proceed more in accord with his wishes, and no unyielding obstacle would block his path. But his transgression has made him subject to death, a cruel one at

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that, and one cannot even describe the turbulent mass of things lying in wait for him. Even in this state he ought to give thanks to God, for it enables him to be cognizant of his own nature and to recognize that nothing has ever happened or will happen apart from God's will. He should be humbled by the mortality of his nature and should in turn be comforted by [God's] providence.

[A2.] Born and raised, as I have been, in this unstable nature and having lived my life and advanced in years to the present and, although quite unworthy, having enjoyed many great gifts from Christ my Savior, fearing that my life will soon come to its end, I freely submit this present *Testament* of mine to those who are and who will be my fathers and brothers in the revered monastery of our Savior Jesus Christ, which is also called Koutloumousi, and which by the inscrutable judgment of God is now under my care.

[A3.] For my most holy fathers in this monastery, moved by him who disposes all things for our benefit, with the will, vote, and agreement of the then *protos* of the revered monasteries of this holy mountain, the ordained monk Theodosios,¹ and the all-holy metropolitan of Hierissos and of our holy mountain, lord Iakobos, have with much entreaty entrusted me with its care. This is made clear in the letter they have addressed to me. It is authenticated not only by their own signatures, but also by those of the blessed and revered lords my fathers, I mean the aforementioned *protos* and the all-holy metropolitan. They laid upon me the charge of doing all I should wish for it with the help of God. It was not my intention to fall asleep over suggested improvements and means of strengthening the monastery, but rather with my whole mind and body to be zealous and to get things done for the betterment of the monastery and the benefit of the brothers in it.

[A4.] On its behalf I not only appealed to prominent Romans² to support me in this endeavor, but also those of other nationalities, from whose donations I endowed this monastery with no small amount of possessions and funding, as well as a fair amount of property. Indeed, it seemed to me that this monastery should have strong fortifications constructed around it to ward off the peoples who, because of my sins, were assaulting it, and to provide security and freedom from fear for the monks practicing asceticism there. I therefore went off to the most fortunate, most valiant lord, my son, the ruler of Ungrovlachia, lord John Vladislav,³ the *voivode*, and explained my plans to him. I also intimated that since his father, lord Nicholas Alexander⁴ of blessed memory, himself lord of the same Ungrovlachia, had greatly cooperated in constructing the foundations for a great tower, even though its completion was left to others, he too ought to imitate his father. This would assure him of remission of his sins, good health of soul and body, and an enviable reputation among emperors and rulers, for he would not be inferior to them in his munificence and his offerings to this most holy mountain, the eye, so to speak, of the whole civilized world. All this would be his if he should choose to build fortifications in this monastery of Koutloumousi. Actually, I suggested this two and even three times and, by God's help, I convinced him to bring it to completion. But it meant that I had to put up with hardships on my many journeys, fraught with fear, as I traveled through provinces subject to many lords, as everyone knows who is aware of or has heard about that project. By dint of much hard work and suffering on my part and on that of my fathers and brothers in this monastery, as well as by the support and financial expenditure of the most

fortunate *voivode* himself, our patron,⁵ this fortification now in view has been constructed. In this way, therefore, the construction of the fortification was accomplished with the help of God, who guides all things along the way “from non-being into being.”⁶

[A5.] The *voivode* then decided to bring about certain changes in the cenobitic constitution of this monastery, inasmuch as the Vlachs who were also intending to come were accustomed to a life of ease and not to the austerities of established cenobitic life, lived as God intended. In this monastery too he intended to have those customs put into practice which prevailed in the other revered monasteries. First, he entrusted the implementation of his plan to his personal official, the *zupan*, lord John Neagu the *vitezes*.⁷ In fact, he arrived at this holy mountain just as I did, for at the time I had been away in Ungrovlachia. He “turned every stone,”⁸ so to speak, but was unable to shake my resolve in this matter. This meant that he was unsuccessful, and he departed without having been able to accomplish anything. [p. 114]

[A6.] After a short time, while I was again journeying in Ungrovlachia, on my way to the most fortunate *voivode*, things did not go so smoothly for me. For I discovered that he was quite perturbed. He recounted what he had heard from that man the *vitezes*, and brought these matters to my attention again. It was clear that my views remained the same, and he realized that he would have to make a more concerted effort. To this end he summoned the most holy metropolitan of All Ungrovlachia, *hypertimos*, lord Hyakinthos,⁹ the honorable *dikaiophylax* of the illustrious imperial clergy and of the holy Great Church of God, lord Daniel Kritopoulos,¹⁰ his superior and spiritual father lord Dorotheos, the *logothetes*, lord Sabas, and others. Having assembled in council, they also summoned me. They devoted themselves to discussing the matters referred to them, looking at all possible aspects. On the one hand, they were accusing me of not obeying our patron and builder, who had provided so much support, and on the other advising me not to let myself be deprived of many and great things which the most fortunate *voivode* was determined to offer to the monastery in addition. All of these things, they said, would work out well for me if I would go along with his plans. At times they called it a matter of arrogance because, in their judgment, I did not want to follow the same course of action as the others. But I continued to argue against this reckless experiment, and I said that they must allow me to remain within the unchanging boundaries of the fathers (cf. Prov. 22:28), which had been transmitted to me as an inheritance, and that they should not attempt to alter the institutions of cenobitic life, which the holy fathers viewed as heaven on earth.

[A7.] Nonetheless, after a great deal of discussion, they too departed, having heard nothing else from me except: “For myself I do not wish to undermine those rules enacted by my most holy fathers which have come down to me, even if I should incur a greater debt, even one immensely greater than the twelve hundred ounces [of ducats] which I presently owe. But, if on returning to the holy mountain and communicating the proposed plan to the many holy and godly men whom that mountain nourishes, I should discover that they approve of it, I would also persuade my brothers and fathers in the monastery and then, although without pleasure, I too shall observe what is pleasing to the most fortunate *voivode*.” With this response, they went to communicate

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their findings to the lord who had sent them. But he was quite perturbed at not having achieved his aims and sent me away practically empty-handed. There was no thought of any obligation or of anything else that was really needed. But he gave me a rather small payment as I left, so it would not seem that he was simply dropping all concern for the monastery.

[A8.] I returned to the holy mountain and consulted, as I had promised, with those holy and heavenly men. After lengthy inquiry and consideration, and a thorough investigation of the proposal, they reached a solution, and addressed me: "You do well not to go ahead and boldly try this experiment simply on your own initiative. But, be assured that even those whom God has put in charge of spiritual matters often have to make use of a certain economy to allow for changes in accord with various conditions, as indeed has been done in the other, larger monasteries on this holy mountain. Those who began this practice did not do so out of bad will, but because of the anomaly of the situation. They made concessions lest, by being too rigid, they might be deprived of what was more important. You too must do as the fathers. Such condescension is the only way in which you will gain what may be needed for the souls and the bodies of the brothers."

[A9.] I yielded to these inspired words, and so persuaded my brothers, and I continued to commend the whole matter to Christ my Savior. After a short time had passed, the most reverend *protopapas* of Ungrovlachia, lord Michael, arrived here along with his brother, the ordained monk lord Iakobos, and others. They wanted to be tonsured and to be numbered among us, but sought to embrace the way of life approved by the most fortunate *voivode*. Then I, calling to mind the advice of the holy fathers, said to him that if the most fortunate *voivode*, our patron, should continue his support in its fullness, I myself would be prepared to do what he so eagerly desired regarding the way of life in the monastery. "But in the meantime you should enjoy every comfort until we shall have made our views clear to the *voivode* and arrived at a solution." This, therefore, is our situation at the moment.

[A10.] The points in question have been drawn up in chapter form in the memorandum to be presented to the most pious *voivode*, our patron, and written as though composed by him personally. We are sending them to him so he might confirm them by his own signature. We have also retained a copy of it here.¹¹ The points are summarized in the present testamentary set of instructions of mine and read as follows: Of the possessions presently belonging to our revered monastery, cattle byres, vineyards, sheep, yoked animals, and all the others which, by God's providence, plainly exist among us, some are gifts of the most fortunate [p. 115] despot lord John Ugleša,¹² some of his father the Caesar, some of Vulk,¹³ and some were given by Romans such as the *mezas stratopedarches* Astras,¹⁴ Hierakes,¹⁵ and several others. Other possessions have been acquired by the manual labor and the individual expenditures of my fathers and brothers, those who have departed to the Lord and those still living. But the newly built fortification, which one can now see, and that alone, was constructed at the expense of the most fortunate *voivode*. The monks too contributed their share in the form of services and hard work, as well as the income from their possessions, which meant that they suffered being deprived of necessities for a great many years now.

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[A11.] The construction, therefore, of the fortified enclosing wall which one sees there, and only that, as I said, is the work of the *voivode*. In addition, there are certain sacred objects which are deposited as security for the twelve hundred ounces [of ducats] we owe, which were spent on its construction. As far as all the rest is concerned, some income was furnished by certain God-loving men, some from the labor and individual expenditures of the brothers. But they are not sufficient for both Vlachs and Romans, especially now with their newly devised way of life.

[A12.] Because of all this, I am requesting that he remit the debt of twelve hundred ounces [of ducats] expended in the construction of the fortification. I also ask that he erect a church large enough for all the brothers, present and yet to come, as well as a refectory of corresponding size. Let him make purchases and grant ownership of possessions, vines, animals, and other things, which will enable the brothers to enjoy some rest from their labors, those who have endured so much in its construction, as well as those yet to come. By his personal agreement and signature let him grant to the Romans, those now present and those by God's grace still to come, assurance that they will be accorded due honor and precedence by the Vlachs, that they will receive special treatment in matters of food and drink and all other things, and that they will not be harassed by the Vlachs in any way at all.

[A13.] Now then, regarding the person who shall become superior after my departure from this life, I have written down my preference, namely, that he be chosen previously by myself and by my brothers and should thus take on what we may call the promotion to the office of superior. Let him then go off to the most fortunate *voivode*, our patron, and receive his confirmation as superior. He should return again to the holy mountain and receive from the most holy *protos* the pastoral staff. He should then carry out the duties of superior, according to the custom of the fathers in force.

[A14.] I have, therefore, written these things, being sound in mind and healthy in body by the great goodness of God, and I submit it to my brothers in Christ. If, by the mercy of God, I remain among the living until the time comes for me to make any needed corrections to this *Testament*, thanks be to him who knows all things before they come into being. But if in the meantime I should pay my debt, those who reside or who shall reside after me in this revered monastery do not have my permission to try to dissolve the cenobitic institution established so well and in such God-loving fashion by our most holy fathers, unless the above matters compiled in chapter form should finally be confirmed by our patron, the most fortunate *voivode*.

[A15.] If anyone listed among the brothers of the monastery shows contempt for what I have laid down, no matter who he might be, he will be judged by God as having betrayed the holy canons handed down by our fathers and those given by me who am, by a judgment known only to God, his spiritual father. Those who shall do what is just and pleasing to God shall expel him from the monastery as careless and reckless.

[A16.] All of the above has been composed and written by me, Chariton, who by God's judgment

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have accomplished all that was written down and who am superior of this revered monastery, presently ordained monk and spiritual father. It has been approved and confirmed by the signatures of my most holy lord and father, the *protos* of the revered monasteries on this holy mountain, lord Sabas,¹⁶ ordained monk, of the God-loved bishop of Hierissos and the holy mountain, lord David, and of others. In the year 6878, the eighth indiction [= 1370 A.D.].

+ By the mercy of God, *protos* of the holy mountain of Athos, the ordained monk Sabas.¹⁷

+ The humble bishop of Hierissos and of the holy mountain, David.

+ The ordained monk of Koutloumoussi, Chariton.

Second Testament [B]

[p. 117] + With my own hand I have prefixed my name, Chariton, ordained monk of Koutloumoussi.

[B1.] To that ancient tabernacle of the law, which Moses had pitched at God's command and which had been fashioned by Bezalel (cf. Exod. 35:30), many people were called upon to make offerings, and many others on their own initiative made offerings, not only of gold and silver, scarlet and linen, but also of goat hair (cf. Exod. 35:6–7), the most common thing about. To my truly divine Savior Jesus even the offering of two obols from the widow (cf. Mark 12:42; Luke 21:2) appeared greater than what the wealthy people were depositing in the vaults of the treasury. Thus it is with those who set down the first foundations, the groundwork itself, and who built churches, revered convents, and monasteries, and who expended vast sums on them. All this involved a great deal of labor and care, but the effort demanded of those who assume the charge of ancient institutions which have grown old is no less. For their aim is to raise them up to great renown. They must bring unceasing concern and unending activity to the task of successfully completing their work.

[B2.] So I, Chariton, least among ordained monks and spiritual fathers, having enjoyed many great favors and benefactions, although truly unworthy, from our Lord Jesus Christ, our God and Savior, have not managed to accomplish anything good in his sight or to pay back even in the slightest way my many debts or to honor him with rich gifts and expenditures such as men look upon as proper. Instead, I clearly understood and believed that he did not attend to extravagant gifts but to rectitude of thought, and so I offered what I could. This is how it happened. The ineffable wisdom of God which governs and orders all things, whose "judgments are as the great deep" (Ps. 35 [36]:6), in ways known to his goodness, has moved the brothers then residing in this holy, revered monastery of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is also called Koutloumoussi, so that they have, with much love and the greatest insistence, demanded that I assume the leadership over them. When I refused and objected that I was impractical and negligent, the monks did not believe they had to acquiesce, and they said they would not remain [p. 118] quiet until they achieved their aims. Indeed, they went off to the most holy *protos*, at that time the ordained monk lord Theodosios, as well as to the most holy metropolitan of Hierissos and of this holy mountain of ours, lord Iakobos, and they explained what they had in mind, and obtained their strong support. Motivated

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by divine zeal, by persuasion and entreaty, and even by censure, they convinced me to assume this position of authority. The letter, in fact, of these fathers, my lords, and of the fathers dwelling in the monastery authorizes me to carry out all that I desire in it, as anyone who wishes may learn by reading it.

[B3.] Indeed, with God supporting me in bearing the yoke of this monastery, I did not think I should permit myself any relaxation. Neither should I become absorbed in the table and in sleep, as might be expected of hirelings and not of shepherds (cf. John 10:12). Nor should I compromise the affairs of the monastery in any way at all and not employ all my strength and power even to giving up my own life. But whether, as the “good and faithful servant” (Matt. 25:20–22), I made full use of the talent given to me by God, I leave to others to investigate and discuss. But, without giving offense, I might tell my story, not taking any pride myself, but simply relating the wonders of God in my regard and attributing all successful accomplishments to the right hand of the Most High and his raised arm.

[B4.] The monastery expanded from a few, mediocre brothers to a large number of good ones; from some poor beggars to those who do not lack anything now; from those who owned very little to those who now possess much; from those with little equipment to those who now have a good deal of equipment, and good equipment at that; from those not protected by walls and easy to capture to those now safe within walls and not subject to capture. To put it simply, I did not compromise on anything at all which might adversely affect the maintenance and the betterment of the monastery. Anything of that sort I would fight with all the force of my body and my soul. In fact, it was for this reason that I did not spend much time in the monastery.

Practically my whole life was spent out in the open. I had to battle against winter with its snowstorms and downpours, summer with its scorching heat. There was the fear of being taken captive by the tribes. I encountered Romans, Serbs, and Vlachs, from whom I managed to acquire no small amount of money and possessions. Were the funds for the encircling wall, now clearly to be seen, obtained without any work? As the proverb says, “Did the grain come to use already ground?”¹⁸ By no means.

[B5.] Observing how easily the monastery could be taken by the invading, godless tribes, and viewing with foreboding being taken captive, I found my whole life constrained. For the sake of the monastery I recked not of danger and raced off to the most pious and most noble lord of Ungrovlachia, lord John Vladislav, the *voivode*. I reminded him how his truly blessed father, also lord of Ungrovlachia, lord Nicholas, had taken very much of a leading role in the erection of the great tower, even though he did not see its completion. I intimated that he too could contribute toward it for the salvation of his soul and the forgiveness of his sins, as well as for those of his father who had passed on. It would redound to his own good fortune, praise, and glory if he should build upon the foundation laid by his father and carry to completion the work he had begun and for which he had already prepared the ground. This he could do by erecting over that area already excavated some fortifications to protect the souls dwelling there. To this end I used every means of persuasion to induce him, and I tried to win him over with apostolic and fatherly advice. I did

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not even hold back my tears, that very useful and most efficacious remedy. With the approval of heaven and guided by him who opens his hands and fills every creature with goodness (Ps. 103 [104]:28), his heart too was opened, and he agreed to carry out the proposal. As a result, with his support and financial contributions, and with the wearisome labors of myself and my brothers, which we endured in our many and rough journeys traveling through lands, cities, and provinces belonging to many rulers, as everyone knows, and even more by the labor of our own hands each day and by furnishing of food and drink from our estates, with God's help, the fortification now to be seen was built. I shall not even mention the contributions and payments of the monastery and the many brothers who became bored with the labor and ran away. Moreover, there were the exigencies of the debt and the harassment of the debtors which we endured in order to erect the fortification, so that we still owe a thousand *aspra*.

[B6.] Now, once the fortification had been completed, we faced another conflict, and greater struggles threatened our souls with destruction. For the above-mentioned *voivode*, while attentive to the funds he was doling out, paid little heed to the strictness of our way of life. Some of the Vlachs who were coming here and being tonsured wanted to live in a relaxed, loose, and irregular manner, inasmuch as they are mountain folk and unaccustomed to monastic continence and discipline. It was his intention to alter and to transform the rule legislated and defined by our holy, God-bearing, immortalized fathers, and that rule of common life [p. 119] which had been so well elaborated and observed by those founders and holy fathers of mine.

[B7.] He first raised this issue through the *zupan* lord Neagu, the *vitezes*, who was very close to him in all respects. Indeed, he arrived at the holy mountain at the same time as I was returning from those parts. He "left no stone unturned,"¹⁹ as the saying goes, trying to convince me to give in to this way of life, unusual and foreign to true monks. But God from whom all good comes was on my side, and the *zupan* did not succeed in shaking my resolve or in changing the position I adhered to regarding our paternal, or if you will, divine inheritance. But he departed without having achieved anything.

[B8.] This was not the end of our trials, and the afflictions did not stop here. Once again there were other trials, and again onslaughts of evil worse and more extensive than the previous ones. As I appeared for the second time before the above-mentioned most pious *voivode* on matters of government, I found him ill-disposed and hostile toward me, not at all civil or gentle, and I was not able to relax even a little. He was very perturbed and angry, and he railed furiously at me for not having paid any heed to what Neagu had said. Once more, he carefully communicated his views to me, and on finding that I had not changed my views and was absolutely unyielding, he thought I should be forced to face another trial, a more persuasive and respectable one.

[B9.] The *voivode* then summoned the most holy metropolitan of all Ungrovlachia, the *hypertimos* lord Hyakinthos, the then most honorable *dikaiophylax* of the reverend clergy of the holy Great Church of God, lord Daniel Kritopoulos, who is himself now the most holy metropolitan of Ungrovlachia, his superior and spiritual father lord Dorotheos, the *logothetes* lord Sabas, and

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others, and he referred the matter to them. After they had assembled in council, they had me join them. They began by traveling down every sort of trail as long as it might aid them in meeting the wishes of the pious *voivode*. At times they were entreating me and claiming that good judgment was really a lack of judgment. At other times they were accusing me of being disobedient to the wishes of the patron who had been so very generous toward me. Sometimes they turned to giving me advice so that I would not be deprived of his future benefactions. They did not even refrain from accusations and insults. They accused me of being arrogant because I did not want to live in the same way as the others.

[B10.] On hearing these things, I was certainly hurt. How could I not be, unless I were made of stone or iron? It was because we were in such dire straits that I had taken the road. But the boldness of the proposed plan and the fact that so many fathers had measured out their lives in the same way of life, and from whom we have received this good heritage, gave me pause. I could not bear that the report should reach the monks, even on the tips of their ears, that I might be responsible for overturning what we had of the way of the life of the fathers. These considerations held me back and did not allow me to agree with what I was hearing. For I fear the judgment of God, I told them. I have no right to overturn what was well determined by the fathers, even if I should incur a greater debt than the present one of twelve hundred ounces [of ducats]. I recalled how our great and merciful father had acted. Not even in persistent want did he compromise on any of the holy canons or yield on anything, but commended the situation of the poor monks to the father of the orphans, to him who provided for all. Nonetheless, struck as I was by so many verbal arrows, I departed from what I really believed. "I shall refer this matter," I said, "to the most holy fathers and elders who are numerous on the holy mountain. If they make the judgment that it is a matter of economy and not of dissolution, then I too, albeit reluctantly, shall go along with the pious *voivode*."

[B11.] Those who had been commissioned then communicated my words to the person who had sent them. He was perturbed and took it hard that he had fallen short of his goal, and he dismissed me practically empty-handed, without even a thought for our debt or any one of our basic expenses. All I received was a pittance for my journey, enough so it would not seem that he was dropping all concern for the mountain.

[B12.] When I returned to our own holy mountain, I referred the whole matter to the esteemed, prudent, and saintly old men, begging them to determine what would be pleasing to God. "You did well," I heard from them, "and you did well not to take any bold action on your own initiative which might be contrary to the way of life of the fathers, but to cling to it with all your strength. For this reason you may accurately be called founder and successor, not overturner and destroyer, of the fathers before you. This is to share the same belief and the same throne, not to set up a rival belief and a rival throne. It is characteristic, however, of correct judgment to know how to make adaptations to the times and to persons if it is to convey anything necessary or beneficial to souls or bodies. For in the same way in which we declare that it is rash and lacking in judgment to overturn the excellent way of life of the fathers, so we repeat that it is also lacking in judgment not to compromise or make concessions to one who comes from a lordly and more luxurious manner

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of living, who is, moreover, unaccustomed to a harsh and rugged way of life, but who has taken action on a number of expenses for things which the monastery needs, or also to make concessions to others who are weak and, in addition, [p. 120] not capable of submitting to common life and to the seasonal diet provided for their table companions. But it is necessary to employ economy concerning the matters in question, otherwise, because of their inability to deal with things, they might turn back again to where they had been, and this crime will be greater than the correction.”

[B13.] With these words, those noble men convinced me. They also cited the case of one who had joined them a short time previously. The most reverend *protopapas*, lord Melchisedek,²⁰ had come from the most fortunate *voivode*, had been tonsured, and enjoyed a softer way of life. But he was still unable to persevere and returned whence he had come. I too yielded to their inspired words and admitted that their decision was a good one. I gave my assent to the views of the fathers, along with the proper affirmative counsel of the brothers residing with me. Now then, the points in question, those on which I yielded somewhat to the will of the pious *voivode*, have been arranged in chapters and written down in the memorandum addressed to him, so he might observe them, guarantee them with his own signature, and make them firm. They will also be written by me, who have put together the above account up to this point, and which by the grace of my Lord is a truthful one.

[B14.] Since I too am a man and subject to human and physical laws, I shall inexorably and in due course submit to the punishment of death for my disobedience, according to the divine declaration. I have, therefore, while still sound and in bodily health, deemed it necessary to make arrangements for the peace of the monastic community after my death to forestall any scandals which might arise if matters were to remain unsettled. With God's help, therefore, I make the following dispositions.

[B15.] First of all, I grant to all orthodox Christians and to the brothers with me, present and future, due forgiveness, which I in turn beg from all people. Next, concerning the institution of common life I make the following regulations. The possessions we can see which presently belong to our monastery, I refer to cattle byres, vineyards, sheep, yoked animals, and all the others, come from various benefactors. Some are gifts from the most pious emperors of the Romans and of the Serbians, some from the most fortunate despot, lord John Ugleša, and from his father the Caesar, some from Vulk, some from Radochna, from the *mezas stratopedarches* Astras, from Hierakes. The small monastery in Thessalonike was given by Chalkaiopoulos, and the rest was given by other Serbs and Romans. But most of the possessions about us derive directly from the manual labor of my fathers and brothers, those who have gone on before us and those still around. The newly built fortification, however, which can now be seen, and that alone, has been constructed at the expense of the most fortunate *voivode*, and certain sacred objects are deposited as security for the debt of a thousand *aspra* for its construction. Nor did the monks fail to contribute to its construction. From their possessions they paid some expenses, which made things difficult for them, so that they were hard pressed for necessities. Some of the actual labor was also done directly by them with their own toil and sweat.

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[B16.] Now, we would ask if the most pious *voivode* could remit the debt of a thousand *aspra* which had been paid out for the construction of the fortification, and if he could erect a greater church, large enough to accommodate the Roman brothers who reside here as well as the Vlachs who will be arriving. In addition, let him also erect a refectory of corresponding size for them, and let him purchase possessions and animals, set up vineyards and other things able to bring some relief to the brothers who have labored so much in supporting the monastery. In return, I exempt and permit the Vlachs who shall come from a lordly station and who provide the monastery with sufficient funds for their comfort, as well as those among them who may be infirm, to regulate their manner of life as each is able from his own resources, without requesting the monastery for more than their customary and assigned service.

[B17.] According to the blessed Paul, with God there is “neither Jew nor Greek” (Gal. 3:28; Col. 3:11), “but in every nation anyone who fears him is acceptable to him” (Acts 10:35). I, therefore, make this disposition concerning positions of honor and precedence among the brothers. On the pretext that the monastery and its possessions are Roman, the brothers who are Roman have no license to drive away or disparage the brothers who are Vlachs, and who have brought in certain necessities, or have worked hard. On the other hand, neither shall the Vlachs sit in judgment because of the fortification constructed by our patron, and refuse to contribute payments and labor. But as one people let each receive proper honor and reverence from his subordinates in food, drink, and seating, and, in corresponding manner, in what is due²¹ to him according to the years and labors of each one, as is done in the rest of the hagioritic monasteries, who are at peace with the brothers of other nationalities living in them. Let the monastery be known as that of Koutloumousi, seeing as it was founded by the late holy founder²² of ours, and let the Vlachs accord fitting reverence and honor to the Romans who have [p. 121] labored here. In this way let them live in peace and harmony as befits saints. To this end I requested the pious *voivode* to issue a letter guaranteeing precedence in all things to the Romans.

[B18.] In like manner I also make this disposition about the one who shall be superior after my departure from this life. Supplication should first be offered to God by the entire brotherhood that God should grant them a superior who will maintain the dignity of the title, who will be a shepherd, not a hireling (cf. John 10:12) who betrays the calling, unstable of character, always bent over the table, and unconcerned about spiritual matters. Let the monk elected by the brothers be chosen not just for his grey hairs but for his wisdom. For God does not look at the person as men do, but is pleased by the nobility of soul and looks kindly upon the meek, the gentle, and those who observe his commandments. After the election he should go off to the most fortunate *voivode*, our patron, and be formally installed by him as superior. Returning here to the holy mountain, he should receive the pastoral staff from the most holy *protos*. He may then function as superior of the monastery according to the ancient custom of the fathers still in vigor and the rule of common life.

[B19.] Now, therefore, while still of sound mind and in good bodily health, owing to God’s forbearance, I make this disposition, and I confirm it, and I formally present it to my brothers in

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Christ as a fatherly inheritance and rule. If, by the mercy of God, I should remain among the living long enough to make any needed corrections in all of this, thanks be to God. But if in the meantime I should pay my obligations, those who reside or shall reside in this revered monastery after me do not have my permission to try to destroy the constitution of common life which has been clearly set forth in a God-loving manner by my holy fathers, unless those points previously composed in chapter form should receive final confirmation by the most fortunate *voivode*. When that has been done, such concessions are to be made only to those whom I have mentioned above.

[B20.] If anyone listed among the brothers in the monastery shows contempt for the dispositions I have made, whoever he may be he will be judged by God as having betrayed the holy canons handed down by our forefathers and by me who am, by judgments known only to God, his spiritual father. He shall, moreover, incur the canonical penalties and curses and by those doing what is just and pleasing to God he shall, as a reckless person, a perverter, be expelled from the monastery.

[B21.] The above was written and composed by me, who by the judgment of God, have accomplished all that was written down, I, Chariton, ordained monk, spiritual father, and superior of the revered monastery of Koutloumoussi, have confirmed and signed as guarantee in my own hand. In the month of November, the ninth indiction, the year 6879 [= 1370 A.D.].

+ I, Chariton, ordained monk of Koutloumoussi, have signed with my own hand.

Since in the pious laws it appears that a general testament and the codicil following it should be verified by the signatures and witness of noteworthy men, and so receive confirmation, I request my holy fathers, the all-holy *protos* and the most holy bishop of Hierissos and of the holy mountain and the most holy superiors of the revered hagioretic monasteries, both in their capacities as officials and overseers of the holy mountain and also as trustworthy witnesses, to confirm by their own signatures this *Testament* of mine so it will be held as firm and unchallenged by all.

+ The *protos* of the holy mountain of Athos, the ordained monk Sabas.²³

+ The superior of the revered and holy imperial monastery of Vatopedi, the ordained monk Joseph.

[On the verso:]

+ The present *Testament* was published in the month of November of the ninth indiction.

+ The humble bishop of Hierissos and of the holy mountain, David.

Third Testament [C]

[p. 135] + I, the humble metropolitan of Ungrovlachia, *hypertimos*, titular bishop²⁴ of Amaseia, and *protos* of the Holy Mountain, Chariton, have with my own hand prefixed my name.

+ In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. I, the humble metropolitan of Ungrovlachia, Chariton, *hypertimos*, and titular bishop of Amaseia, and *protos* of the Holy Moun-

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tain of Athos, publish the present testamentary document of my will and disposition executed and signed, and I do this willingly, with aforethought and freely, being sound and healthy of mind, by the grace of Christ, and able to speak without any impairment.

[C1.] I am fearful of the untimely onslaught of death, for my body is in poor condition, and very painfully tested by this pestilential disease that is now among us. For since, because of the disobedience of our ancestors, we share their curse, to the earth from whence we have been taken we again return, and since we have come into being, we are subject to destruction, and . . . we are subject to death. “There is no man who shall live and who shall not see death” (Ps. 88 [89]:48), even though he boast of being crowned with diadems, even though he rejoices in the delights of wealth and fame. In this regard even such a man as that shares exactly the same nature and is subject to the same ruin.

[C2.] Fearful of the untimely onslaught of death, I have again thought it necessary to make such arrangements as I prefer of my affairs and what I wish to be done after I depart this life. If indeed I had given myself up to the possession of money or material objects or any such thing, and had devoted my energies to concern for them, whether they had accrued to me from my fathers or I had myself come to own them and be anxious about them, as everybody else, . . . I would make my disposition and, as is customary, would divide them up in the hands of my relatives and the poor, in such a way that I would have been able to dispose of them according to my mind and preference. But since involvement with these things is of absolutely no interest to me, either because of God’s commandment or because of my own negligence, in this present testamentary document of mine I shall not discuss these matters. I do, however, make arrangements concerning that with which I have been particularly occupied through my life, and which I have held in the highest regard from the time when I first came in contact with it, I mean, the revered monastery of Koutloumousi on this Holy Mountain of ours, Athos.

[C3.] This monastery was at first renowned and well regarded, with many excellent features, housing holy, God-bearing men who sang hymns and devoted themselves to God. But at the repeated request and invitation [p. 136] of those holy fathers of mine who were giving themselves to asceticism in it, and in fact also at the request of those other holy, God-bearing fathers of mine, the most holy *protos*, lord Theodosios Alopous, the most holy bishop of Hierissos and of the Holy Mountain, the late blessed lord Iakobos, I yielded and received this position. It was not from my own resources that the monastery acquired its present status. For how could this be, since I noted above that I had absolutely no interest in acquiring gold or silver? But it was because of my eagerness, my efforts, and my concern, which I believe to be more important for the preservation of a holy house. For money, when given for such a purpose, is often only an indication of good will, but serious effort conjoined with eagerness and holy zeal is indisputable evidence of the fear and love of God. Having received this charge, therefore, as mentioned, I sought to put my zeal to use and bring about changes leading to the greatest improvements. But I discovered that its resources were absolutely tiny, it was oppressed by great want, and it was revered only for those men I mentioned who were outstanding for virtue.

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[C4.] Paying no heed, therefore, to old age or to illness and, as everyone knows, ignoring wintry weather and burning heat, in great haste and intent on nothing else, I departed from here on work for the monastery. I went off to the Romans, Serbians, and Bulgarians to request what was needed for its foundation and support. By my prayers and entreaties I persuaded them, with God graciously and kindly looking on what was undertaken for him. Thus I journeyed seven times to the late, blessed *voivode* Vladislav and his wife the lady Anna. By the providence of God, they presented me with funds for the rebuilding of the monastery. It was indeed rebuilt and beautified. They contributed to its improvement, as anyone can now clearly see, to the glory of God who disposes all things for our good. Not only that, but I was able to ransom some of the brothers from the monastery who had been taken captive and given into the hands of the godless Moslems, sometimes two, sometimes three, and once fourteen at one time. I was able to do this by going to visit the most pious and most blessed lady, Queen Elizabeth,²⁵ and others. Furthermore, I had also received a large contribution from Vulk for the governance of the monastery. It is, therefore, for this particular reason that I did not acquire, as I said, either silver or gold for myself, as all my dearest brothers in Christ Jesus, the children of my lowly self, know.

[C5.] But when, by a judgment known only to God, I entered upon the high priesthood and my service as *protos*, I did not lose thought of the life I had formerly led, and I remained concerned about my customary poverty. Now perhaps some might suspect that from both of these dignities and their revenues I acquired something for myself. I have gone into this in some detail so that people reading this present *Testament* of mine will not think I have set myself up as someone to be marveled at because of my lack of possessions. But I have done it so that they may know that my zeal for the protection of this same monastery has been so great that I took no thought for anything of my own but spent everything for its preservation. Those monks I have mentioned who are residing there should be aware of this, as well as those who later . . . and because of the labor I expended on it, and in proportion to that they should be kind enough to remember me after my departure from this earth. If as a father and counselor I may bequeath anything to them, let them receive it and guard it firmly and staunchly as beneficial and salutary to their souls.

[C6.] The *enkolpion* I wear I leave to my most holy lord the ecumenical patriarch. The *mandyon* I wear and the other vestments belonging to me I leave to the same monastery, so they may be sold to aid the captives. . . . expenses, as I may arrange concerning the obsequies and commemorations for me. I say that it was left to the decision and discretion of the brothers. . . . For I do not believe they shall neglect their obligations toward me, for they know that during my life I was always concerned about protecting their bodies and souls. For myself in particular I beg them, after my departure from this life, that each successive day up to forty days they should celebrate one liturgy for my soul.

[C7.] In like manner I beg them, call upon them, and as a father I advise them that they preserve poverty as the paternal inheritance we have received from those old monks whose memory is eternal. The monks are well aware of the benefits which derive from poverty; nonetheless there are a few points I would like to recall to their attention. If those words are true which come from

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the mouth of the Lord, who does not lie, namely, that “where our treasure is there will our heart be also” (Matt. 6:21; Luke 12:34): since this is indeed true, it must follow that if we gather our treasure from the things of this earth which disappear like smoke, then our heart too will roll around here below and be tied to earth and have no [p. 137] inclination at all to rise to what is above and remains forever. But if we store up our treasure there, being mindful always of God and of the rewards he has promised, there is where our heart will be also. By as much difference, therefore, as there is between spiritual and bodily things, between heavenly and earthly, by so much does storing up treasure in heaven differ from storing it up on earth. Is there any way in which monks who have made promises to deny the world and what is in the world, can then justify betraying their promises? They turn back again “to their own vomit” (II Peter 2:22), and fall again into those very things they had promised to part from. Moreover, they have to face the wrath of God because not only have they not denied themselves, according to the commandments, and taken up their cross and followed (Matt. 10:38; Luke 14:27), but on the pretext of fulfilling the Savior’s command which forbids [giving] to God . . . they strive for something . . . commandment . . . they may be deprived of eternal rewards . . . of the old monks in this monastery whose memory is eternal, and who have illuminated the way of life . . .

[C8.] I make this disposition regarding the one who shall be appointed as superior after I depart this life and those who succeed him according to the instructions I give now. First, when the time is approaching for the leadership of the holy people to be bestowed in trust and the pastoral staff for the rational flock of Christ, especially the elect, to be handed over, let them beseech God that it be granted to this holy flock by him from whom comes “every good endowment and every perfect gift” (James 1:17). After an *ektenes* has been recited from the depths of the soul, have everyone, as by consensus, come to an agreement on one individual and choose the person they judge worthy of such service. First, he must be a disciple of the peaceful and meek Christ, proclaiming the good news of Christ’s peace to all and setting his light before everyone to declare the glory of our Father who is in heaven. He should lay claim to that marvelous possession, poverty, by which material beings seem to stand free of material needs. By means of the perfect square of virtue, as a four-horse chariot, they arrive at the innermost sanctuary of heaven, as did Elijah (4 Kings 2:11), “leaving this world before their bodies, with a certain wise madness they advance to concentrate on better things.”²⁶

[C9.] Some time ago, by a judgment known only to God, or, to speak more accurately, because of our failings, some of our brothers, alas, have been given into the hands of the godless Achemenids [Turks], and it is our duty to ransom them. Since they have labored hard on our behalf and now suffer such a fate, I state, intend, wish, and dispose that, when the time comes for me to perform my obligatory service and to pay back my loan to the earth, then let them sell my vestments, my *mandyon*, and the other things, which I bequeath to this monastery for such a purpose and which were given by the above. . . . Let the brothers be ransomed. These matters then are covered in what I have written.

[C10.] Now with all my soul I pray for our powerful and holy rulers and emperors that God may

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grant them life, many years, and every other good and salvific gift. May they subject the foe and every enemy under their feet. To all . . . Christians to whom I have been a stumbling block of scandal, I [beg forgiveness, and those by whom] I have been scandalized in turn, . . . I grant pardon.

[C11.] I want the present testamentary document and what is contained in it to be in force as a clear and sealed testament, as secret, as a codicil, and as whatever else the divine laws require for a document to be recognized and for the intentions of the persons making the disposition to be approved as valid. Anyone who shall attempt to take any steps to dissolve or censure this document, render it imperfect or invalid, whoever he might be, shall first draw upon himself the divine wrath and that of the saints from eternity. He shall fall from the portion of the saved, and he shall be struck down by the curses of the holy men and of myself a sinner.

[C12.] I beg my illustrious fathers on this Holy Mountain of Athos, I mean all the superiors, and in the first place my lord, brother, and fellow minister, the most holy and God-loving bishop of Hierissos and of the Holy Mountain, that with their own hands they may sign and confirm the present *Testament* of mine, so it may thus be authenticated.

Written in the month of July, the first indiction, the year 6886 [= 1378 A.D.].

- + The bishop of Ungrovlachia and *protos*, Chariton.
- + . . . brother and fellow minister [p. 138] of the humble, most holy . . .
- + The humble bishop of Hierissos and of the Holy Mountain, Isaac.
- + The superior of the revered, holy, and imperial Great Lavra, the ordained monk Kyrillos.
- + The superior of the revered, holy, and imperial great monastery of Vatopedi, the ordained monk Theodoulos.
- + The superior of the revered, holy, and imperial monastery of Iveron, the ordained monk Kallistos.
- + The superior of the sanctuary and monastery of the most holy Mother of God, Hilandar, the ordained monk Sisoje.²⁷
- + The superior of the revered, holy, and imperial monastery of Philotheos, the ordained monk Euthymios.
- + The representative²⁸ of the revered, imperial monastery of Docheiariou, the ordained monk M . . .
- + . . . the ordained monk . . . sios.

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Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of our translator, George Dennis [GD], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. Theodosios is attested as *protos* in 1353 and again in 1355–56, for whom see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 138.
2. Byzantine Greeks.
3. John Vladislav (1364–74), for whom see Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, p. 9.
4. Alexander Basarab (1352–64), for whom see Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, pp. 9, 294.
5. *ktetor*, “owner,” or, as *ktitor*, “founder,” but as the *voivode* was neither, the term is translated here as “patron.” [GD]
6. John Chrysostom, *Liturgia*, ed. F. E. Brightman (London, 1896), p. 369, lines 27–29, and p. 384, lines 27–28.
7. For the correct name of this official and his title which designates a “knight,” see Năsturel, *Mont Athos*, p. 44, n. 35.
8. Cf. Zenobius, *Centuria* 5.63, ed. E. Leutsch and F. Schneidewin, *Corpus Pseudoepigraphorum Graecorum*, vol. 1 (Göttingen, 1839–51; repr. Hildesheim, 1958), p. 146.
9. Hyakinthos, previously metropolitan of Vitsina, nominated by John Vladislav’s father Alexander Basarab to Patriarch Kallistos as metropolitan of “All Ungrovlachia” in 1359; see Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2411, pp. 338–40, ed. MM 1.383–88, and Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, pp. 10–11, 295, 371–72.
10. Daniel Kritopoulos, who was shortly to be appointed under the name Anthimos as metropolitan of “part of Ungrovlachia” by Patriarch Philotheos in November 1370; see Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2593, pp. 501–2, ed. MM 1.535–36, and Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, pp. 11, 372.
11. See Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, no. 26 (1370), pp. 102–5, 367–68.
12. Jovan Uglješa (1365–71), Serbian despot of Serres.
13. Vulk Branković, for whom see Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, p. 386.
14. George Astras Synadenos, for whom see Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, p. 372.
15. According to Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, p. 294, Michael Hierakes, an *oikeios* (for which see Alexander Kazhdan, “Oikeios,” *ODB*, p. 1515) of Emperor John V Palaiologos.
16. Sabas, attested as *protos* in Athonite documents from 1368 through 1371, for whom see Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 139.
17. The signature line is in Slavic.
18. Cf. Gregory of Cyprus, *Centuria* 1.21, ed. Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Corpus Pseudoepigraphorum Graecorum*, vol. 2, p. 94.
19. Cf. Zenobius, *Centuria* 5.63, ed. Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Corpus Pseudoepigraphorum Graecorum*, vol. 1, p. 146.
20. The *protopapas* Michael, known at Koutloumousi under his monastic name Melchisedek, who later returned to the monastery and in 1375 had become its second-ranking official after Chariton himself; see Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, no. 31 (1375), p. 124, with p. 11, n. 60.
21. *eisodemata*, which has a technical meaning here. [GD]
22. A reference to the shadowy Koutloumousi, reputed founder of the monastery; see above, Institutional History, A.
23. The signature line is in Slavic.
24. *topon epechon* designates a bishop who was given a vacant or defunct see in *epidosis*, for which see Darrouzès, *Ορφικια*, pp. 470, 477 and 478, n. 1.
25. Helen, daughter of the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Alexander and widow of the Serbian ruler Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (1331–55) for whom see Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, p. 386.
26. Theophylact Simocatta, *Historia* 1.14.8, ed. C. de Boor, rev. P. Wirth (Stuttgart, 1972).
27. The signature line is in Slavic.

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28. *Ho dikaiou*: the same as *ho dikaio*, i.e., a representative, an agent (*ho ta dikaia pheron*). See Darrouzès, Οφφικία, p. 131 and n. 1; 338, n. 4; 330, n. 1.

Document Notes

1. *First Testament* [A]

- [A1] Meditation on Death. See also the parallel treatment in [B14] and [C1] below, as well as in (49) *Geromeri* [1] and (50) *Gerasimos* [1].
- [A2] Dedication of the *Testament* to the monks of Koutloumousi.
- [A3] Legal basis for Chariton's authority. See also parallel treatments in [B2] and [C3] below.
- [A4] Chariton's enlistment of the *voivode* John Vladislav as patron; construction of the fortification. See also parallel treatments in [B5] and [C4] below. For a similar monastic fortifications, see (23) *Pakourianos* [1] and (24) *Christodoulos* [A12].
- [A5] The *voivode*'s attempt to alter the cenobitic constitution. See also parallel treatments in [B6], [B7] below. For the traditional hostility to such attempts, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [2] and, more recently, (47) *Philanthropos* [3], [4].
- [A6] Chariton's appearance before the *voivode*'s council of ecclesiastical advisers. See also parallel treatments in [B8], [B9] below.
- [A7] Chariton's promise to abide by the arbitration of the Athonite fathers. See also parallel treatments in [B10], [B11] below.
- [A8] Athonite fathers urge concessions. See also the parallel treatment in [B12] below.
- [A9] Chariton's conditional acceptance of Vlach postulants. See also the parallel treatment in [B13] below.
- [A10] Chariton's proposed compromise; contributions of other benefactors. See also the parallel treatment in [B15] below, and the probable text of the agreement drawn up for the *voivode*'s signature preserved in Lemerle, *Kutlumus*, No. 26 (1370), pp. 102–5, 367–68.
- [A11] Security deposit for the *voivode*'s loan; other sources of the endowment; insufficiency of support for both Vlachs and Romans. See also the parallel treatment in [B15] below.
- [A12] Chariton's requests to the *voivode*. See also parallel treatments in [B16], [B17] below.
- [A13] Procedures for election and confirmation of the new superior. See also parallel treatments in [B18] and [C8] below. For elections, patronal confirmations, and ecclesiastical installations in the Palaiologan era, see (37) *Auxentios* [2], [3]; (38) *Kellibara I* [18]; (39) *Lips* [5], [7]; (40) *Anargyroi* [5]; (48) *Prodromos* [13]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [18]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [25], [26]; (58) *Menoikeion* [22]; (59) *Manuel II* [3]; cf. (60) *Charsianeites* [C18].
- [A14] Chariton's reservation of right to make changes in the *Testament*; constitutional changes dependent on *voivode*'s confirmation of Chariton's proposal. See also the parallel treatment in [B19] below. For an author's reservation of the right to make changes, see also (27) *Kecharitomene* [3], cf. her actual changes in [79] and [80].
- [A15] Condemnation of transgressors. See also the parallel treatment in [B20] below, and the use of curses in (35) *Skoteine* [46], (37) *Auxentios* [2], (45) *Neophytos* [22], (48) *Prodromos* [16], (49) *Geromeri* [16], (50) *Gerasimos* [5], (54) *Neilos Damilas* [21], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [17], and (60) *Charsianeites* [B22].
- [A16] Confirmations. See also parallel treatments in [B21] and [C12] below.

2. *Second Testament* [B]

- [B1] Direction of old monasteries equally as demanding as erection of new ones. See continuation of the argument in [B3] and [B4] below.
- [B2] Legal basis for Chariton's authority. See also parallel treatments in [A3] above and in [C3] below.
- [B3] Responsibilities of directing a monastery. Continues the argument of [B1] above.
- [B4] Expansion and improvements under Chariton's administration. Continues the argument of [B1] and [B3] above.

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- [B5] Chariton's enlistment of the *voivode* John Vladislav as patron; construction of the fortification. See also parallel treatments in [A4] above and in [C4] below.
- [B6] The *voivode's* attempt to alter the cenobitic constitution. See also the parallel treatment in [A5] above, with cross-references.
- [B7] Role of the *zupan* Neagu the *vitezes*. See also the parallel treatment in [A5] above.
- [B8] Hostility of the *voivode* towards Chariton. See also the parallel treatment in [A6] above.
- [B9] Chariton's appearance before the *voivode's* council of ecclesiastical advisers. See also the parallel treatment in [A6] above.
- [B10] Chariton's promise to abide by the arbitration of the Athonite fathers. See also the parallel treatment in [A7] above.
- [B11] Chariton angrily dismissed by the *voivode*. See also the parallel treatment in [A7] above.
- [B12] Chariton's consultation with the Athonite fathers. See also the parallel treatment in [A8] above.
- [B13] Chariton's conditional acceptance of Vlach postulants; drafting of a memorandum of understanding. See also the parallel treatment in [A9] above.
- [B14] Prologue to the memorandum of understanding; meditation on death. See also the parallel treatments in [A1] above and [C1] below; the text of the memorandum is incorporated in [B15] through [B19] below.
- [B15] Sources of the monastery's endowment. See also parallel treatments in [A10], [A11] above.
- [B16] Chariton's requests and concessions to the *voivode*. See also the parallel treatment in [A12] above.
- [B17] Regulations governing the relations between Vlachs and Romans. See also the parallel treatment in [A12] above. For other ethnic restrictions and prejudices, see (21) *Roidion* [B3], [B4]; (23) *Pakourianos* [24]; (42) *Sabas* [2], [9]; and (50) *Gerasimos* [4]. Such monastic reform principles as those embodied in (22) *Evergetis* [9], [26] and related documents are here implicitly rejected.
- [B18] Procedures for election and confirmation of the new superior. See also parallel treatments in [A13] above, with cross-references, and [C8] below.
- [B19] Chariton's reservation of right to make changes in the *Testament*; constitutional changes dependent on *voivode's* confirmation of Chariton's proposal and limited to those mentioned. See also the parallel treatment in [A14] above, with cross-reference.
- [B20] Condemnation of transgressors. See also the parallel treatment in [A15] above, with cross-references.
- [B21] Confirmations. See also parallel treatments in [A16] above and [C12] below.

3. *Third Testament* [C]

- [C1] Meditation on death. See also parallel treatments in [A1] and [B14] above.
- [C2] Purpose of this *Testament*. For the author's lack of material possessions, see also [C5] below and the sentiment expressed in (1) *Apa Abraham* [9].
- [C3] Legal basis for Chariton's authority; true reason for monastery's prosperity. See also parallel treatments in [A3] and [B2] above.
- [C4] Chariton's enlistment of the *voivode* John Vladislav and others as patrons; rebuilding of the monastery and rescue of captives. See also parallel treatments of patronage in [A4] and [B5] above; for ransoming captives, see also [C6] and [C9] below.
- [C5] Use of Chariton's income as metropolitan and *protos* for the benefit of the monastery. See also (31) *Areia* [M10] for the use of another prelate's revenues to support his personal foundation.
- [C6] Disposition of Chariton's clerical vestments. For sale of vestments to ransom captives, see also [C9] below.
- [C7] Recommendation for the preservation of monastic poverty. This is meant as a counterbalance to the concessions agreed to for the sake of the Vlachs in [B16] above.
- [C8] Procedure for the election of a new superior. See also parallel treatment above in [A13], with cross-references, and [B18].
- [C9] Provision for sale of Chariton's vestments to ransom captives. See also [C6] above.

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[C10] Prayers for emperors and other rulers. See also similar provisions in these fourteenth-century documents: (49) *Geromeri* [15], (50) *Gerasimos* [1], and (58) *Menoikeion* [1], [16].

[C11] Validity of this “secret” testament. For other secret testaments, see (14) *Ath. Testament* [3]; (24) *Christodoulos* [B]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [1], [96], [116]; and (52) *Choumnos* [A3].

[C12] Confirmations. See also parallel treatments in [A16] and [B21] above.

52. *Choumnos: Rule and Testament of Makarios Choumnos* for the *Nea Mone* of the Mother of God in Thessalonike

Date: Shortly before 1374¹

Translator: Alice-Mary Talbot

Edition employed: V. Laurent, “Écrits spirituels inédits de Macaire Choumnos († c. 1382), fondateur de la ‘Néa Moni’ à Thessalonique,” *Hellenika* 14 (1955), 40–86, with texts at 60–71, 76–85.

Manuscript: Codex Metochii Sancti Sepulchri (Istanbul) 455 (late 14th c.)²

Other translations: None

Institutional History

A. Foundation by Makarios Choumnos

The *Nea Mone* was founded circa 1360 by our author Makarios Choumnos, and dedicated to the Mother of God.³ A partisan of the hesychast cause, the founder was related to Nikephoros Choumnos and his daughter Irene Choumnaina Palaiologina, author of (47) *Philanthropos*.⁴ Construction of the monastery was incomplete when, shortly before 1374, Choumnos was summoned by Emperor John V Palaiologos (1341–91) to Constantinople to assume the superiorship of the famous imperial monastery of Stoudios, for which (3) *Theodore Studites* and (4) *Stoudios* were written.

B. Patronage by Choumnos’ Successor Gabriel

Although judging from his *Rule*, Choumnos intended [A3] that the monks David and Philotheos should administer *Nea Mone* in his absence, it was his disciple Gabriel, for whom see [A6] below, who actually succeeded him as superior. He continued and completed Choumnos’ work on the *Nea Mone*. In 1389, Gabriel was elected metropolitan of Chalcedon, but returned to Thessalonike in 1397 to serve as its metropolitan down to 1416/17. An *enkomion* of Makarios composed by Gabriel provides some further details on the history of the foundation, including its location on the ruins of a palace.⁵ According to this document, the founder Choumnos returned to inspect the finished foundation and died in the arms of his disciple, probably circa 1382–83.⁶

Documentary evidence shows the *Nea Mone* as the frequent beneficiary of patronage during the next decade, including an urban property donated by Manuel II Palaiologos in 1384, and a fortification at Kolydros and a small monastery of St. Photios, both donated by the Caesar Alexios Angelos in 1384 and 1389, respectively.⁷ By the time that a certain Demetrios Tzyringes donated a workshop to the *Nea Mone* in 1392, the foundation had been designated a patriarchal monastery.⁸ The *Nea Mone* also engaged in a protracted dispute with the neighboring monastery of Akapniou over the village of Kolydros. In 1394, Patriarch Antony IV ordered the *Nea Mone*’s patron Gabriel, then serving as metropolitan of Chalcedon, to return to Thessalonike and make restitution to Akapniou.⁹ Yet the controversy was still unresolved in 1401, when Patriarch Mat-

thew once again ordered Gabriel, who by this time was metropolitan of Thessalonike, to return the property to Akapniou.¹⁰

In 1405, the Russian pilgrim Ignatios of Smolensk visited Thessalonike and mentioned the *Nea Mone* as being among its “wondrous monasteries.”¹¹ The *Nea Mone* is last attested in 1432, a short time after the final Ottoman conquest of Thessalonike in 1430, when it was the recipient of a donation of a workshop for manufacturing oil.¹² Most of the surviving records for the *Nea Mone* are preserved at the Lavra monastery on Mount Athos, but the supposition that the former institution had become a dependency of the latter cannot be proven on this evidence alone.¹³

C. Fate of the Foundation

Theocharides (“*Nea Mone*,” p. 350) argued for the identification of the monastery’s church with the fourteenth-century church of the Prophet Elias which still stands in the north central part of the old city of Thessalonike.¹⁴ In the Ottoman era, the building was converted into a mosque under the name Eski Saray Camii. The church was extensively restored in the 1950s but has been little studied by architectural historians.

Analysis

A. Typology of the Document

This document, intended by its author to serve as a single founder’s *typikon*, is made up of a deceptively titled *Rule* (*Hypotyposis*) [A] that is essentially a pastoral letter and a *Testament* (*Epiteleutios homilia*) [B], which has more regulatory content. The author drew up these texts on the occasion of his departure on a journey of unknown duration from which he feared he might not return.¹⁵ The contents were to be kept secret [A3], like some other secret testaments, e.g., (14) *Ath. Testament* [3], (28) *Pantokrator* [68] or (29) *Kosmosoteira* [1], [116], until his death.

The *Rule* provides a set of portraits of the individual members of the community that is unique in our collection of documents. Sections [A23] through [A26] seem to have been added as postscripts to the main text. The *Testament* is unusual in many ways, such as the importance attached to manual labor [B8], [B17], [B20], [B21], the willingness to consider all postulants except the obviously unsuited and those being imposed [B6], [B7], the encouragement of daily confession and communion [B10], the rejection of voluntary entrance gifts [B11], and the anticipated use of hired manual laborers.

B. Lives of the Monks

1. Number of Monks

The precise number of monks at the foundation is not specified, but the author provides valedictory instructions to thirteen monks ([A4] through [A15]); other monks accompanied [A23], cf. [A3] the author. The author arrays ([A4] through [A15]) the monks left behind in order, apparently by rank of office or seniority, in his instructions for individual monks. He implies [A23] that the monastery’s principal officers were among the monks left behind, but except for the unnamed gatekeeper [A14] he omits to mention the actual offices they held.

2. Liturgical Duties

The monks are entreated [A16], [B14] not to neglect the customary offices, but our author evidently did not place as high an importance on liturgical duties as the authors of most of the other documents in our collection did.

3. Manual Labor

Manual labor, hailed [B18] as the “useful yoke,” assumes an importance at this foundation not directly attested at any of the others represented by the documents in our collection. The author envisions [B18] monks (like Akakios the shoemaker [A9]) practicing manual labor for ten years, then taking up “spiritual labors” such as performing the liturgical services. Even a monk charged with the latter might occasionally want to pursue some small manual task or even heavy labor for the benefit of his constitution or to relieve boredom. The notion that a monk should serve sequential career stages of manual labor and then choir-singing is not directly attested elsewhere.

That the practice of manual labor was taken seriously seems apparent from the provisions for compassion for those physically incapable [B8] or unaccustomed [B17] to it, especially postulants (from the upper classes?) “but otherwise useful, adorned with piety and humility and righteousness.” Since bodily constitutions differed, there was to be [B21] no one standard for everyone with regard to manual labor. The author asks [B22] the future superior to attempt to find the resources to hire laborers (which he had been unable to do) so that the monks might be relieved of at least some of their responsibilities.

4. The Novitiate

The author professes [B6] his willingness to consider anyone wishing to join the community. As usual, the superior was to supervise novices and conduct their testing and examination. The monks are advised [B7] not to accept candidates not of their own choosing (i.e., *katapemptoi*), even if the emperor himself should seek admission. Likewise, the monks should not favor candidates of “wealth or worldly knowledge,” presumably including even those who might be in a position to offer large entrance gifts (*prosenexeis*). On the other hand, monks tonsured elsewhere were apparently welcome, judging from the presence [A24] of Manuel, a *xenokourites*, perhaps from a monastery of Koula, whose formal acceptance into the community the author anticipates on his return.

Compassion and tolerance for shortcomings is urged [B9] for inexperienced novices. The author himself discusses [B15] a certain Theognostos, possibly a novice, with whom he himself had been extraordinarily patient, but was now considering expelling from the foundation. The author makes [A17] specific provisions for the novice Theodoulos, who was to be allowed to spend some time working in the monastery’s vineyard in consideration of his peasant background.

5. Sacramental Life

Since the author considered confession to be “the first element of obedience and a guide to faith,” he provides [B10] that it should be made available to novices daily “just as the bread of life” (i.e., communion). Not everyone was entitled to hear confessions, only those assigned this responsibility by the superior, although previously our author permitted [A17] the novice Theodoulos, accompanied by another monk, to leave the monastery to consult an outside confessor (cf. (58) *Menoikeion* [13]).

6. Cenobitic Lifestyle

The author declares [B19] that his monks should not even need to be told that they cannot have private possessions. Monks were to partake [B20], cf. [A16] of common meals in the refectory; gluttony and inequality (presumably in portions of food) were not to be tolerated, except for the sick, whose special requests are to be considered “not inequality but really equality in apparent inequality” (cf. a similar wording in (37) *Auxentios* [4]). In this connection the author refers to his own practice of offering better wine to “those with a sickish stomach.”

In another respect, however, the author hoped for a tightening of current policy permitting monks to leave the monastery whenever they wished; he expresses [A21] the wish that departures take place henceforth only when urgently necessary and with the permission of the responsible officials (cf. (55) *Athanasios I* [9]).

C. Constitutional Matters

1. Constitutional Status

There is no discussion of the current constitutional status of the foundation. The author’s arbitrary designation of his own successor [A2] as well as the apparent absence of an independent landed endowment (cf. [B22]) or any regulatory *typikon* (cf. [A3]) aside from the present document, when taken together, suggest that this was a traditional private religious foundation.

2. Leadership

An unnamed “first brother” (*protos adelphos*), the author’s designated successor, was obliged to accompany [A3] him on his journey; therefore the second-ranking monks David and Philotheos are to provide interim leadership for the foundation. Should the author be unable to return, the *Testament* and the *Rule*, that is, the constituent parts of our document, were to serve as the guide for the life of the community. There is no discussion of how David and Philotheos were to cooperate in governing the foundation (though the former evidently was the senior partner, see [A4]) or of how future superiors would be elected. The author warns [A4] David not to spend time visiting or receiving visits from friends and relatives “as you often dared to do when I was present” (cf. the discussion of this problem in (55) *Athanasios I* [6] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [75]).

3. Style of Rule

The author subscribes [B4] to the Evergetian model of monastic leadership: the monks were to be subordinated to the superior “unhesitatingly obeying him in all things”; they were not to be his judges, nor was he liable to give an accounting of his administration to them (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [18]). Should the monks see him change for the worse, only the preeminent monks “who are able to speak frankly with him on account of their own piety” were allowed to take him to task.

4. Patronal Privileges

Three patrons are identified and their perquisites vaguely alluded to. They are: sister Melane [A18], said to have “labored mightily for us,” and for whose needs the monks were to concern themselves diligently; the *megas primikerios* Isaris [A20], whom the author hoped would someday join the community (as a monk or perhaps as an *esomonites*)—the monks were to be “concerned for his affairs” as our author himself had been; and the *protonotarios* Chrysos [A26], who

was not expected to become a community member, but was to be received warmly on his visits and be counted “within the circle of those set apart” (for special honors). The monks were to “approach him (for patronal assistance) without hesitation, as you would me.”

D. Financial Matters

The author has very little to say about the financial affairs of his foundation. He implicitly rejects [B11] the solicitation of novices with a view to the entrance gifts in property or cash they might bring to the foundation. Recognizing, like (22) *Evergetis* [37], the danger of encouraging conceit- edness in applicants who made such donations, the author goes much further by urging them to donate their property to the poor before admission. To be sure, the author does urge [B22] the next superior to provide for the foundation’s prosperity beyond “the necessary and obligatory,” specifically to relieve the brothers of some of their more burdensome manual labors, but as noted above he admits his own inability to do this himself given his own preoccupation with rebuilding the foundation from ruins and carrying out necessary repairs. This suggests either that the foundation was unusually self-reliant in providing for its own livelihood or was heavily dependent on the largess of patrons like the *protonotarios* Chrysos or the author himself.

E. External Relations

1. Institutional Philanthropy

The author’s injunction that the monks should put [A19] themselves “at the service of all who come to us in piety for the sake of their salvation and improvement” suggests, in conjunction with [B15], that the foundation offered some sort of catechetical or liturgical services for the greater secular community. The foundation also provided [B15] the more typical philanthropy for those visiting “out of physical necessity,” perhaps in a guesthouse or a hospice.

Notes on the Introduction

1. For the dating, see Laurent, “Écrits spirituels,” pp. 49–50, and “Nouvelle fondation,” p. 115.
2. See Laurent, “Écrits spirituels,” p. 42, n. 1.
3. Brief biographical entry in Verpeaux, “Notes prosopographiques,” p. 264.
4. Laurent, “Écrits spirituels,” p. 46, reckoned that Makarios was her nephew.
5. Laurent, “Gabriel,” pp. 253–54, and “Nouvelle fondation,” p. 112, n. 4.
6. Laurent, “Nouvelle fondation,” p. 113, n. 2; for the dating of Choumnos’ death, see Laurent, “Écrits spirituels,” p. 49, and Verpeaux, “Notes prosopographiques,” p. 264.
7. Texts ed. Lemerle, “Prostagma,” 274–76; Theocharides, “Nea engrapha,” pp. 321–22; Laurent, “Nouvelle fondation,” pp. 128–30.
8. Dölger, *Schatzkammer*, no. 114, pp. 310–11.
9. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2943 (1394), pp. 220–21, ed. MM 2.200–2; cf. no. 2944 (1394), pp. 221–22, ed. MM 2.202–3.
10. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 3221 (1401), pp. 442–44, ed. MM 2.518–20.
11. See Rautman, “Ignatius,” p. 145.
12. Lemerle, *Lavra*, pt. 3, no. 168 (1432), pp. 183–85.
13. See Laurent, “Nouvelxe fondation,” pp. 125–26.
14. The proposed identification is endorsed by Rautman, “Ignatius,” p. 156.

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15. He had been summoned to Constantinople to assume the direction of the Stoudios monastery; see above, Institutional History, A.

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Translation

Rule [A]

The *Rule* and *Final Discourse* which he left for the brethren when he first departed for Constantinople as a result of great pressure from many people.

[A1.] My brethren, since everything is led and directed by the providence and guidance of God, our affairs, too, [are] also [guided] with goodwill on account of his goodness and compassion towards us. This is made clear by many factors, including our harmonious assembly for the same purpose. For he says, “Where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them” (Matt. 18:20). When I dwelt among you, I was constantly concerned about your love, and this was my continual task, and [I placed] your progress above all else. Especially now when I have been compelled by necessity to depart from you for a while “in person, not in heart” (I Thess. 2:17), I have striven in a few words [to assure] that there be preserved among you the “purpose” and good “will” of God (Eph. 1:5), that is your mutual love and peace and concord. This has been

achieved successfully up to this point and will continue to be achieved in the future, by the grace of Jesus, as a result of your faith in me and your obedience and unquestioning submission.

[A2.] All of you, especially those of you who have lived with me [p. 61] for a long time and are thus able to understand me well, are aware that I was very distressed about my departure, and not without reason. But I was forced into it by necessity, and the element of compulsion made it clear to you that it was not for a rest or for glory or for any ephemeral consideration. For the eye of God which oversees all things knows that I did not even place any heavenly matter, let alone corporeal matter, ahead of your love. It is my wish that during my absence you remain compliant and obedient to the man whom I shall choose from among you to be your superior, so as to bear my “stamp” (Heb. 1:3) in your sight. For if “the word of truth” (Eph. 1:13) goes so far as to demand that the subordinate consider his master as present even when he is absent, and be mentally guided by him, it is even more necessary when he is blessed with the presence of his representative, and this at the command of the father.

[A3.] If then your first brother,¹ who will be my successor, were present (if this were God’s will and he had not gone away with me), you would have your desire. But since he is absent with me, I bequeath my position and his to the two monks who hold second place after him, the good lord David and also Philotheos, since as a result of their experience and knowledge they are judged competent to assume the responsibilities of your governance for the present. If we survive, God willing, we will soon return to see you, and you will rejoice. But if we should be summoned to pay our [mortal] debt, may you live in accordance with the rule which I have set down in writing for you and have called my “Final Discourse and Rule of the Harmonious Life.”² It is and will remain secret to everyone, but will be revealed to you after my departure to God. But when you see and read it and observe its precepts, I am confident that you will live in a manner acceptable to God and pleasing to myself, and will remain even after my death in the mold in which you were originally stamped by me, through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

[A4.] Come now, good lord David, walk before your brethren during my absence, remembering your pious cohabitation with me, and how I walked before you with purity and good conscience. [You should also keep in mind] your knowledge of the good, which God granted you [p. 62] without offense, and “be a model” (Titus 2:7) of good repute for them in everything which leads to God, remembering my love for you and my zeal on your behalf. During my absence, have as your mission the supervision of your brethren with humility and love, as you have seen me carry out my mission. You should also observe this [precept], that as long as I am absent, you should also absent yourself from friends and relatives, so that neither you nor they engage in visits for friendship or for the frequent demands they make on you (and you should do this prudently in the face of God and not by necessity), as you often dared to do, when I was present. Set aside this freedom like everything else for my sake and for the good repute of your brethren, now that you have assumed more laborious duties for the sake of your and their improvement.

[A5.] As for you, good Philotheos,³ be mindful of my many labors and words on your behalf as

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well as tears. For I was in travail with you for a long time, “until Christ was formed in you” (Gal. 4:19). Preserve for me yourself, in whose eyes was depicted through many trials “Jesus Christ and him crucified” (I Cor. 2:2), dead to passions, but alive to God. Grant me this favor, since I labored greatly on your behalf, to tolerate with humility and gentleness and much love the faults of your brethren, as I have tolerated yours, “making yourself a model” (cf. I Tim. 4:12) for your brethren, through great spiritual toil, especially now during my absence, for the sake of your and their good repute.

[A6.] After you, my good priest Gabriel,⁴ who is beloved by me because of the toil which he has exerted on my behalf, should set a straight course toward the good, “making himself a model” (cf. I Tim. 4:12) of humility for the brethren, especially now during my absence, “consciously” seeking after “humility”⁵ in their presence, on account of the office which he received through grace. On his part he should not demonstrate the slightest trace of preference, even the merest suspicion, toward the brethren, but should be like a sanctification for them, having the obligation to sanctify himself, too, because of Christ’s grace in him. By setting this as a task for himself, “until” in the words of the most gentle David, “he should go into the sanctuary of God,” which is the true humility, and “understand the final issue” (Ps. 72 [73]:17), which is to die for the sake of those things which he has justified, “struggling against” every “sin” and “resisting” passions “to the point of shedding blood” (Heb. 12:4), until he becomes “a mature man, to the measure and stature of Christ” (Heb. 12:4). Let him [Gabriel] assist you two [p. 63] in your consultation regarding the brethren and the *kellion*, whenever you wish. Furthermore, like the others, he should obey those to whom I entrusted their supervision “not by constraint” (I Pet. 5:2), but gratefully, since they are taking my place.

[A7.] As fourth [in line], let my friend Gerasimos worship God through his holy simplicity and his obedience in accordance with [the will of] God and for the sake of God. For he has rendered the wiles of the devils vain and useless by means of the righteousness of his soul and his opposition to mischief. May he continue on this course even after my departure, obeying the brethren in authority as he does me. Rather let him consider everyone preeminent and superior to him, so that he may be found ahead of the others when each [monk] receives his due.

[A8.] Next the good Theosteriktos should be mindful of God’s blessings on him and of the love which I truly felt for him. [He should also remember] how God supported him previously when he was buffeted by blasts of wickedness, and could not endure the onslaught of rain and floods and winds because of his physical weakness and the fact that he was unaccustomed to the labor, but succumbed to a degree.⁶ Later, however, he “was founded on the rock” (cf. Matt. 7:25) and safeguarded others through his own experience. He should undertake that good ascent which is dear to God and myself, in the words of the great Paul, “forgetting what lies behind, and straining forward to what lies ahead, pressing on toward the goal for the prize of the upward call” (Phil. 3:13–14), submitting with much humility and good cheer to his brethren whom I have chosen to be in authority.

[A9.] [Next comes] Akakios,⁷ with whom I was in travail with much labor and to whom I gave birth through much sorrow and temptation. He should take into consideration the solicitude of God's foresight concerning him and how God accomplished his salvation to his advantage through ways which seemed hostile and almost abominable to everyone. [p. 64] He should conduct himself in total innocence and simplicity, always keeping me before his eyes, rejecting all melancholy from his heart with joy and good cheer. He should be obedient, accepting like heavenly nectar every pricking and piercing word as a cause of purification of the secrets of his heart. He should carry out the position⁸ which I have entrusted to him to the satisfaction of God and the whole community, and in awe of God and with total reverence he should not reject the displeasure of the brethren which is a frequent occurrence in this position, but should accept it with joy and cheerfulness. He should be moderately grieved and truly blame himself with all his might, because he did not demonstrate worthy zeal, and therefore [God], the lover of mankind, did not see fit to comfort his fellow-monk by means of his work. He should strive to be esteemed not only in this work, but to be unquestioningly obedient in every other task which he is ordered [to perform] by the responsible officials, even when they are beyond his capability, remembering the one who said, "the kingdom" of God "is subject to violence"⁹ and "men of violence take it by force" (Matt. 11:12).

[A10.] As for Gregory,¹⁰ he should be mindful of my labor on his behalf night and day, and my great anxiety and fear for him, and how I did not make any concession, enduring every effort and tribulation for the sake of his salvation from devils and his own folly. He should reject all corruption and self-confidence and self-satisfaction, and imitate his brethren, humbly believing that in truth everyone excels him in everything, submitting to those who have been assigned to be obeyed with righteousness and healthy knowledge, regarding them like me, and being guided by them on the road of truth as if by me. He should take pride "in not placing a stumbling block or hindrance in the way of" the least "of the brothers" (Rom. 14:13), exerting every effort on behalf of this, and striving to the point "of shedding of blood," (Heb. 9:22), so that "when the Lord comes," and after him and by means of him his [spiritual] father [Choumnos], and "finds him so doing" (Luke 12:43), the former will deem him worthy of blessings and crowns, the latter of praise and encomia.

[A11.] As for Iakobos who is rich in piety, I urge him not to slacken in his labors, nor relax in his endeavors, being mindful of the Apostle who said, "the sufferings of this present time are not worth comparing with the glory that is to be revealed to us" (Rom. 8:18). He should always keep an image of my face [p. 65] before his eyes, and meditate day and night on the words of David, "I foresaw the Lord always before my face that I may not be moved" (Ps. 15 [16]:8). May he add daily to his labors, progressing and increasing in strength for the sake of the glory of God.

[A12.] Kallinikos and Kornelios, that pair¹¹ [dedicated] to God, should reflect upon the saying of the Apostle that "each shall receive his wages according to his labor" (I Cor. 3:8). They should not make my absence an excuse and cause for laxity and negligence with regard to their responsibilities, but should do their best, as if before the eyes of the all-seeing God and myself, and should not

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be negligent. Rather let their good work among the brethren be blessed and multiply, so that it may appear voluntary and not compulsory, obeying with eagerness and good will those whom I have appointed as their superiors, just as they obeyed me when I was present, so that they may find favor before God for having revered me and God, and “receive their reward from him” (cf. Luke 18:30).

[A13.] As for Theodotos who is young in years and in age, but is not inconsiderable in view of the spiritual blessing of which he was deemed worthy when he was enrolled in the sheepfold of God, it is my wish and prayer that he be gentle, obedient and tractable in all things, submitting to all the brethren, without any hardness of heart. He should always demonstrate blessing and favor in all his works, flourishing and thriving through all his good deeds like a young shoot blessed by God, always laboring for his own growth and advancement. He should keep me always before his eyes and thus be guided in disposition and actions, so that I may enjoy the fragrance of his good fruit and rejoice in it even during my absence. When he sees me, God willing, he will rejoice in me, when he learns from me that he was the cause of my joy.

[A14.] The gatekeeper¹² should be reverent and obedient to all the brethren, maintaining himself in all things as one who “cannot be censured” (Tit. 2:8) before God and his brethren, having as sufficient grounds of persuasion his old age and the benefit of the monastic habit, which he acquired as the result of many labors “with much entreaty” (II Cor. 8:4) from many. Do not neglect him either with regard to food or drink or anything else, but treat him in the same way that you saw me treating him. But if this [p. 66] should ever occur, either as an oversight or for some other reason, he should take confidence in my words and not grumble or inveigh against you. If he is caught doing this, he should be rebuked.

[A15.] Last comes Theognostos, about whom I have much to say, but for now I will pass over it, for I have been compelled by necessity to say even what I am going to say, for the security of the others and himself if he wishes. Aside from this consideration, I would have preferred to pass him over in silence and make no mention of him at all, but not because I hate him or am hostile to him. For the Lord “who searches the hearts” (Rom. 8:27) knows well that I did not undergo any change or abandon my customary behavior when I received this brother, but just as I received all of you with a view to your salvation and good repute, so I received him with love and sincerity, and strove equally on his behalf, not to say even more and with greater effort, but I did not reap any fruit from him, even though I labored mightily.

Thus I will speak briefly about him, “with much affliction and anguish of heart” (II Cor. 2:4), since he is out of harmony with you and could not acquire your “faith and love” (II Tim. 1:13) for me, nor any other good thing. I often wanted to expel him from this sheepfold, and indeed I did banish him, as you know, and while he was waiting I gave him “a chance to repent” (cf. Heb. 12:17), in case the good Lord might see him, and his sojourn might be with knowledge of God, and might relieve me of my grief and bitter sorrow over him, making amends for his sins and imitating you as much as possible, which is my constant prayer to God. If he does not [mend his

ways] before I return, he is to be banished from your midst, lest he infect others with his corruption.

I say these words to you, even though I am grieved and “distressed in my heart” (cf. Col. 3:12), for the purpose of his salvation. For I hope that my words do not come to pass, if only he would be inspired with divine zeal and undertake a spiritual struggle for his own improvement. When I accepted him for the sake of God’s glory, he was not only a cause of great sorrow both to me and his brethren, but also to people outside, since God was blasphemed greatly on account of his devious ways and great arrogance. But now let him glorify God through his repentance and reformation, and “let his light so shine before men, [p. 67] that they may see his good works and give glory to our Father who is in heaven” (Matt. 5:16). Let him relieve us of our sorrow and ill repute on his account, so that like the others he may become “a son of light and day” (I Thess. 5:5), freed from the darkness which is a result of his bitter and irremediable grief and the pricking of a wicked conscience, so that he may rejoice and be of good cheer through his harmony with you, since he is not deprived of your company either here or in the world to come. May I see this, I cry with bitter and sorrowful tears to thee, O Lord, the lover of mankind, who alone is good and compassionate. My heart burns for the same reason for which thou hast shed thine own blood. I beg of thee, besprinkle me, and deliver me from this fiery blaze and heat, as thou hast done for me and for others, and I glorified thy name. So much for each of the monks.

[A16.] All together you should glorify God by means of your harmony with each other, and “let this light of yours so shine before men” (cf. Matt. 5:16), that you will attract others to the same and similar zeal, as if I were present; even more during my absence, lest it appear that you do these things for my sake, “in the way of eye-service” (Eph. 6:6), and not for the sake of the Lord, so that everyone may know [that you do them] purely for him.

I entreat you not to neglect the customary offices, but as if you had me by your side, standing and praying with you, to spur you on to vigilance and intensity, thus even in my absence let your same discipline be maintained. It will be maintained if you preserve inviolate your faith and love in me.

Keep an eye on the tranquility and good order of the refectory, lest anything occur to disrupt it, but abide by the traditions and regulations which you have received from me.

Help your weak brethren, especially if they abide in piety and humility.

[A17.] Instruct the novice Theodoulos until I arrive, teaching him what is appropriate, since he is still untrained and completely inexperienced. He should remain within the *kellion*, never passing through the monastery gate, unless he goes to visit the priest lord Dorotheos Blates¹³ for advice and confession of his secret thoughts. He should not go alone but in the company of a monk, and should return again with him. If he asks [to go] to the vineyard, he should do this, too, with the monks, whenever the [monks] assigned to this judge it [permissible] [p. 68] for the sake of some freedom and relaxation in the good [pursuits] of his peasant background.

[A18.] Do not forget sister Melane,¹⁴ who has labored mightily for us with faith and a wholesome

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disposition, but always diligently concern yourselves with her needs. Comfort her with words whenever she approaches you, both during my lifetime and after my death.

[A19.] Receive with graciousness and much kindness all who love us on account of the Lord and who come to us in piety for the sake of their salvation and improvement, even if they come to you on account of their love for me. Do not in any way avoid looking at and talking with these people, but if they need something from you, to the best of your ability do not neglect them for the sake of the [divine] commandment, but put yourselves completely at their service.

[A20.] I have often revealed to you my friendship and affection and pure love for the *megas primikerios* Isaris,¹⁵ and how I pray that he may be with us so that we may benefit from his graces and decorum. If I should live to see this (and I pray that I may do so), I will be concerned for his affairs together with you. But if I should die, then you should show the same concern as I would.

[A21.] I do not permit anyone to go out of the monastery gate, as the custom now prevails among you, except for some urgent necessity, and then only with the permission of the responsible officials.¹⁶

[A22.] So I depart, on account of the necessity imposed upon me, leaving you with sorrow because of the unbreakable bond of my love for you. "I commend you to God" (Acts 20.32) and his immaculate Mother, the surpassingly pure Mother of God, under whose protection preserve yourselves for me, I beg of you, "in all purity and respectfulness" (cf. I Tim. 2:2), consecrating your bodies and souls to God, or rather preserving them in consecration. Live for him alone, so that until the end "you may not deprive me of my ground for boasting" (cf. I Cor. 9:15). For you are my hope in the future, as well as "the crown of my boasting" (I Thess. 2:19).

Therefore do not grow weary in your struggle "against the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly palaces" (Eph. 6:12), which [p. 69] choose to war against you with unsleeping eyes and constantly strive for your destruction, but "taking the shield of faith" which you have been granted by God, and by which you abide, "quench all the flaming darts of the evil one" (Eph. 6:16). [Take also] "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God" (Eph. 6:17) according to the Apostle. Keeping it constantly in your hands, vigorously cut off every attack of evil, which holy men call the head of the snake because of the way it slips in secretly and introduces all the coils of its body with bitterness and zeal. Thus with a small expenditure of labor, you will provide much respite and freedom from care for yourselves.

Even though I raise up impure hands, I pray boldly for you on account of my love for you, for your sake propitiating God who alone is good, so that God's will may be accomplished by means of his illumination, and be pleasing and perfect. If I should depart to God before seeing you here, remember my love for you, considering it as a pious goad to spur you on to progress and spiritual advancement. But if I remain here on earth for your sake (and may God grant this, that I may see you), "rejoicing, I will see your rejoicing" (cf. Col. 2:5) in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory for everlasting generations. Amen.

[A23.] After I finished my instructions to you, this thought also occurred to me, and I did not think it right to omit it. For since necessity requires me to take some of you along as companions, be careful lest each of those who is left behind and not taken along thinks that I love some of you more, and therefore chose them as my companions; and thus he has unworthy thoughts both of himself and me. For this is not the case. I love [you] all equally, even if each does not reap equally the benefit from me on account of whatever sort of talent that he stores within him. Rather, with the sole exception of your first brother who is accompanying me, I have left behind the more capable monks, and I especially chose those who are capable of maintaining the *kellion* and helping themselves and the others. May those who are left behind accomplish a great deal, filling up my place both for themselves and others.

[A24.] As for Manuel, who came to me from Koula¹⁷ for reasons of piety, if he maintains this after my departure, which is a confirmation of my judgment about him, you should all love him as you know I love him. You should embrace him with words of love and consolation until I come again [p. 70], since he will become one of your number through the ceremony of his clothing with the holy habit, when the Lord permits my return, but only if he abides in piety and great humility. He should obey those whom I have assigned to take my place.

[A25.] As for Joseph, to whom I gave spiritual birth, with great expectations, conceiving and enduring labor pains with much toil and words, “bringing him up in much discipline and instruction” (cf. Eph. 6:4) for the sake of the Lord, I have decided to take him along as a companion (I did not mention him in the proper sequence) if indeed he is chosen to accompany me. If he is not, let him not weaken and demonstrate any ignoble tendency, if indeed he wanted [to accompany me], since each of the others also wanted this, but like all [the others] he should give precedence to my wishes over his own desires, and bear bravely and nobly in this [venture], as in the others, the deprivation of his own desires.

He should keep himself mindful of me and my true love for him and my many words and my daily concern for him, hourly calling me to mind and not separating himself from his memory of me in all “purity and respectfulness” (cf. I Tim. 2:2), submitting himself totally to his brothers, so that he may share with all of them the repose of this world and the eternal blessings of the world to come, by grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for everlasting generations, Amen.

[A26.] I did not mention the *protonotarios* Chrysos¹⁸ in the proper sequence because he is not now and does not plan to be in the near future a member of the community within the monastery (with regard to the monastic habit, that is, not to manners). I counted him, however, not simply within the circle of those I love, but those I set apart. You know the man, how he is adorned with all sorts of virtues and a variety of graces, and how not only I love him, but you love him too. For I am your witness in this, and you are mine. Therefore, do not weaken my love and yours for him, but receive him “with upturned hearts,” as the saying goes, whenever he visits you, [p. 71] on account of the special love which he bears for us above all others. Whenever you have need of him, approach him without any doubt or hesitation, as you would me.

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Testament [B]

[B1.] My brethren, “who share in a heavenly call” (Heb. 3:1), a select contingent, a holy assemblage, an unbreakable phalanx, a holy company, beloved by me, and, I am confident, by God as well. Since you are loved by me, I dare say, not without reason, that I am also loved by you. I am certain, not without proof, that you have preserved and are preserving until now, by grace of Christ, all my precepts, for the sake of love and that which results from it, its sister, holy peace, the inheritance of Christ, the pledge of the heavenly kingdom. Until the present time we have remained, through God’s gift to us, “in all” joy and “blessing” and “spiritual” (Eph. 1:3) cheer, all of us feeling affection for one and all, and preserving, as was necessary, the loyalty which proceeds to me for the sake of God, the ladder which ascends to heaven, the foundation of all good things, and love which is the unshakeable [p. 77] tower of strength in the face of the enemy, the crowning virtue.

For this reason I am confident that God, through his mercy, prepared for us from now on the joy and gladness of the blessings in heaven, though through much sorrow and “toil and labor” (II Thess. 3:38) and spiritual struggle. Because of my love for you, to which I have preferred nothing either temporal or eternal (I say this before God, who knows [men’s] hearts), I want to be and live in your hearts even after my death, and to share your community and existence and to rejoice with you in your spiritual works and in your godly advancement. [Thus], it is my wish that this present discourse, inasmuch as it is the last of my many discourses to you, be engraved indelibly in your hearts. I have taken care to prepare this written document on your behalf, since I am wary of the oblivion and neglect which obliterate good things and gradually send them to the depths of perdition.

[B2.] Thus you know my love for you, and that I have lived together with you in all sincerity and with good conscience, always placing your advantage before my own, frequently suffering harm myself even in spiritual matters because of my preference for your improvement. I know your ready obedience in all things, your sincere faith and love, on account of which you have borne nobly all the grievous woes which have been inflicted upon you by hostile spirits, and by other hardships and troubles which you have endured for the sake of God and your love for me. For I declare to you, before men and God, that you denied even nature itself on account of your love for and obedience to me. I entreat you, preserve this testimony of mine unimpaired until the end and after my death, that you may be “my heart, my boasting” also “in the day of Christ” (Phlm. 12; Phil. 2:16) as here on earth.

[B3.] I beg of you, grant me this last favor, my beloved young saplings, my inheritance beloved even more than that of heaven, my spiritual children, the brethren beloved by my worthless self, but one who is your exceedingly beloved father, as I am persuaded, by time and great testing on your behalf. On account of my love for you, I beg you to love as myself my successor,¹⁹ who, I hope, is or will also become the successor to my love for you. Everything which you observed for me, loyalty and faith and love and true obedience, observe also for him, whom I enjoin as a father [p. 78] and entreat as a brother to associate with you as he knows I lived with you, neither loving

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nor preferring anything to you except God. I mean spiritual matters, but this is even more true for material objects. Let him feel affection for you, to be cherished by you, or rather to have you as his delight, confirming the confidence of his own soul by means of your increase and progress, concerning himself for your affairs more than his own, or rather for his affairs through you. In any case, fearing your destruction and dissolution like the poison from a snake, guiding you through all things, and having this as his constant concern: not to “domineer over” you, as in the prohibition of the Apostle, but “to be an example” (I Pet. 5:3) to you in everything.

[B4.] You should not be his judges, but be judged by him, not to be magistrates, but liable to give an accounting, not prosecutors, but public advocates, not critical, but affectionate, unhesitatingly obeying him in all things. On his behalf and for your own sake I pray to God from my soul and will not cease to pray that neither should the superior be diverted even a little from the straight path, or be sluggish and become a scandal and “stumbling block” (I Cor. 8:9) for you. Nor should you be abandoned and, casting off your praiseworthy blindness to his shortcomings, with keen vision undertake his examination, and thereby open a door to the one who is responsible for your destruction and disaster. But if, God forbid, you should happen to see some change and alteration in him, you must show it to him by way of confession, together with humility and righteousness of heart and sincere love. Whether or not that which requires healing is cured, the preeminent monks, who are able to speak frankly with him on account of their own piety, should take responsibility for warning him. You must entrust this whole task to them, and not be concerned yourselves.

[B5.] Maintain in the future the brotherly love which up to now you have observed with God’s help, correcting and instructing each other in spiritual love, as is your custom. Each of you should consider the correction of another and his diversion from disorderly behavior as his own correction. Whatever you are unable to do, entrust to the one who after God is your father, truly concerning yourselves with the healing of your own members.

[B6.] To everyone who clearly wishes and desires to dwell with you in humility and reverence, open a door, submitting him to your father in accordance with my custom for supervision and testing and examination, [to see] whether or not he truly loves [the monastic life]. Allow him [p. 79] to associate with you until you train his character, and he may thereafter be numbered among you after he is tested and the superior makes an exact decision concerning him.

[B7.] Do not desire to live together with those who are not of your own choice, even if he should be the emperor himself,²⁰ lest you procure for yourselves the materials of destruction.

Do not be deceived by people or wealth or worldly knowledge and shrewdness which strays from the straight path and deviates from the truth.

Do not give preference to a person who seems prudent and sensible, but is really infected with malice and a stranger to peace and love. Give preference rather to the person who is reverent and meek and humble and obedient, a son and a friend of love and peace. Hold such men in honor, even if often one of them is not naturally sharp-witted or quick or energetic.

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[B8.] Do not trample on the weak and those who are incapable of physical labor, but win them over with words, especially if they are aggrieved at their own shortcomings, so that by seeing your love and compassion for them, they will be more likely to ask God and entreat him fervently with sincere faith to strengthen them so as not to be lacking in this respect, as I know happened to certain of you during your life with me. For the mighty and sole Ruler strengthened them and encouraged them in their difficulties and weakness in work and made it easy.

[B9.] Do not be harsh on the novices among the brethren, especially those who are inexperienced, but rather instruct them with much guidance and reasonableness in the fear of God and reverence and other ethical training, being tolerant of their shortcomings which result from inexperience, until with the aid of God and your skillful teaching they gradually learn the first elements of divine philosophy, and “attain mature manhood, to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ” (Eph. 4:13), and become living images of the virtues and models of the instruction [you acquired] from me by the grace of God.

But if any of them should prove to be ill-disposed and suffers from a surly temper, make sure that you do not pass over him, and either from neglect or contempt bring upon yourselves the charge of having been remiss in his correction, since “his blood may be required from your blood” (cf. Luke 11:50–51). Rather always make it your total concern to rebuke him for his bad manners with a great deal of reasonableness and a disposition of genuine love. As I have said, be tolerant and pray to God on his behalf until [p. 80] the Lord grants that he comes to a realization of his faults, and desires his own healing which is the realization of the truth.

[B10.] I do not say this to all the brethren without distinction. For it is not everyone’s duty to observe and judge with precision bad character and defects, but only for a few, whom the father chooses for this work and imposes it on them as an assignment and duty. Since they have learned by experience that the confession of one’s thoughts to the father is the first element of obedience and a guide to faith, they should provide its great benefit daily to the novices, just as the bread of life, explaining its procedures and that they should observe this duty continually, and before all others.

[B11.] From the beginning, when you receive these [novices] and accept responsibility for them, do not “load yourselves with” heavy “burdens, hard to bear” (Luke 11:46), that is, acceptance of responsibility for their money and property, but lighten your load and theirs with the commandment that says: “Sell what you possess and give to the poor” (Matt. 19:21). For thus we both provide them with courage and the help of God in their divine labors, and ourselves with ease in our heavenly ascent, since right from the beginning we do not let them become slack or conceited by accepting their money, nor do we make them enter the contest against the devil naked and unarmed and deprived of God’s help. Rather we should avert from them and ourselves²¹ moral weakness, the death of courage, the deprivation of the shelter of God, the pursuit of the battle order and alliance and marshaling of angels, the betrayal to death, the stake through the heart, the introduction of fatal passions. Moreover we should lighten the vessel of its unpraiseworthy²² baggage of wares, and sail with them lightly and compactly over the sea of the present life, hasten-

ing toward the calm harbor, that is complete freedom from sensation of things present, and a taste here of the blessings of the world to come, and the mastery of the passions achieved thereby, of which may we all be deemed worthy.

[B12.] Always cleave throughout to the glory of God, always desiring this, giving this your attention, and having this as a continual concern, in your actions and your sufferings for his sake and for the sake of others. For [the apostle] says, “Provided we suffer with him, in order that we may also be glorified with him” (Rom. 8:17). For I am confident that through God’s gift it has been granted to you not only to believe in him with sincerity and zeal, but also to suffer on his behalf with joy and eagerness. [p. 81] You have me as a model in this respect also. In my delirium I describe the gifts of God as if they were my own, on account of the necessity imposed upon me, which is “your upbuilding” (II Cor. 12:19). I am not lying—for an edifice is not built upon sand but in truth I am describing the accomplishments of God, not my own. For [the apostle] says, “What have you that you did not receive? If then you received it, why do you boast, as if it were not a gift?” (I Cor. 4:7). This is for your benefit, which is my sustenance, through which I have been living and with which I journey towards God with total joy, “bereft of you for a short time” (cf. I Thess. 2:17), but sincerely trusting in God concerning this, too, that I will be with you and rejoice with you both in this world, as long as you are among the living, and in the world to come forever.

[B13.] Like you, I too dedicated and surrendered myself to God from an early age, and in solitude of both body and will I submitted to a good father and teacher, nobly enduring every pain and temptation with joy and eagerness through God’s blessing on me, moreover with a body that was very weak and completely feeble, and unaccustomed to any labor and untrained, so that the “Word” of the Lord which is full of compassion might be “activated” (cf. Heb. 4:12) in me: “my strength is made perfect in weakness” (II Cor. 12:9).

I could relate my history at length and in detail, so that having it fresh in your hearing you might continually rouse yourselves to labors, ridding yourselves of laziness and negligence, the death of virtues. But lest I seem to linger too long on my own affairs, finding pleasure in writing a lengthy account of them and not for the sake of your benefit, I have summarized the whole story, and say before God that several times I almost died in obedience as a result of the trials laid upon me which were beyond my strength. This [occurred] because of my transgression of his commandments. For I do not dare say [it occurred] on account of him. For this [is] beyond me. He revived me by means of his unsurpassable and ineffable power, even though after my vows I became as it were forgetful of God’s gifts to me, and lived heedlessly and wasted my life in much idleness. Wherefore my soul faced the departure from my body with great fear. But having confidence in God’s holy compassion, I believe that you will compensate to God for my shortcomings in this respect, and will appear to me in the world to come, at the fearful Coming of the Lord, partly as occasion for boasting, partly as compensation for my shortcomings, propitiating through yourselves my negligence and indolence in the present world. [p. 82]

[B14.] I, who am beloved of you, beg you not to neglect the customary offices, nor to perform

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them lazily and with indolence, but with eagerness and love and vigilant heart, as you did when you had my presence to provide the materials and means to arouse you. Thus even when I am absent, gaze upon [me] as if I were present and singing together with you, so that by seeing your diligence and fear of God and love, I may become an intercessor for you with God for that which you need, if indeed I should obtain his compassion because of you. For I have no confidence in my own actions, even though I am mindful of the words of the apostle: “Yet woman will be saved through bearing children” (I Tim. 2:15). For I say that true childbearing is that of the spirit. For if the former [brings salvation], then the latter [saves] to an even greater extent.

[B15.] As for the brethren who visit you often, either out of physical necessity or for spiritual improvement, look upon them and do unto them as unto yourselves, remembering the One who said, “Love thy neighbor as thyself” (Matt. 19:19) and “Whatever you wish that men would do to you, do so to them” (Matt. 7.12), and [the apostle] who said, “Do not neglect to show hospitality to strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unawares” (Heb. 13.2).

[B16.] “Do not prove vain my boasting” (II Cor. 9:3) in you, which I have boasted to many. For I made the following assertion about you to those who investigate our affairs in any way, that your assembling together and your harmony with each other is not on account of the *kellion* nor physical enjoyment, nor a vain hope, nor anything else exceeding a right purpose (as has been suspected by certain people who are ignorant of our attitude), but simply on account of God and your faith in me and love. So that if I should ever wish to depart—and this I asserted and said to them—not only from the *kellion*, but from the city itself, and to take nothing but a staff in my hand and say, “Follow me,” (Matt. 4:19) none of you would lag behind, nor show himself inferior to the story told in the Gospel according to the evangelist Matthew (Matt. 9:9) (although this is a daring statement). When I said these things, I was speaking the truth, not showing off, and I have learned this through much experience, for the sake of God’s glory and to show your love for me. Never forget it but also maintain it, even after my departure from you, for the one who succeeds me as your father and brother, considering the *kellion* or any of the many other things that men desire as “refuse” (Phil. 3:8) compared with his love.

[B17.] I lay this charge upon you: if someone should perhaps [p. 83] desire to live with you, envying your harmony and mutual affection, and he is weak and truly unaccustomed to physical labor, but is otherwise useful to you, adorned with piety and humility and righteousness of soul, and his association with you would lead both to his and your benefit and edification, do not turn him away, but receive him and treat him as if he were one of you, and one of the chosen.

[B18.] As for those who are willing and able to undertake physical labor, I ordain that this useful yoke should be laid upon those who desire it for ten years, and then they should rest from bodily toil, and take up spiritual labors, singing continually to God and praying and reading and relieving their *akedia* with any sort of small manual task, unless perhaps someone willingly chooses to do physical labor occasionally, of his own accord, because of the labor’s benefit, of which are unaware those who have not tasted it, or, [as] often [happening], because a man’s constitution cannot endure the constraint and struggle of the contemplative life.

[B19.] With regard to private property, even the most miserable and cheapest object, I believe it superfluous to expound or to waste words on this to those who through long-ingrained habit, do not even know whether there is such a thing as private property, except that which is common to all, and equally useful.

[B20.] With regard to the refectory, too, I am confident that you have been instructed by me, so that you will observe [my precepts] until the end. For if you love each other and almost consider it a pleasure to die each [day] for each other, how could you ever tolerate gluttony and a preference for inequality over love and equality? Unless you take heed of someone who requests special food on account of illness (which is not inequality, but really equality in apparent inequality),²³ just as I myself used to do among you without distinction, often concerning myself with those who had a readily apparent disease or one that was invisible (though visible to me who seriously cared), and offering something else, in addition to that normally served to the brethren, which the ailment required for nourishment, such as a better wine, if he should happen to have a sickish stomach.

[B21.] But everyone's constitution is not the same, nor are their bodies the same, but we know that just as there is a great difference in men's appearances, so too in their constitutions and bodies, and there is great variety of knowledge and differentiation among them. A set standard cannot but be dangerous for the one who after God is appointed your leader, I mean with regard to manual labor and so on, as my whole purpose which the Lord knows was continually the salvation of the brethren, moreover with much sympathy and compassion, never preferring, as I said above, my own [p. 84] advantage to theirs, I mean that of the soul of course, not of the body.

Knowing that this standard is certain and sure, you too must build everything separately on this foundation without distinction, as time and circumstances and the knowledge that is in you through God ordains: "Do everything without prejudice"; in all things leading yourself and them toward moral progress, so that the Lord, who glorifies even at the present time those who make it their work to glorify him, may be glorified on each occasion by your "good life" (James 3:13).

[B22.] I also wanted to provide for the prosperity of the *kellion* and a little more than the necessary and obligatory, and this not for the sake of expansion, but for the brethren, especially that they might occasionally hire men for work outside [the monastery] and act through them and relieve themselves of their many labors. But in general this has not occurred as I would have liked in my lifetime, since the place was in ruins and required a lot of improvements. So it is my desire and I entreat you, the future superior, to carry out my wishes in this respect if possible, and also to accomplish that which I failed to take care of, not without reason, as God knows, and to deal with this and other matters conscientiously.

[B23.] I will "go on my way" (cf. Acts 8:39), and in heaven as here on earth I will be [working] on your behalf (may the Lord make this a straight [road] for me, through the breaths of this air), being separated from you briefly "in person, not in heart" (I Thess. 2:17). "I commend you" (Acts 20:32) to God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, to his eternal and consubstantial Son who is also without beginning, our Lord Jesus Christ, and to his co-eternal and life-giving Spirit, also

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without beginning, which regenerated you through repentance, I mean the second baptism, the compensation for our sins and through its illumination in you deeming you worthy to obtain a more perfect life, “mortifying what is earthly in you” (Col. 3:5) and “crucifying the flesh with its passions and desires” (Gal. 5:24).

For through the grace of Jesus, I have confidence that through the true mortification of your will both the flesh and its passionate movements in you are mortified, or if you have any shortcoming it will be mortified by means of your daily advancement and increase, so that at last “this perishable nature must put on the imperishable” in this world and “this mortal nature must put on immortality” (I Cor. 15:53), so that as you journey you may say with confidence until the end the words of the apostle, “O death, where is thy sting, O grave, where is thy victory?” (I Cor. 15:55). [p. 85]

[B24.] So much for this. But since I am at death’s door, and right now I am leaving behind the air which I breathe with you, come and stand about me, my dearly beloved choir which competes in the heavenly choruses for the sake of your restoration to God and the eradication of your own desires. You, who venerate the heavenly Father through your reverence towards me, grant me a last embrace, starting with the first and finishing with the last.

For I go, and will no more see with you this perceptible light, nor will I share with you as usual the same salt and the same table, nor will I enjoy our customary conversation and intercourse which is dear to me. Tearing myself away from you with great pain on account of this deprivation, I revive myself greatly through my anticipation of enjoying with you the bliss of the world to come. For if in this world the Good One truly associates with those who are gathered together in his holy name, according to his blessed promise (cf. Matt. 18:20), undoubtedly [this will be] even [truer] in the world to come. May this be attained by all of us who through our spiritual unity live together in peace here on earth, and also my successors, sharing their enjoyment of present blessings through their harmony, and enjoyment of future blessings through the grace and gift of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the prayers and supplications of the surpassingly pure Mother of God and all those who have pleased him, to whom be glory and power unto everlasting generations, Amen.

Notes on the Translation

Editors’ note: The assistance of our translator, Alice-Mary Talbot [AMT], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. Possibly the future Patriarch Euthymios II (1410–16), the author’s successor as superior of the Studios monastery; see Laurent, “Écrits spirituels,” p. 54, n. 1.
2. A cross-reference to the author’s *Testament* [B].
3. See the correspondence of Isidore, metropolitan of Thessalonike, with this monk, ed. Lampros, “Okto epistolai,” pp. 359–75.
4. The author’s eventual successor and future metropolitan of Thessalonike; see above, Institutional History, B.
5. *Apophthegmata Patrum*, PG 65, col. 373B.
6. See the relevant provision of [B8] below.

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7. For this monk, see also the author's *Funeral Oration*, ed. Laurent, "Écrits spirituels," pp. 71–76.
8. Shoemaker; see the author's *Funeral Oration*, ed. Laurent, "Écrits spirituels," p. 73, line 69; cf. p. 64. n. 1.
9. *Sermo de renuntiatione saeculi*, PG 31, col. 645D, also found in (22) *Evergetis* [42] and related documents; cf. Antony the Monk, *Hom.* 130, PG 89, col. 1841B.
10. For this monk, see also the author's *Funeral Oration*, ed. Laurent, "Écrits spirituels," pp. 71–76.
11. According to Laurent, "Écrits spirituels," p. 65, n. 1, these monks were probably brothers, as indicated by their choice of the same initial for their monastic names.
12. See also descriptions of the duties of gatekeepers in (54) *Neilos Damilas* [16], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [72], and (58) *Menoikeion* [7].
13. According to Laurent, "Écrits spirituels," p. 67, n. 1, he was the spiritual director of other residents of Thessalonike, including Nicolas Cabasilas.
14. Laurent, "Écrits spirituels," pp. 54–55, proposes that she was the author's sister rather than a nun.
15. Known to have been deceased by April 1374, by which time his widow and children were part of an accord with the Athonite monastery of Hilandar; see Laurent, "Écrits spirituels," p. 115, n. 1.
16. See similar provisions in (32) *Mamas* [24], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [24], and (59) *Manuel II* [5].
17. Laurent, "Écrits spirituels," p. 54, n. 3, interpreted this as a reference to the city quarter "of the Dungeon" or "Fortress" from which this individual originated.
18. For this individual, who is otherwise unknown, see Laurent, "Écrits spirituels," p. 55, with n. 2.
19. The "first brother;" for a possible identification, see note to [A3] above.
20. John V Palaiologos; for an example of an ex-emperor taking up residence in a monastery, see (60) *Charsianeites* [A8].
21. Read *hemon*. [AMT]
22. Read *me epainetes*. [AMT]
23. See similar sentiment expressed in (37) *Auxentios* [4].

Document Notes

1. Rule [A]

Due to the essentially homiletic nature of this document, cross-references have been incorporated into the notes.

2. Testament [B]

- [B1] Reason for composition of the *Testament*. See similar discussions in (58) *Menoikeion* [2] and (60) *Charsianeites* [B1].
- [B2] Importance of preserving the *Testament*. See also the provisions in (54) *Neilos Damilas* [21] and (60) *Charsianeites* [B22], [C18].
- [B3] Commendation of the new superior to the community.
- [B4] Subordination of all monks to the superior; superior not liable to give accounts; only pre-eminent monks to correct him. See also similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [16], [18] and related documents, (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [37], and (60) *Charsianeites* [B8], [C16].
- [B5] Duty of monks to correct one another. See also (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [45].
- [B6] Acceptance of all postulants; superior to test them. For examination of postulants, see also (60) *Charsianeites* [B15].
- [B7] No imposed postulants or those who offer wealth and worldly knowledge. (55) *Athanasios I* [7] is similar; for rejection of so-called "imposed guests," see (27) *Kecharitomene* [53], (32) *Mamas* [20], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26], and (58) *Menoikeion* [11]; elsewhere postulants with special talents or willing to make large voluntary gifts are welcomed, as in (28) *Pantokrator* [17] and in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [55].
- [B8] Compassion for those incapable of physical labor. The author may have had the monk Theosteriktos (see [A8]) in mind here; see also [B17] below.
- [B9] Compassion for inexperienced novices. The author may have had Theodotos (see [A13]) and Theodoulos (see [A17]) in mind here.

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- [B10] Only the superior's designees can offer confession. See similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [7], [15] and related documents, as well as (60) *Charsianeites* [C6], but note also the provisions for outside confessors in [A17] and in (58) *Menoikeion* [13].
- [B11] Novices to dispose of their money and property. See also similar provisions in (60) *Charsianeites* [B12], [B13].
- [B12] The founder a suitable model for the monks. See the similar sentiment expressed in (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [31].
- [B13] Founder's autobiography. See also the equivalent personal accounts in (49) *Geromeri* [13], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [8], and (60) *Charsianeites* [A2].
- [B14] Customary offices not to be neglected. See also [A16] above and similar provisions in (53) *Meteora* [11], (54) *Neilos Damilas* [10], (55) *Athanasios I* [4], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [59] and (60) *Charsianeites* [C17].
- [B15] Hospitality for visiting brethren. Perhaps related to the injunction in [A19]; there is a limitation on hospitality in (60) *Charsianeites* [B19].
- [B16] Assertion of confidence in the monks' personal loyalty.
- [B17] Postulants unaccustomed to manual labor acceptable. See also [A8] and [B8] above.
- [B18] Ten years' service at manual labor. Yet see [B21] below; and explicit provision of this sort is not found elsewhere in the monastic foundation documents.
- [B19] Rejection of private property. See similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [22] and related documents, (53) *Meteora* [9], (55) *Athanasios I* [1], and (60) *Charsianeites* [B5].
- [B20] No gluttony or inequality in refectory. See similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [26] and related documents, (53) *Meteora* [3], (56) *Kellibara II* [3], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [83], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C3].
- [B21] No set standard with regard to manual labor. (60) *Charsianeites* [B20] also leaves this to the discretion of the superior.
- [B22] Superior to hire men for outside work. For use of lay workmen, see also (24) *Christodoulos* [A10], [A13], [A14] and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [8].
- [B23] Spiritual exhortation.
- [B24] Valedictory statement.

53. *Meteora: Canonical Rule* of Athanasios the Meteorite for the Monastery of the Transfiguration (*Metamorphosis*)

Date: ca. 1350–83¹

Translator: George Dennis

Edition employed: Nikos Bees, “Symbole eis ten historian ton monon ton Meteoron,” *Byzantis* 1 (1909), 191–331, with text at 250–52.

Manuscript: Codex of the Monastery of the *Metamorphosis*, no. 404, fol. 333r–334r (14th c.)²

Other translations: Modern Greek, by Sp. Lampros, “Symbolai eis ten historian ton Monon ton Meteoron,” *NH* 2 (1905), 49–156, at 76–77.

Institutional History

*A. Foundation under Athanasios the Meteorite*³

What was to become the monastery of the Transfiguration (*Metamorphosis*), the most important of the group of monasteries founded in the fourteenth century at Meteora, a site of unusual towering rock formations in Thessaly near Stagi (mod. Kalambaka), was founded by the hesychast Athanasios the Meteorite towards the middle of that century. Earlier, Athanasios’ monastic career had taken him to Crete and Mount Athos. Fleeing Turkish pirates who were then plaguing Mount Athos, Athanasios and his spiritual master Gregory sought refuge in Thessaly, circa 1340. There was already a monastic community there at Doupiane, a group of anchorites led by a *protos* forming a skete. Like the earlier anchorites, Gregory recognized the authority of the local bishopric of Stagi, whose incumbent Xenophon gave him permission in 1341 to rent some property for his band of ascetics from the skete at Doupiane.⁴ Later, Athanasios removed himself to a site known as the “Broad Rock” that he called “Meteoron,” from *meteoros* (“suspended” or “floating in air”); the later monastic foundation here was known as the “Great Meteoron.” The dedication of the first chapel erected here was to the Mother of God *Meteoritissa*. Nicol (*Meteora*, p. 95) reckons that the foundation took place before Athanasios’ master Gregory’s departure from Thessaly, said to have occurred “ten years after his first arrival,” i.e., circa 1350. Subsequently, Athanasios sought to accommodate a community of some fourteen monks in a new church dedicated to the *Metamorphosis* that was to give its name to the whole foundation. In 1359, Antony, archbishop of Larissa, obliged Athanasios with a confirmation of his ownership of the land around the foundation, implicitly acknowledging Meteorora’s independence of the skete at Doupiane.⁵

The anonymous *Life* that preserves Athanasios’ *Canonical Rule* for this foundation was written by an Athonite monk after 1388.⁶ Athanasios himself died in 1383 at the age of 78.⁷

*B. Subsequent History of the Foundation under Turkish Rule*⁸

The second founder was Joasaph Uroš († 1423?), son of Symeon Uroš Palaiologos, the Greco-

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Serbian despot of Epiros (1348–55) and later ruler of Thessaly (1359–71?), who may have joined the community as early as 1373. He rebuilt and enlarged the foundation's church in 1387–88.⁹ In the sixteenth century, this was incorporated into a new church as its apse and sanctuary. Under Joasaph's leadership, Meteora survived the Turkish conquest of Thessaly in 1393. Later Joasaph was able to obtain recognition of Meteora's independence from Patriarch Euthymios II (1410–16), which exempted the monastery from the authority of the local bishop of Stagi.¹⁰

After Joasaph's death, there was a bitter struggle for supremacy between Meteora and the skete of Doupiane.¹¹ By the end of the fifteenth century, with the connivance of the Turkish authorities and the active support of the archbishop of Larissa, Athanasios and Joasaph's successors as directors of Meteora successfully established their claim to independence from Doupiane and their entitlement to the title of superior. In the sixteenth century, an era of more tolerant Turkish rule, especially under Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–1566), made possible a revival of monastic life at Meteora. Two capable superiors of Meteora, Bessarion (1520–40) and his successor Neophytos (1541–55?), strengthened the monastery's cenobitic organization and asserted its authority over the other monastic settlements in the vicinity. A patriarchal *stauropolegion* awarded by Patriarch Jeremias I (1522–45) in 1540 confirmed Meteora's independence.¹²

This was also the time (1544–55) at which Meteora's *katholikon* of the *Metamorphosis* was enlarged to its present size, incorporating the earlier structure on the site as built by Joasaph in the late fourteenth century. A refectory was built a few years later in 1557, and the present ensemble of buildings on the site was essentially complete by the end of the sixteenth century. Like Chariton, author of (51) *Koutloumousi*, and his successors, the monks of Meteora turned to the Christian rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia for patronage and financial support. Radu Mihnea, *voivode* of Wallachia and Moldavia in the early years of the seventeenth century, bestowed the Wallachian monastery of Golgotha with its estates upon Meteora as a dependency. This important bequest provided financial support to Meteora down into the eighteenth century.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, however, the monastery's fortunes took a turn for the worse. External support dried up in the eighteenth century when Phanariote Greeks took over the administration of Wallachia and Moldavia for the Ottomans. Bad relations with Ali Pasha, semi-autonomous ruler of Ioannina from 1788, reduced the monastery to especially dire circumstances. Although Meteora had had some thirty monks at the beginning of the nineteenth century, by 1859 it had only four.¹³

*C. Meteora in Modern Times*¹⁴

The part of Thessaly in which Meteora was located was awarded to the independent Kingdom of Greece in 1881, yet the monastery was reportedly pillaged by Turkish soldiers in the course of the Greco-Turkish War of 1897–98. In our own times, Meteora suffered further at the hands of German and Italian troops during the Second World War. It was also occupied by Communist partisans in the aftermath of the war. Subsequently, the foundation, along with its neighbors, was revived under the sponsorship of the Greek government. A small monastic community retains the foundation's relics, icons, and collection of more than 600 manuscripts.

Analysis

According to the hagiographic *Life* from which this brief document is extracted, Athanasios the Meteorite decided to employ a canonical rule to institute a reform at his monastery based on cenobitical principles. Some—but not all—of the monks then practicing a kelliotic form of monasticism at his monastery agreed to live according to the *Rule*'s terms. As in (28) *Pantokrator* [28], but not (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26], the author permits [1] those *parakelliotai* already present to remain “since he had once welcomed them.” Henceforth, everyone else was to meet the requirements of the cenobitic life.

A. Model Typikon

Almost inevitably, a fourteenth-century document of this sort upholding cenobitical principles of organization invites comparison to (22) *Evergetis*, the preeminent *typikon* of the monastic reform movement. At least two of the document's provisions seem to have been inspired by that earlier *typikon*, and most of the others are consonant with it.¹⁵ Though a direct acquaintance cannot be demonstrated, it seems that this document, like (37) *Auxentios*, (39) *Lips*, (55) *Athanasios I*, (56) *Kellibara II*, (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, and (60) *Charsianeites*, can reasonably be considered an example of the neo-Evergetian revival of Palaiologan times, in which the institutions, if not the actual wording, of (22) *Evergetis* appear to have returned to favor among some of the era's most prominent benefactors.

B. Lives of the Monks

1. Liturgical Duties

This was a rigorist foundation in terms of liturgical observance. The night office was to be performed [11] daily, not just on Sundays and feasts, in accordance with an unspecified liturgical *typikon*, at this time most likely that of the Sabas monastery in Jerusalem. Unlike other authors, however, ours here admits that monks often neglected their duty to perform the office.

2. Cenobitic Life

Unlike some contemporary founders such as the author of (51) *Koutloumoussi* [B17] who accepted variations based on “years and labors,” Athanasios adopts [3] the controversial standard of (22) *Evergetis* [26] in providing for equality in food, drink, and clothing, with due allowance for illness.

Athanasios' uncompromising hostility to private property [8], [9], [10] was unusual in this era when resistance to idiorhythmic arrangements seems to have been weakening elsewhere (cf. (51) *Koutloumoussi* [A8], [B12]) while the tolerance of many founders for alternative forms of monasticism was increasing (cf. (34) *Machairas* [152], (37) *Auxentios* [11], (48) *Prodromos* [17]).

In implicit rejection of more tolerant arrangements such as that portrayed in (54) *Neilos Damilas* [7], Athanasios excepts [8] only articles of clothing “since all are not of the same size.” Moreover, he declares that a community without equality is no more than “an assembly of thieves and a dwelling for the sacrilegious.” Anyone caught with secret possessions was to be excommunicated [10] “as the fathers and St. Basil provided.”

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C. Constitutional Matters

Athanasios has nothing to say about constitutional arrangements for his monastery in this document, perhaps because (as Nicol, *Meteora*, p. 98, has suggested) he did not want to infringe on the prerogatives of the *protos* of Doupiane by attributing to himself or his successor the title of superior.

D. Financial Matters

Athanasios orders [4] that his monks should not sell any surpluses they might have of grain, wine, or oil. This is in conformance with the traditional Basilian prejudice against production for the marketplace that had also been endorsed in (35) *Skoteine* [23].

E. External Relations

As another facet of an outlook hostile to the secular world (note the general condemnation in [5]), Athanasios prohibits [6] teaching “worldly letters” to children and adopts [7] (22) *Evergetis* [38]’s exclusion of women from the monastery’s charitable donations, adding the chilling qualifier “even if she happens to be dying of hunger.” Nowhere else in our collection of documents is institutional misogyny more absolute and uncompromising.

Notes on the Introduction

1. Provisional dating based on the approximate time of Meteora’s foundation and Athanasios’ death in 1383, for which see below, Institutional History, A.
2. The *Canonical Rule* is encapsulated in the *Bios kai politeia tou hosiou patros hemon Athanasiou*, ed. Bees, “Symbole,” pp. 237–60, which dates from after 1388.
3. See Nicol, *Meteora*, pp. 88–104, and “Layman’s Ministry,” pp. 146–51.
4. Bees, “Grammata,” no. 23, pp. 96–98.
5. Bees, “Grammata,” no. 4, pp. 18–19.
6. Ed. Bees, “Symbole,” pp. 237–60.
7. The date is based on a now lost inscription built into the wall of the monastery; see Nicol, *Meteora*, p. 104, n. 22.
8. See Nicol, *Meteora*, pp. 101–24, 131–32, 168–72, and Alexander, “Monasteries,” pp. 95–100.
9. The date is based on a founder’s inscription in the apse of the *katholikon*; see Nicol, *Meteora*, p. 107.
10. Mentioned in a later document of Neophytos, archbishop of Larissa (1541), ed. Zakythinos, “Anekdotia,” no. 3, pp. 288–89.
11. Detailed in the *Syngamma historikon (Historical Discourse)*, a hostile tract drawn up ca. 1521 to contest Meteora’s claims to supremacy over its neighboring monasteries, for which see Nicol, *Meteora*, pp. 71–72.
12. Mentioned in a later document of Patriarch Metrophanes III (1580), ed. Zakythinos, “Anekdotia,” no. 7, pp. 299–302.
13. Nicol, *Meteora*, p. 182.
14. See Nicol, *Meteora*, pp. 172–87.
15. [3] equality in food, drink and clothing, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [26], and [7] women banned from the premises, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [38]; [1], [8], [9] are more generally Evergetian in spirit, but may well have had other sources of inspiration.

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Translation

The monks then were living this sort of life and increasing in number each day. [p. 251] The Father saw that having each one live his own life and take thought only for himself is not conducive to unity of spirit but to division and quarreling. He planned, therefore, to draw up a canonical rule for a common life to join together those under his charge. Some of the *parakelliotai* then

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came forward, whereas others refused. Nonetheless, he did not drive them away, since he had once welcomed them. Instead, he allowed them to continue living as they wished.

He then published the *Canonical Rule*:

1. With the exception of those already present, *parakelliotai* should not be received in the future, either by himself or by his eventual successors in governing the *kellion*. Rather, all should carry on their way of life in common in the general *kellion*.

2. Let there be one mind and one will. Let them carry on their struggle on an equal basis. Let them think the same.

3. As far as food, drink, and clothing are concerned, what the last of the monks has let the first have, making allowance for illness.

4. If there should be a surplus of grain, wine, or oil, they should not go around selling it.

5. Foreign, worldly things should not be allowed within.

6. Children should not learn worldly letters.

7. A woman should not pass beyond the prescribed boundary. She should not be given anything to eat, even if she happens to be dying of hunger.¹

8. No one should have anything at all as his own, except for his clothing, since they are not all of the same size.

9. By no means should anyone living among them possess his own private property. This is why it is called a community. For wherever this kind of equality does not exist, we must not speak of a community, but of an assembly of thieves and a dwelling for the sacrilegious. [p. 252]

10. Whoever, therefore, is discovered possessing anything as his own, even a coin worth only three obols, should not be allowed to partake of the sacred mysteries, according to the tradition of the Fathers and of the great Basil.² If he should communicate, he does so to his own condemnation and not to the forgiveness of sins.

He penned these rules in his own hand and confirmed them with the signature of the bishop.³ He then presented them to those living with him, the ordained monks lord Gregory and Iakobos and all the brothers then under his charge.

11. He also ordained that all the brothers in his charge should assemble in the church not only for the night offices on Sunday and the other great feasts, but that without fail they should also perform the service each day according to the correct tradition of the *typikon*. For often enough they can become careless either because of the malice of the enemy or sluggishness of the body, at

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times too because of distraction or too much to eat. For not all men living as solitaries have received the gift of being able to pray without being distracted, but those to whom grace has given the strong desire and who have strenuously labored at it for a very long time. As it is said, “Woe to the person who is alone.” If he is assailed by *akedia* or some other temptation, “he has no one to come to his aid” (Eccl. 4:10).

Notes on the Translation

1. For Athanasios’ well-known misogyny, see Nicol, *Meteora*, pp. 98–99.
2. Cf. Pseudo-Basil, *Poenae* 13, *PG* 31, col. 1308C.
3. Presumably the bishop of Stagi, but see Nicol, *Meteora*, pp. 99–100, who argues for Antony, archbishop of Larissa.

Document Notes

- [1] Institution of cenobitic life and ban on independent *parakelliotai*. See also the insistence on cenobiticism in (47) *Philanthropos* [1] ff. and (60) *Charsianeites* [B3], [B4], but note the tolerance for alternative forms of monasticism in (37) *Auxentios* [11], (34) *Machairas* [152], and (45) *Neophytos* [17] (missing).
- [2] Importance of one mind and one will.
- [3] Equality in food, drink, and clothing. See also the similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [26] and related documents, (37) *Auxentios* [7], (52) *Choumnos* [B20], (56) *Kellibara II* [2], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C3].
- [4] No commercial transactions. So also (45) *Neophytos* [C13], but not (54) *Neilos Damilas* [7].
- [5] Exclusion of “foreign, worldly things.” The reference is obscure.
- [6] No school to be established to teach children to read. For such schools, generally intended for future monks, see also (23) *Pakourianos* [31], (34) *Machairas* [115], and (36) *Blemmydes* [9].
- [7] Women banned from the premises. See also (22) *Evergetis* [38] and related documents, (45) *Neophytos* [19], [C18], (58) *Menoikeion* [14], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C2].
- [8] No personal possessions except for clothing. See also (52) *Choumnos* [B11] and (60) *Charsianeites* [B12], [B13].
- [9] Private property incompatible with communal living. See also (37) *Auxentios* [5], (52) *Choumnos* [B19], (55) *Athanasios I* [5], (56) *Kellibara II* [3], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [46], and (60) *Charsianeites* [B5].
- [10] Exclusion of those found with private property from the sacred mysteries. See also a similar provision in (47) *Philanthropos* [2].
- [11] Vigilant performance of the daily offices. See also (52) *Choumnos* [A16], [B14]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [10]; (55) *Athanasios I* [4]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [59]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [C17].

54. *Neilos Damilas: Testament and Typikon of Neilos Damilas for the Convent of the Mother of God Pantanassa at Baionaia on Crete*

Date: Testament: ca. 1400; *Inventory:* April 22, 1417

Translator: Alice-Mary Talbot

Editions employed: Testament: S. Pétridès, “Le typikon de Nil Damilas pour le monastère de femmes de Baeonia en Crète (1400),” *IRAIK* 15 (1911), 92–111, with text at 95–109. *Inventory:* Sp. Lampros, “Das Testament des Neilos Damilas,” *BZ* 4 (1895), 585–87.

Manuscripts: Testament: Parisinus graecus 1295, fols. 108–117v (15th–16th c.); *Inventory:* Oxford, Codex Baroccianus 59, fols. 226v–227v (15th c.)¹

Other translations: None

Institutional History

The convent of the Mother of God at Baionaia is known almost exclusively from the author Neilos’ *Testament* and *Typikon* translated below. A note in a fourteenth-century manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, records that the construction of the convent began on May 9, 1399.² The *Testament* and *Typikon*, which is undated, is assumed to have been composed shortly thereafter.³ Turyn (*Manuscripts*, p. 138) identified the site with the modern village of Vainia, about 3 miles northeast of Hierapetra in southeastern Crete, based on the fact that Neilos is himself identified as an ordained monk of the monastery of *ton Karkasion* in Hierapetra in the Moscow manuscript of his treatise *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*.⁴ The founder, a hesychast (so von Lilienfeld, “Zeugnis,” p. 361), was an associate of Joseph Bryennios, a partisan of Greek Orthodoxy in Venetian-occupied Crete who later took up residence (1416–27) in the Charsianeites monastery in Constantinople for which (60) *Charsianeites* was written.⁵

There is also another self-described testament preserved under Neilos’ name, dated to April 22, 1417, which is actually an inventory of the author’s books.⁶ This document, quite possibly but not certainly associated with Neilos’ convent at Baionaia,⁷ has been translated here as an appendix to the founder’s *Testament* and *Typikon*. Neilos also authored several other theological works that have remained unedited.⁸

Analysis

This document is the latest in date of those in our collection written for a convent. Like (21) *Roidion*, it illustrates a foundation’s difficult transformation from an idiorhythmic to a cenobitic constitution. The convent enjoyed friendly relations with the author’s neighboring male monastery of *ton Karkasion* (cf. [8]), close enough to worry the author Neilos Damilas about the canonicity of his arrangements for their cooperation. Indeed, not since (20) *Black Mountain* have we seen a document whose author was as concerned as this one to quote canonical precedents to justify his regulations, to which Neilos Damilas adds here a reference [8] to a novel of Emperor

Justinian (527–565), whose legislation was being rediscovered in the Byzantine world during the Palaiologan era.

A. Internal Evidence on Composition

The document shows signs of careless composition, perhaps due to an adaptation from a lost *typikon* for the author's male monastery. The role of the spiritual father is addressed twice, [9], [15], and seems to be essentially the same as that assigned to the priest [14]. The text of the prescription on reading [13] also turns up in the wrong place in the manuscript in the middle of [15].

B. Lives of the Nuns

1. Liturgical Duties

The performance of as many penitential prostrations as possible is joined [10] to the usual requirement of the divine office. A series of progressively severe punishments is laid down for nuns (except for the sick and the elderly) who miss parts of the divine office. Like the author of (36) *Blemmydes* [13], Neilos Damilas disapproved [12] of the increasing influence of secular music on the performance of the office, specifically the “use of undignified tunes varied in modulation, and excessive variety of hymns and trilling of odes which are more fitting for actors on a stage than for a church of God.” Instead, one nun was to take the lead (unless a priest happened to be present) with the loudest voice, and the rest of the nuns would follow her singing with softer voices. In addition to common services, the author urges [11] his nuns to pray privately “day and night.”

2. Manual Labor

Before the institution of cenobiticism, the founder had permitted [6] each nun to work on her personal handiwork in her own cell. Even later, manual labor remained [10] an important part of the daily lives of the nuns. The author was unwilling [7] to allow the nuns' previous practice of producing goods for their children and other relatives to continue, but he alludes to the permissibility of supervised sales to other outsiders, monks and laymen. The nuns and their male counterparts in the monastery also manufactured [8] articles of clothing for one another: the monks made habits and shoes for the nuns, while the nuns made habits for the monks. Most nuns were also expected [16] to assist with watering and guard duties in the convent's garden and vineyard. Hired secular laborers (like those anticipated in (52) *Choumnos* [B22]) were to handle certain tasks, presumably those thought too arduous for the nuns to do themselves.

3. Sacramental Life

The convent's spiritual father was responsible [9] for celebrating the liturgy on request and for hearing confessions in the narthex of the church. If the weather happened to be cold, he could hear confessions in the convent instead. This officiating priest was not to be changed [14] until absolutely necessary. Ordained monks (presumably those resident in the neighboring monastery) were not permitted to substitute for him in performing the liturgy.

4. Length of the Novitiate

Novices were assigned [6] older nuns as sponsors. There is no discussion of the length of the novitiate except for women with children who wished to join the monastery, who were obliged [5]

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to serve a year's trial period. No woman was admissible against the wishes of her husband, and none could bring a daughter into the convent with her unless the child was at least ten years of age and willing to become a nun also. Such a child would become a novice at age thirteen.

5. Cenobitical Lifestyle

Professedly because he had no older nuns to serve as sponsors for his novices, the founder originally permitted [6] them to live and work separately (i.e., on an idiorhythmic system). Once he found an adequate number of sponsors, however, he obliged the nuns to live cenobitically, subject to the authority of their superior. "Comprehensive abstinence" in food (including aromatic spices and oils), drink, and sleep and "humility" were the ideological foundations [3], cf. [4] of our author's vision of cenobitic life. Two nuns, a mother and her daughter who served as the convent's gatekeepers, continued [16] to live apart from the community in a cell at the outer gate of the courtyard, and were excused from sharing some of the common responsibilities of the other nuns.

6. Importance of Reading

With an enthusiasm not seen in the other documents in our collection, our author, who was himself a bibliophile, asserts the importance of reading for his nuns. He obliges [20] the superior to teach the other nuns how to read, which he terms "a fine and admirable deed." Also, the young daughters admitted to the convent with their mothers were to be taught [5] no other skill than how to read until they began their novitiates at age thirteen. The author even makes bold to declare [13], on patristic authority, that reading aloud (at least twice a night) was more important than the performance of psalmody. His requirement that the nuns not lend [20] their books outside the convent on the grounds that "if they are damaged, you have no one to restore them" is also consistent with his respect for book-learning, as is the list of some forty-one books found in the founder's inventory.

7. Personal Possessions

The author is reluctant to endorse a ban on personal possessions for the nuns. His opinion is [2] that "It is not the mere possession of something for maintenance of life and the needs of the body that harms us, but having a soul enslaved to these possessions." Indeed, it seems [7] that the nuns were engaged in certain unspecified entrepreneurial activities with outsiders, both laymen and monks. The author specifically mentions [20] certain books that were the personal property of the superior (but she was not to bequeath them to anyone outside the convent).

8. Servants

Citing canon law, the author rules [5] that female servants could not be admitted to the convent or even lodged overnight without the knowledge of their master.

9. Relations with Family

Nuns were not to show [7] "passionate attachment" to their children or relatives by giving them money earned from their handiwork or anything else, except food such as fruit, with permission of the superior. Their entrepreneurial activities, conducted in the presence of the superior and one or two elderly nuns, might be transacted with relatives. The superior was required to be present for all conversations with relatives and strangers.

C. Constitutional Matters

1. Constitutional Status

There is no discussion of the constitutional status of this convent, but to all appearances it was a traditional private foundation. However, except for misbehavior (for which see [17]), the resident nuns did enjoy protection from expulsion from the convent, at the hands either of the spiritual father [15] or anyone else [14].

2. Leadership

The author designates [21] the Mother of God herself as the protectress (*prostatis*) of the foundation. The role of the spiritual father is carefully limited (unlike (39) *Lips* [10]) to sacramental functions and tonsuring the nuns. The spiritual father was to have no authority to expel [15] nuns or to alter [9] the founder's instructions, which the latter set down so that there would be no need for "anyone to remind you [the nuns] about them or to make different rules from the ones I have made." When absolutely necessary, a new spiritual father was to be chosen [15], cf. [14] by all or a "majority" of the nuns.

As in contemporary independent foundations, the nuns are put [15] under the authority of the superior and the *typikon*. The superior was to govern [18] in association with two stewards. Upon the death of any of these officials, the entire body or a majority of the nuns would elect a replacement. The nuns were also responsible [16] for choosing new gatekeepers when the present ones died. The election of officers (and not just the superior) by the community contrasts with the more typical practice of allowing the superior to make these appointments on her own.⁹

3. Style of Rule

The superior was responsible for exercising a tight control over her nuns. The gatekeepers were to grant [16] entrance to and exit from the convent only with her permission. Nuns who fled or left without permission were to be excommunicated [17] for as many years as days absent. Nuns could be expelled for refusing to be subject to the *typikon*, but not for any other reason unless she was found to be a procuress or "wanton, a troublemaker, or malicious, and is unwilling to make amends."

D. Financial Matters

The author has little to say in his *typikon* about the financial administration of the convent, presumably because these matters were covered [18] in more detail in the "officially registered document" (composed in Latin). This document, said to be unintelligible to the nuns, also contained a "comprehensive" list (i.e., an inventory) of the convent's property. A separate listing "by name" was once to be found in the *typikon* at [19] but is now missing. A later testament, included here in our edition as an appendix, has a list of some forty-one books (mostly service books, but also some ascetic and even secular literature), certain consecrated vessels, and liturgical vestments.

E. External Relations

1. Relations with Monks and Secular Laborers

As noted above, the convent exchanged manufactured goods with a neighboring monastery and

employed outside laborers for certain tasks. Our author, a keen student of canon law, was well aware of the hostility of the canonical tradition to double monasteries, therefore his defense of these external relations [8] is anxious, convoluted and unconvincing. Essentially he pleads that the circumstances of the convent's construction required certain canonical irregularities, i.e., his own lodging and that of others (laborers?) at the convent, that were not to be repeated.

2. Relations with Secular Authorities

The author discusses [20] relations with the secular authorities, the Venetian government of Crete, in his instructions to the superior. She was to grant admission [20], cf. [8] to government authorities and nobles, both local and foreign (perhaps from Venice itself), and to entertain them as best she could, "for where there is government authority, there is no disorder." But a noble coming without the proper authority who misbehaved was to be denied admission and reported to the local officials or to "the highest authorities," if his offensive behavior persisted.

3. Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

Like the most traditional of private benefactors, our author completely ignores the local ecclesiastical hierarchy in this document. This may be a reflection of his belief (said to be based on a Justinianic novel) that founders (*ktetores*) like himself were free to do [8] what they wanted in their foundations "so long as they do not contradict the divine and holy commandments, but are in agreement with them."

Notes on the Introduction

1. For details, see Legrand, "Nil Damilas," pp. 178–80, and Pétridès, "Nil Damilas," p. 93.
2. Ms. Barocci 69, for which see Mercati, "Demetrio Cidone," p. 226, and Turyn, *Manuscripts*, p. 137.
3. See [8] below for an indication of the gap between the initiation of construction and the issuance of the founder's *typikon*.
4. Ms. State Historical Library, Moscow (former Synodal Library), fol. 10 (17th c.), transcribed in Pétridès, "Nil Damilas," p. 93. Neilos' own monastery is titled somewhat differently in his other extant works; see Tomadakis, *Ioseph Bryennios*, pp. 90–91.
5. See Alice-Mary Talbot, "Bryennios, Joseph," *ODB*, p. 330.
6. Edited by Legrand, "Testament," pp. 180–81, and more accurately by Lampros, "Testament," pp. 585–87.
7. See [20] below, and Talbot, "Damilas," p. 581.
8. For details, see Tomadakis, *Ioseph Bryennios*, pp. 90–91.
9. For the selection of a monastery's officers by the superior, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [14], [24], [31]; (28) *Pantokrator* [34], [64]; (31) *Areia* [M9], [T7]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [34], [35]; (32) *Mamas* [14]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [14]; (34) *Machairas* [91], [100]; (45) *Neophytos* [9]; but cf. (39) *Lips* [21].

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Translation

The *Testament* and *Typikon* which the most blessed ordained monk lord Neilos Damilas has set down for the nuns in the venerable convent of our most holy Lady the Mother of God and eternally virgin Mary, Queen of All, which was built by him at Baionaia.

[1.] Exhortation concerning preservation of the orthodox faith

First of all, my sisters, I exhort you to maintain the confession of orthodox faith unchanged and without innovation, as it was transmitted to us by the first holy and ecumenical council, assembled at Nicaea, of the 318 inspired fathers, that is, "I believe in one God." For whoever deviates from this faith is estranged from God. For all the saints and the most holy fathers who illumined the seven holy and ecumenical councils condemn to anathema those who dare to alter this [creed] or to take away or add even one syllable.

[2.] Concerning love

In addition to the confession of orthodox faith, you have the obligation to obey the commandments of the Lord; the most important of them all and the uniting bond is pure and honest love for one's neighbor. For he who loves his neighbor can also love God, as the Lord said in the Gospel: "If you love me, you will keep my commandment"; (John 14:15) and "this is my commandment, that you love one another, as I have loved you. Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life." (John 15:12–14) Again, "You are my friends, if you do what I command you" (cf. John 14:15). Again, [p. 96] "By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another" (John 13:35); and again, "A new commandment I give to you, that you love one another" (John 13:34); and you will find the rest in the holy Gospel according to John.

Also the blessed Paul in his first Epistle to the Corinthians said many things about love for one's neighbor; for when he enumerated all the gifts of the Holy Spirit, hear how he placed them second to love, and says, "And I will show you a still more excellent way. If I speak in the tongues of men and of angels, but have not love, I am a noisy gong or a clanging cymbal. If I have pro-

phetic powers, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and if I have all faith, so as to remove mountains, but have not love, I am nothing. If I give away all I have, and if I deliver my body to be burned, but have not love, I gain nothing” (I Cor. 12:31; 13:1–4). Do you see? Not even witnessing on behalf of Christ profits us if we do not have love for one another. Recounting its characteristics, the blessed Paul spoke as follows: “Love is patient and kind; love is not jealous or boastful; it is not arrogant or rude. Love does not insist on its own way; it is not irritable or resentful. It does not rejoice at wrong, but rejoices in the right. Love bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things. Love never ends” (I Cor. 13:4–8).

Therefore since love has all these advantages, strive to achieve it, so that through it you may achieve all the virtues. If then you desire to possess it like an ancestral inheritance and inalienable fortune, read constantly [and] insatiably the ascetical treatise of St. Maximos which begins, “A monk questioned an old man, saying, ‘Tell me, Father, what was the purpose of the incarnation of the Lord?’”¹ Also [read] the four hundred chapters on love of the same St. Maximos.² In addition and together with these [read] the treatise of St. Zosimos which is at the end of [the works of] St. Makarios.³ From all of these you will learn that, if man does not despise honors and dishonors, and renounce every attachment to ephemeral things, as well as his love for his own flesh, he cannot attain spiritual love. For in the beginning of the first hundred of the chapters on love, St. Maximos says precisely as follows: “Love is a good condition of the soul, as a result of which one prefers nothing to knowledge of God; and it is impossible for anyone attached to earthly things to achieve this love.”⁴

Heed; he did not say, “He who has any earthly possession cannot attain love,” but “He who is attached to any earthly possessions cannot have [p. 97] spiritual love.” So that it is not the mere possession of something for maintenance of life and the needs of the body that harms us, but having a soul enslaved to these possessions. For the blessed Job had riches and great wealth, but he was not enslaved by them. For there was in him no trace of greed. Wherefore when he was deprived of these things, he remained free from grief. Not only did he have no passionate attachment to or irrational love for these things, but he was also not unduly attached to the love of his children. For he did not love them more than God, as events showed. For when he heard that terrible news that his house had fallen on his children and they all perished together, he neither said nor did anything displeasing to God. But arising from his royal throne, he “rent his robe” and sprinkled ashes on his head, and falling to the ground worshipped the Lord, saying: “Naked I came from my mother’s womb, and naked shall I return; the Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away. This has happened in accordance with the Lord’s will, blessed be the name of the Lord” (Job 1:20–21).

Do you see his attitude towards God? Neither the loss of so many possessions, nor the sudden death of his children could sway him from his love of God. This is the attitude all we Christians, and especially monks, ought to have in the face of adversity. For as has been said before, he had great wealth, but he had it as if he did not possess it. For when he had it, he shared it with all the needy. For he believed that he and the poor were children of one Father, and the wealth belonged to a common Father, and he and the poor all lived in common off the wealth of his Father. When the wealth was lost and destroyed, he thought to himself, “Neither did I possess anything, nor have I lost anything. For it belonged to my Lord and, when he wished, he took it, and blessed be his name.”

I have made these remarks so as to demonstrate from the Holy Scriptures that, if only we are willing, we can all have possessions without being attached to them, like the monk who had the cabbage, about whom St. Zosimos writes at the beginning of his treatise.⁵

[3.] Concerning virginity

I wish to speak to you concerning virginity and to safeguard you from danger, for without it no one will see the Lord, according to the blessed Paul; for he says in his epistle to the Hebrews, “Strive for peace with all men, and for the holiness without which no one will see the Lord” (Heb. 12:14). He says that peace is love for one another, holiness is self-control and virginity; a lawful and honorable marriage is also called virginity, but even more honorable is life without marriage, for this is properly called virginity. [p. 98] Virginity is truly an angelic life; for in this men are likened to angels. Our Lord, wishing to honor virginity, was born of a holy virgin. From that time virginity has been honored in the world and is envied by everyone. Why do I speak at length? “Virginity is a desirable house of God and a terrestrial heaven of the heart,” according to John Klimakos. “Chastity is extraordinary denial of nature and a truly incredible struggle of the mortal and corruptible body towards the incorporeal.”⁶ These are the praises of virginity, and there are countless others.

The first foundation of virginity with God is said by all the holy fathers to be restraint in food, drink and sleep, since virginity cannot be attained by anyone except through comprehensive abstinence and humility; by comprehensive abstinence I mean abstention from the many aromatic spices and oils, from drinks, sleep, hearing, the tongue, the eyes, hands and feet; for the orderly and discriminating deprivation of all these makes comprehensive abstinence.

The second and finest foundation of this [virginity], its base and structure and roof and consummation, is holy humility; so that man may truly believe that however long someone fasts, and is abstinent and maintains vigils and thirsts and toils and prays and lives in poverty and strives for every good deed, without the help of God, which comes to us as a result of sobriety and heartfelt prayer, through the grace of the all-holy Spirit which is given to us mystically in holy baptism, it is impossible for us to achieve freedom from the passions, since faith is born of humility, and from faith comes fear of God, and from fear of God results avoidance of sin; [and avoidance] of sin is the beginning of repentance; and the beginning of repentance is the beginning of salvation. By freedom from passions I mean the mortification of the spirit and of desire, which it is impossible to attain without God’s mercy. The mercy of God is granted to us at the time when we repent of our sins and despise them in the depths of our souls and grievously sigh and seek God; and this is the result of the fear of God. This is humility. For since we are blinded by pride and disregard God and commit sins, it is clear that, when we abandon evil deeds, we have humbled ourselves and begun to fear him; and this is called repentance, this is the opposite path to the first, or a backward movement of the mind. For as long as the soul loves sin, it descends down into Hell with the devil; but when it despises sin, it leaves the devil below and ascends to heaven, seeking God with much toil. When the merciful God sees it approaching him, he has compassion on it and sends it his mercy, to cleanse [p. 99] it from the filth and impurities of its passions, to be united with him through purity. For if it is not first of all purified by contrition and shedding of tears, it cannot be united with God and become one spirit with him in the words of Paul; for in the first [epistle] to the Corinthians he says, “But he who is united to the Lord becomes one spirit with him” (I Cor.

6:17). He who is not united with him in this life through tears of repentance cannot achieve salvation.

[4.] Concerning repentance

Since man is united with God through tears and repentance, listen to the words of St. John Klimakos in his treatise on humility: "Anxious repentance, and sorrow purified of every blemish, and the holy humility of the novices are as different and distinct from each other as leaven and flour in bread. For the soul is worn down and attenuated by manifest repentance, and is somehow united and, so to speak, kneaded together with God through the water of genuine sorrow, by which blessed humility which is unleavened and not puffed up, baked by the fire of the Lord, is made into bread and made firm."⁷

Again, so that you may learn that without the aid of God no one can achieve virtue, hear the words of the Lord who says, "Apart from me you can do nothing" (John 15:5). But also the divine John Klimakos, in his treatise on chastity, says as follows: "He who wishes to master his own flesh or fight it on his own strives in vain; for unless the Lord destroys the house of the flesh and constructs a house of the spirit, he who wishes to destroy it has labored and fasted in vain. Entrust to the Lord the weakness of your nature, recognizing your own frailty once and for all, and you will receive imperceptibly the gift of self-control."⁸ Abstinence quenches desire, love calms the temper, prayer presents the very mind to God. Why should I speak at length on these matters? For if you wish to be relieved of and liberated from all evils, strive to achieve abstinence and love and prayer. I have said enough on these matters; now I wish to give you certain instructions, which you will find beneficial and advantageous for your souls if you follow them. But if you disregard them and do not follow them, eternal punishment lies in store for you.

[5.] That you should not admit anyone's female servant into monastic life without the knowledge of her master

Take great care not to admit anyone's female servant into your convent to be tonsured; for I forbid her to remain in the convent even one night, not only [p. 100] because of the resulting difficulties with her master, but because the holy canons do not permit this. For the third canon of the council at Gangra condemns to anathema anyone who advises a slave to adopt the monastic habit without the knowledge of his master.⁹ In the same way you [should] not [admit] a married woman against the will of her husband; and then [you should admit her] only if she is childless. If she does have children, you must on no account admit her until you have given her one year's trial, still wearing secular dress, to see if she can endure the loss of her children. Under no circumstances should you admit a woman with a little girl under the age of ten; but even then only if the child wishes to learn her letters and become a nun; for I forbid her to learn any other skill until she dons the novice's habit at the age of thirteen.

[6.] That you should not tonsure anyone without a sponsor

The second canon of the so-called first and second council [of Constantinople (861)] states that we should not tonsure anyone and dress him in monastic habit without a sponsor who will be responsible for him and train him in the monastic way of life. He must render utter obedience to

his sponsor, such as he owes to God and the superior of the monastery.¹⁰ Therefore from this moment and henceforth it is my wish that in this convent you clothe no nun in this sacred habit without a sponsor. For I no longer permit the practice which I have followed up to now: that is, tonsuring [the nuns] and giving them the superior as a sponsor, and then permitting each one to be established according to her own wishes, in a private cell and with her own personal handiwork, for I did this previously out of necessity, because I did not have any experienced elderly nuns.

From now on I want all of you, young and old alike, to obey the superior and render her every honor as to the Lord; and in the future, when nuns are tonsured, let the superior give them sponsors who have the obligation to live in a cenobitic manner until the end of their lives. Both the novices and their sponsors should be subject to the authority of the superior.

[7. External relations]

From this moment on, any nun who is found to have a passionate attachment to her relatives or children and wishes to give them money from her own work, even one *grossa*, in accordance with previous custom which you wrongfully followed, is to be excommunicate for one year; or perhaps in proportion to the amount which out of friendship she has given her relatives from her work, for the same number of years let her be excommunicate, unless she should fall gravely ill; in that case, in accordance with the tradition of the Fathers, [p. 101] let her receive holy communion on her deathbed. But if she should happen to survive, then she is to be deprived of holy communion until the years are accomplished which we set for her sin.

Nor do I permit the nuns to give anything to their relatives except food. If one of the nuns wishes to give one of her relatives some local fruit, she may do this only with the permission of the superior; and if permission is not granted, she may not give [the fruit]. If one of her relatives or a stranger wishes to buy or sell anything, whether they are laymen or monks, let the purchase or sale take place in the presence of the superior and one or two elderly nuns; for henceforth I forbid a nun to have any private conversation, either with her own brother or child, or with a stranger, except in the presence of the superior.

[8. Relations with the monks]

I also forbid any work to be done inside or outside the convent by a monk; [it may be performed] only by secular laborers. For I do not permit monks to stay or sleep in the place even one night, now that I myself have departed from the convent. For previously, when there were necessary chores at the convent, I had to stay with you and be a burden on you. But now, through the grace of Christ, the most necessary tasks are finished, and it is not right to be a burden or “stumbling-block” for you; for the brother or son of one nun is a “stumbling-block” and cause of “hindrance” (cf. Rom. 14:13) for the others. I am not alone to say this; for the twentieth canon of the seventh holy ecumenical council [of Nicaea II (787)] states as follows: “From now on we do not wish there to exist double monasteries and for nuns to live next to monks. For this is a cause of hindrance and a stumbling-block for many. But whoever choose to retire with their own relatives, let the men go to monasteries and the women to convents. As for the double monasteries which have existed until now, out of respect for our¹¹ holy father Basil who decreed that they be thus,¹² let them be administered as he ordains; but it is not right for monks to live and associate with nuns,

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since it is harmful and unlawful, neither should they approach [the nuns] freely or speak with them, nor eat alone with them. As for the necessary provisions brought to the nuns by men, let them be received by the superior together with another elderly nun. If a monk deems it extremely important to see a female relative for some necessary matter, let him say a few short words to her in the presence of the superior and leave immediately.”¹³

The canon makes these statements about the double monasteries for which the great Basil drew up a rule in his lifetime, [p. 102] only in the region of Caesarea, in his district, that is. “We do this,” they say, “out of respect for the great Basil, but we do not permit this to occur in another province, since the rule which the great Basil set forth is not obeyed, but is disregarded and the situation becomes a cause and excuse for disorder and confusion.” But you can offer no good excuse that there is need for people to come constantly into your convent and attend to your needs, for you do not live communally with any men. For if, in cases where there existed communal monasteries of men and women, the canon does not permit the monks to perform any other service in the convent except to bring the [provisions] sent to the [nuns] by the superior [of the male monastery], [to deposit them] outside the gate of the convent and leave, how much more does it apply in this case where there is no such need? When it was necessary, monks and laymen did perform tasks at the convent. But now, through the grace of Christ, as I have already said, the necessary common work is finished. Moreover, the work took place in my presence and with my knowledge and consent, as is permitted by the thirty-eighth canon of the council at Carthage. For it says, “We rule that no monk or cleric is to visit virgins or widows who are consecrated to God, except with the permission of the bishop, or, in the absence of the bishop, the priest. But even then they should not meet alone with them, but in the presence either of other clergy or of honorable and pious Christians, so as to remove any suspicion.”¹⁴ The apostle says, “Give no offense to the Jews or to the Greeks or to the church of God” (I Cor. 10:32), since we have been commanded to avoid wicked reputations, even if they are false. Therefore we advise you to give no offense and bid you observe proper behavior in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The forty-second canon of the sixth council [of Trullo (691–92)] and the twenty-second canon of the seventh council [of Nicaea II (787)] lay down the same regulations and prescribe deposition for clerics who transgress, and threaten with excommunication impious monks and laymen, that is, those who enter female convents without the knowledge of their shepherd and teacher.¹⁵ Therefore, so that you may not be subject to excommunication, we authorize you to have all your work inside and outside the convent performed by virtuous laymen. Nor do we permit them to enter within the convent except in great necessity, unless government authorities come and local officials and likewise other officials, whom we cannot oppose; but we forbid monks to do any work within the convent, except what they can make for you in their cells, that is, a habit, shoes and other handiwork. In the same way you [p. 103] should make nothing else in your cells for monks except their habits. I say this, not because the monks are wicked, but so that there may be no cause for them to linger with you. For the divine and holy canons do not wish this to occur except in the presence of another person, as has already been said. As for the laymen, they should work all day, and in the evening depart for their own homes, nor does the canon permit them, whether they are relatives or strangers, to have private conversations with the nuns, except in the presence of other [nuns]; and I wish this to be your practice, as I have previously written.

When I was building the convent and the church and the other [buildings] which I had constructed in your convent, I did not have my lodgings nearby; for this reason I and the other [laborers] associated and lodged with you. For if my lodgings had been as close as a mile away, as is the case for bishops in the cities where there are female convents, neither I nor anyone else would have imposed upon you; but this situation occurred because of the pressing necessity of circumstances, since I did not have my lodgings nearby, as has already been said. So that this may not occur again under any circumstances, for this reason I lay this charge on you, citing the testimony of the divine and holy canons to support my commandments. For according to the one hundred thirty-first novel of Justinian, the commandments of the founders have authority in their own monasteries, as long as they do not contradict the divine and holy commandments, but are in agreement with them.¹⁶

[9. Role of the spiritual father]

Since I wish to provide every spiritual comfort and benefit for you, therefore I am setting these regulations down for you in writing, so that you will not need anyone to remind you about them or to make different rules from the ones I have made. As for the spiritual father whom you should have, I do not want you to have him as a teacher in everything, so that he can, God forbid, alter my instructions (for this I do not permit), but so that you may summon him to come to your convent when you wish to partake of the divine mysteries. As he sits in the narthex of the church, or inside the convent, if the weather is cold, each of you should confess to him your thoughts with piety and fear of God; and after he rests in my cell, you should dismiss him again with honor and provisions to return to his own cell.

[10. Performance of the divine office]

Living in peace with one another, you should perform your divine office, that is, the church service, and as many prostrations as possible with the knowledge and permission and approval of the superior. Those who are able and so choose should perform 200 in 24 hours, others 100, others 60, others 50, others 40, others 30, others 25, mindful of the words of the apostle, "Each shall receive his wages according to his labor" (I Cor. 3:8), and again, [p. 104] "God loves a cheerful giver" (II Cor. 9:7). For just as with regard to charitable works, he sees not only the gift but also the purpose and the means [of the donor], so with regard to prayer he sees not only the words, but also the strength and the zeal [of the suppliant].

Any nun who does not get up for the divine office because she is ill, and is neither eating nor able to stand, should not be subject to any reproach or regulation; but when she is healthy and does not rise for the service out of laziness and lethargy, if she misses the midnight service, she is not to eat cooked food that day, but only bread and water, no matter what day it is, and should prostrate herself before the superior and all the nuns to receive their forgiveness. If she gets there for the recitation of the psalms or the fourth [hour], let her eat only half a [portion] of bread; but if she does not get up at all, she is to eat nothing at all that day, even if it should be Sunday. If it should be Sunday or Saturday and she wishes to eat, she should make 200 prostrations on Monday. I make these rules for the young and able nuns who are negligent; I am not talking about the elderly and ailing nuns.

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These are the punishments for those who are absent from the divine services, which I have learned from the ascetical treatise of our great father Basil.¹⁷ If you do not want to be subject to them, recite the psalms in the evening both winter and summer. In winter when you are sitting at your handiwork, sing all your service; and then leave and return to your cells to sleep, until you have had sufficient rest; and again at dawn, if you wish, get up and do your handiwork, as long as you wish.

[11.] Concerning prayer, or “Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me”

In all these matters and above all and in everything you should strive to have prayer in your hearts night and day; for it does not require physical labor, but only silence and peaceful conditions. No person can be peaceful without humility; for the humble person does not blame anyone, does not rail at anyone, does not judge anyone, does not hate anyone, even if he is injured by him, but rather does the complete opposite, condemns himself and registers all his own faults, whatever they may be. How then will such a person find cause to be stirred to anger against anyone? This is the great work of the monk; this is the mark of the disciples of Christ; for thus he spoke to them in his advice after the Last Supper before his honorable passion: “By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another” (John 13:35). [p. 105] For such is the marvelous and lovely fruit of blessed humility, but it is found in few men. For no one can find love in his soul without humility. Since then prayer cannot be kept in the heart and be effective without peaceful conditions, this is “the door and the way” (John 10:9; 14:6) by which we can approach spiritual paradise, that is love, as St. Isaac testifies, saying: “Retirement [from the world] precedes prayer, and the purpose of retirement is prayer. We pray so that we may attain the love of God; for on account of prayer God has reason to love us; and prayer is strengthened and confirmed by a peaceful condition of the soul; and peaceful conditions are not found in the soul without humility.”¹⁸ It is clear that love is generated by humility, as St. John Klimakos tells you in his treatise on obedience, saying as follows: “From obedience comes humility, from humility freedom from passions.”¹⁹ Freedom from passions is the healthy condition of the soul; and the first and distinguishing mark of a healthy soul is love for everyone. So much for this topic, now let me turn to the next.

[12.] Concerning good order in church and how the service should proceed

I wish to instruct you about the psalms which you sing in a bodily fashion, how you should perform them so as to profit therefrom, and not labor in vain. For you cannot profit therefrom unless your mind pays attention to the words of your mouth. I could cite many testimonies on this matter; but on account of their number I will set all of them aside and cite the seventy-fifth canon of the sixth holy ecumenical council.²⁰

This [canon] enjoins “those who pray in church and recite the psalms not to utter undisciplined and high-pitched sounds, but to make their prayers and recitations of the psalms with contrite heart and sedate character and attentive mind, so as to attract God’s mercy on your sins by your internal character and external appearance. For as the book of Leviticus says, ‘Thus you shall make pious the sons of Israel’ (cf. Lev. 15:31). Nor should you make use of undignified tunes varied in modulation, and excessive variety of hymns and trilling of odes which are more fitting

for actors on a stage than for a church of God. These [practices] have been forbidden many times by many patriarchs with severe penalties, and it has been ordained that one should use simple and unadorned [music] in the singing of the psalms for night offices and services for the departed, as was the old custom dear to God. But this does not happen any more,"²¹ since the desire of the multitude prevails over divine commandments. But do not you appear disobedient, [p. 106] lest you receive the curses of the fathers. For if those who know how to chant accurately are restrained by the fathers, how much more [would this hold true] for you [nuns] who do not know how at all, but rather cause laughter for those who hear you, and despondency and misery for others.

If the canon forbids laymen from chanting with melody and loud voices, how much more [would this apply] to you, who have been summoned to grieve for your own souls? As St. John Klimakos says in his seventh oration, "We are not here invited to a wedding, by no means; rather he who summoned us here summoned us to grieve for ourselves,"²² and again, "Like a widow who has lost her husband and has her only son as her sole consolation after the Lord,²³ thus when the soul dies there is no other consolation at the time of death like utterances of the throat and tears. Such people will never sing, nor shout aloud in hymns by themselves; for such practices are destructive of grief. If you make it your business to invite grief through these, your goal becomes more inaccessible,"²⁴ and again, "My friends, at the time of the departure of our soul we will be charged, we will be charged not because we have not performed miracles, nor because we have not taught about God, nor because we have not become contemplative, but we will rather render an accounting to God because we have not grieved unceasingly [for our sins]."²⁵

Therefore I want [you to do] everything laid down by the holy fathers, so that you will perform your entire service according to the ordering of the recitation of the psalter, slowly, rhythmically, in a dignified manner. You should say it in a voice loud enough to be heard by all the nuns; and you should not all recite with equal volume, lest your ears and the ears of the listeners be deafened, but let one nun lead the service with the loudest voice, and let the rest follow her with quieter voices, so that there is no confusion and disorder. Let her lead from the beginning of vespers until the completion of the ninth hour and the select verses from the psalms and beatitudes of the following day; then let another take the lead, of the entire service that is, or of the recitation of the psalter, of the hymns called *prosomoia*, the *kathismata*, the canons and everything else; chant with melody the [canons beginning with the words] "the more honorable," and the "Christ has risen," the canon of Easter, and the psalms called *ainoi*, the liturgy of the entire year. When your priest happens to be present, let him chant according to his order, and you follow him in your chanting, as best you can. So much for the order of your service.

[13.] Concerning reading²⁶ [p. 107]

I say this, too, that every night you should read aloud at least twice, if not more; for prayer and reading are like two eyes; and St. Isaac sets reading before psalmody with the following words: "If possible, honor reading even more than assembly for prayer."²⁷

[14.] Concerning the priest [p. 106]

It is my wish that you make no change in the priest who ministers to you as long as he lives, even if he so wishes. But if it is absolutely impossible for him [to continue], bring in [p. 107] another secular priest who is pious and God-fearing, who is to be selected by all [the nuns] or the majority

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of them from the province of the local authority; for not until this world stands still will I permit an ordained monk to conduct services in this convent while it is inhabited by nuns. Nor do I permit any other men to dwell therein until the end of this world; but if anyone at all, whether one of our own people or a foreigner, wishes to cause the nuns to depart from this convent, let him be excommunicated from the body of Christians, and let his portion be with the devil. But I have said enough on these matters.

[15.] Concerning the spiritual father

Concerning the spiritual father whom you should have, it is my wish that he, too, be elected by common consent of all or the majority [of the nuns]. Concerning your spiritual father, you must pay attention to this, too, that he not have permission to remove from the convent any nun whom he tonsures therein. For they are not under his authority, but should render obedience to their superior and the rules of the convent; but let him have the rights appropriate to a spiritual father over all; for this is the case in all the venerable female convents which are subject to the authority of the Roman Empire and also in male monasteries. If the incumbent superior happens to be expelled from his position, he does not have the right to remove from the monastery all those he tonsured or appropriate for himself anyone; for all are subject to the superior who succeeds him and to the monastery.

[16.] Concerning the gatekeeper

I wish to give you instructions about the gate of the monastery which are not my own, but those of the pious laws; for the fifteenth [*sic*] Novel of Justinian ordains as follows: "We command that there not exist many entrances to the monastery, but only one or two, and that elderly and prudent men should stand at the gate, who will not permit the monks to leave the monastery without the knowledge of the [p. 108] superior, nor allow anyone from outside to enter the monastery night or day."²⁸ Therefore, in accordance with this law I order you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to guard the gate of the convent as the previously cited law ordains. Since lady Makaria wishes to assume this salutary duty and asks to build a cell at the outer gate of the courtyard, so that she may live there with her mother, this is pleasing to me and it is my wish that this occur. Therefore let her undertake this divine task as long as she lives or is able. After her death you should choose from among you two pious and trustworthy elderly women who are God-fearing, and appoint them to live in that cell to guard the gate. Let them not open the gate to anyone without the permission of the superior; and not only should they refuse to open [the gate] to outside visitors without the permission of the superior, but also for nuns leaving the convent, unless they are going out with the consent of the superior, as the above-cited law ordains. Therefore the gatekeepers should always stay there throughout the day, and if one should happen to be absent because of pressing need, then the other one should stay there. They should not be liable for duty in the vineyard or garden, that is, to keep guard over them and water them, but they should only be assigned to the gate next to them.

[17. Grounds for punishment and expulsion of nuns]

I think these instructions are sufficient for you; and if you follow them, you will have honor and

eternal glory, but if you disregard them and do not follow them, on the contrary dishonor and eternal punishment await you. However, if in this present life any one of you is found who does not wish to be subject to these rules, she is to be expelled from the convent by the others. But I do not permit you to expel a nun from the convent on any other account, unless she be found to be a procuress, or if she is wanton, a troublemaker, or malicious, and is not willing to make amends. “For,” as St. Mark the ascetic says, “one should not be patient when the fault of one spreads to many, but should seek that which is expedient for the majority, so that they may be saved.”²⁹ If any of you should flee from the convent on account of meanness of spirit, she is not allowed to partake of communion until she returns to the convent which she wrongly left. If one of you should leave the convent without authorization, for as many nights as she sleeps [outside the convent] without permission, for so many years is she to go without communion after her return, unless she is in danger of death.

[18.] Concerning the superior and the two stewards

Concerning the superior and the two nuns who have responsibility for the administration of the affairs of the convent, I am recording in the officially registered document how there [p. 109] should always be three of them, and if one of them should die, the entire body of nuns or a majority should elect another one who is able to undertake her duties with fear of God and in all humility. But since that [document] is in Latin, which you do not know how to read, for this reason I will write it [also] in our language [Greek]; and moreover since the items which I am bequeathing to you are not all listed there by name, but comprehensively, I wish to list them here by name.

[19. Inventory]

Here I record the possessions of the convent . . .

[Missing]

[20. Additional instructions to the superior]

I give you this instruction, too, that when the government authorities or nobles come to the convent, not only local nobles but foreigners, you, the superior, should go out with other elderly nuns to welcome them with all honor, and entertain them as best you can with what provisions you have. If they wish to enter the convent, open [the gates] to them with joy. For where there is government authority, there is no disorder. But if one of the nobles should come without authority and misbehave toward you in any way, do not open [the gates] to him if he comes again; and if he troubles you, inform the local authority; and if he does not correct the matter, go to the highest authorities.

I also lay this charge on you, that on no account you lend your books outside the convent and church; for I do not want you to lend them to anyone; for if they are damaged, you do not have anyone to restore them.

I lay this further charge on you with regard to the books which are your personal property, that you not bequeath them to anyone outside the convent after your death. Strive to teach other nuns their letters, so that this may be to your eternal memory. This is a fine and admirable deed; for you ought to fear the punishment that befalls anyone who conceals the talent of his master (cf. Matt. 25:14–30).

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[21. Punishment of transgressors]

If anyone dares to transgress this present *Typikon* of mine, which was written by the notary lord George Delagronda, may he find the most holy Mother of God, the protectress of the convent, as his opponent and enemy on the Day of Judgment, and may he be subject to the curses of the 318 divinely inspired fathers of the Council of Nicaea, and may his lot be with that of the traitor [Judas].

[p. 585]

[Inventory]

[INV] On the twenty-second day of April, 1417. I, the ordained monk Neilos Damilas, make my confession and write this testament. I have the following books:

The holy four gospels in paper³⁰ in my own writing.

A *Praxapostolos* in parchment with commentary, one volume.

An *Oktoechos* in paper in my own writing, two volumes.

A *Triodion* on paper, copied by myself and the priest Daniel, one volume.

A *Pentekostarion* in paper in my own writing, one volume.

A book of the *Propheteia* in paper, copied by the priest Daniel, one volume.

A Psalter in paper in my own writing, one volume.

A *Typikon*³¹ on paper, one volume. [p. 586]

A *Menaion* for September and October, copied by the priest Daniel, two volumes.

[A *Menaion* for] July and August in paper, copied by the priest Daniel, one volume.

[A *Menaion* for] December and January on parchment, one volume.

Gregory the Theologian, on parchment, [one] volume.

[John] Klimakos,³² in paper, one volume.

A *Nomokanon* on paper compiled by the priest lord Matthew [Blastares], copied by Grimbilas, one volume.

The Book of Job, in parchment, one volume.

The Dogmatic Writings of lord Theophanes of Nicaea,³³ in paper, one volume.

A *Neptikon*³⁴ in my own writing, one volume; it also has different chapters.

[Symeon Metaphrastes], the month of September, one volume.

Photios, patriarch of Constantinople, parchment, one volume.

The *Antirrhetics*³⁵ and *Hexameros*³⁶ of Basil the Great, parchment, one volume.

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The *Hexaemeros* in one book.

A second book of [St. John] Chrysostom, in parchment, one volume.

The *Ascetical Treatises*³⁷ of Maximos the Monk, and the *Treatises*³⁸ of Basil the Great, one volume.

St. Makarios, in paper, one volume.

Boethius and Cato, and the chronographer Manasses, one volume.³⁹

A *Dogmatic [Treatise]* by the holy [Gregory] Palamas and the lord priest Matthew [Blastares] *Against Barlaam and Akindynos* and *Against the Jew*, one volume.⁴⁰

The theological works of St. Maximos and of [Anastasios] the Sinaite and of St. Thalassios the African, twenty-eight quires.⁴¹

One Lexicon.

One little book containing 400 chapters on love and philosophy by [St. John of] Damascus.⁴²

One *Schematologion* which also contains the prayers for Pentecost.

A *Mega Apodeipnon* and the sorrowful canon⁴³ of the Mother of God.

The *Erotemata*⁴⁴ of Anastasios of the Holy Mountain, and the *Logoi* of the great [St. John] Chrysostom, one volume.

A first *schedos*,⁴⁵ one volume.

A [service book for] Communion.⁴⁶

Two liturgies by [St. John] Chrysostom.

Chalices and patens with a spoon and *asteriskos* and three veils and two stoles. [p. 587]

Logoi on the translation of our holy father John Chrysostom which has parchment pages.

St. Dorotheos⁴⁷ in parchment, one volume.

A *Paradeisos*⁴⁸ in paper, one volume.

One book which has *synaxaria* of [Nikephoros Kallistos] Xanthopoulos,⁴⁹ and other items.

One *Menaion*: a collection.

All together, forty-one volumes.

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Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of our translator, Alice-Mary Talbot, who has provided most of the notes to this document.

1. Maximos the Confessor, *Liber asceticus*, PG 90, col. 912.
2. Maximos the Confessor, *Centuriae de caritate*, PG 90, cols. 960–1080.
3. Zosimos (6th c.), PG 78, col. 1680.
4. Maximos the Confessor, *Centuriae de caritate*, PG 90, col. 961A.
5. Zosimos, PG 78, col. 1681.
6. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, col. 880D.
7. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, col. 989D.
8. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, col. 884B.
9. *C. Gangrensis*, c. 3 (R&P 3.102).
10. *C. Const. I et II*, c. 2 (R&P 2.654).
11. Read *hemon*.
12. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 33 ([LR 33], PG 31, cols. 997–1000; *Regulae brevius tractatae* 108–11, 154, 220 ([SR 108]–[SR 111], [SR 154], [SR 220]), PG 31, cols. 1156C–1157A, 1184B, 1228CD.
13. Cf. *C. Nicaen. II*, c. 20 (R&P 2.637–38).
14. Cf. *C. Carth.*, c. 38 (R&P 3.402).
15. Cf. *C. Trull.*, c. 42 (R&P 2.406); *C. Nicaen. II*, c. 22 (R&P 2.642–44).
16. *NJ* 131.
17. Not in Basil; cf. Pseudo-Basil, *Poenae* 1, PG 31, col. 1305C.
18. See Isaak [the Syrian], *Tou hosiou patros hemon Isaak ta heurethenta asketika*, Greek translation by N. Theotokes (Leipzig, 1770), p. 200.
19. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, col. 709D.
20. *C. Trull.* (692), c. 75 (R&P 2.478).
21. Matthew Blastares, *Comm. ad C. Const.*, c. 75 (R&P 6. 297–98).
22. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, col. 805A.
23. Read *meta kyrion*; cf. PG 88, col. 813A.
24. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, col. 813A.
25. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, col. 816C.
26. This passage on reading was erroneously placed by the manuscript's scribe in the middle of the discussion [15] of the spiritual father; cf. Pétridès, "Nil Damilas," p. 107.
27. *Tou hosiou patros hemon Isaak ta heurethenta asketika*, p. 215.
28. *NJ* 133.
29. Mark the Hermit, *De lege spirituali*, PG 65, col. 961C.
30. *kolynos*; not in the dictionaries; probably a diminutive of *kolla*, a demotic word for sheet of paper. See Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v. *kolla*.
31. Perhaps the *typikon* for the convent at Baionaia.
32. His *Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, cols. 631–1164, to which repeated reference is made in [3], [4], [11], [12] above.
33. An unedited or unknown work of Theophanes III, metropolitan of Nicaea (14th c.); cf. his *Epistulae*, PG 150, cols. 279–356.
34. Read *Neptikon*, a book on spiritual vigilance.
35. Read *Antirrhethika*, his *Antirrhethica contra Eunomium*, PG 29, cols. 497–774.
36. Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae in Hexaemeron*, PG 29, cols. 2–207.
37. Maximos the Confessor, *Liber asceticus*, PG 90, cols. 911–58.
38. Perhaps the Basilian *Praevia institutio ascetica*, PG 31, cols. 619–52, *Sermones ascetici*, PG 31, cols.

- 869–88, the *Regulae*, PG 31, cols. 905–1305, or the Pseudo-Basilian *Constitutiones asceticae*, PG 31, cols. 1321–1428.
39. Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*; Cato, *Origines*; and Constantine Manasses, *Breviarium historiae metricum*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1837), a historical synthesis in verse covering the period from the Creation to 1081.
40. Matthew Blastares' unpublished "Oration against the anti-Palamites" (Athos 3701) and "Oration against the Jews" (Codex Bodleianus Seldenianus 44).
41. Maximos the Confessor; Anastasios the Sinaite (7th c.), PG 89, cols. 9–1288; Thalassios the African (7th c.), PG 91, cols. 1423–80.
42. John of Damascus, excerpts from the *Sacra Parallela*.
43. Read: *ton lyperon*; "sorrowful canon of the *Theotokos*." There are two canons of supplication addressed to the Holy Virgin known as *Mikros parakletikos kanon* and *Megas parakletikos kanon*. They are sung in time of sorrow. See M. Saliveros, *Mega Horologion* (Athens, n.d.), p. 541.
44. Anastasios the Sinaite, *Quaestiones*, PG 89, cols. 311–824.
45. A book containing the rules of grammar in accordance with the "schedographic" method.
46. *Akolouthia tes theias metalepseos*; cf. *Horologion*, 565–87.
47. Dorotheos (6th c.), PG 88, cols. 1609–1844.
48. A collection of monastic epigrams attributed to John Geometres (10th c.), cf. Paul Speck, "Zur Datierung des sogenannten Paradeisos," *BZ* 58 (1965), 333–36. Collections of sayings of early ascetics were also called *Paradeisos*.
49. Nikephoros Kallistos, *Historia ecclesiastica*, PG 145–47.

Document Notes

- [1] Exhortation to preserve orthodoxy. See similar professions of faith in (3) *Theodore Studites*, Concerning Faith, (7) *Latros* [1], [2], (10) *Eleousa* [2], and (49) *Geromeri* [2] ff.
- [2] Rationalization of institutional wealth. Cf. the opposite idea that the accumulation of wealth by monasteries is morally indefensible while others live in poverty, see (37) *Auxentios* [9].
- [3] Disciplinary foundations of virginity. Cf. the treatment in (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [127].
- [4] Importance of abstinence. For use of John Klimakos elsewhere, see also (3) *Theodore Studites*, Concerning Faith; (20) *Black Mountain* [53]; (21) *Roidion* [B8]; (22) *Evergetis* [4], [7]; (23) *Pakourianos* [33B]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [13], [17]; (30) *Phoberos* [9], [14]; (34) *Machairas* [52]; (35) *Skoteine* [24]; (37) *Auxentios* [6]; and (39) *Lips* [12], [13].
- [5] Restrictions on eligible postulants. For the education of girls who wished to become nuns, see (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [148]; it may also be implied in (39) *Lips* [17], [18]. For the admission of infants and children, see also (39) *Lips* [18].
- [6] No tonsure without a sponsor; nuns to live cenobitically. For the pairing of monks with sponsors elsewhere, see (22) *Evergetis* [24], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [51], and (30) *Phoberos* [43]. For the injunction to practice cenobiticism in other convents, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [2], [3], [51], [55]; (40) *Anargyroi* [2]; (47) *Philanthropos* [1] ff.; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [46], [154].
- [7] External relations. Note the much more restricted relations envisioned in other convents: (27) *Kecharitomene* [17], [80]; (39) *Lips* [15], [16]; (47) *Philanthropos* [2]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [75], [76]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [B13].
- [8] Relations with the neighboring monks. Note the much more restricted relations envisioned in (27) *Kecharitomene* [69] and (31) *Areia* [M6]. For use of lay workmen, see also (24) *Christodoulos* [A10], [A13], [A14], and (52) *Choumnos* [B22].
- [9] Role of the spiritual father. See also [15] below, and similar discussions of roles in other convents in (27) *Kecharitomene* [17], (39) *Lips* [11], (40) *Anargyroi* [5], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [111].
- [10] Performance of the office and penitential prostrations. See also (52) *Choumnos* [A16], [B14]; (53) *Meteora* [11]; (55) *Athanasios I* [4]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [59]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [C17].

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- [11] Importance of continual prayer, humility. For private prayers, see also (39) *Lips* [52].
- [12] Instructions for performance of the psalter. See also (36) *Blemmydes* [13] for another example of apparent hostility to the influence of secular music on liturgical services.
- [13] Readings more important than psalmody. See also [20] below; for the importance of reading elsewhere, see also (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [30], [66], [120], [132].
- [14] Qualifications, selection and tenure of the priest. See also similar provisions in other convents in (27) *Kecharitomene* [15]; (39) *Lips* [6]; (40) *Anargyroi* [5]; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [111].
- [15] Selection of the spiritual father; his restricted authority. See also [9] above, with cross-references.
- [16] Instructions for the gatekeepers. See also (27) *Kecharitomene* [17], [29]; (32) *Mamas* [12]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [12]; (34) *Machairas* [116]; (39) *Lips* [9], [15], [16]; (40) *Anargyroi* [5]; (52) *Choumnos* [A14]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [72], [75], [76]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [7].
- [17] Grounds for expulsion of nuns; punishment of nuns who flee or are absent without leave. See also (34) *Machairas* [123] and (45) *Neophytos* [CB2].
- [18] Election of the superior and the two stewards. See also similar provisions in other convents in (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], [14]; (39) *Lips* [5], [25]; (40) *Anargyroi* [5]; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [26], [54], [55].
- [19] Inventory of the convent's property. Missing, but see [INV] below.
- [20] Additional instructions for the superior. For reception of visiting officials elsewhere, see (21) *Roidion* [B5], [B7]; (26) *Luke of Messina* [3], [8]; and (34) *Machairas* [116], [117]; cf. (3) *Theodore Studites* [20], [23] and (13) *Ath. Typikon* [33], [35]. For the storage of books and the value placed on them in other documents, see also (24) *Christodoulos* [B7], [C6], [C7]; and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [37].
- [21] Curse on violators of the rule. See also similar provisions in (35) *Skoteine* [46]; (37) *Auxentios* [2]; (39) *Lips* [2]; (45) *Neophytos* [22]; (48) *Prodromos* [16]; (49) *Geromeri* [16]; (50) *Gerasimos* [5]; (51) *Koutloumousi* [A15], [B20]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [17]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [B22].
- [INV] Inventory of books. For other inventories of this sort, see also (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 7], [INV 12] ff.; (23) *Pakourianos* [33B]; (34) *Skoteine* [24], [27], [28], [42]; (48) *Prodromos* [14]; (61) *Eleousa Inv.* [3].

CHAPTER NINE

Independent and Self-Governing Monasteries of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

“Yet I do not intend to devise some novel regime for you, nor things which no one has proposed or done until now, so as to incur the charge not only of innovation, but also of disobedience . . .” (60) *Charsianeites* [B1]

“If we do not straightaway arouse the monks to observe every one of the original regulations, it does not mean that these things are being overlooked but that we must take care to correct the [transgressions] which remain [to be corrected] also.” (59) *Manuel II*, Prologue

“Neither should the superior govern with arrogance and insolence, considering himself the master of the monks, and them his servants, believing that his leadership is not a spiritual leadership, but some secular authority, which came to him as if from a paternal inheritance.” (60) *Charsianeites* [B9]

“It would be right to have nothing affecting the monastery determined without the counsel of the leading monks.” (59) *Manuel II* [6]

A. General Characteristics

This chapter includes seven documents that illustrate the fortunes of independent monastic foundations during the last centuries of the Byzantine Empire. Unlike the documents of chiefly monastic authorship found in Chapter Eight, these were nearly all written by members of the ruling Palaiologan dynasty and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Two, (56) *Kellibara II* and (59) *Manuel II*, were written by emperors, Andronikos II (1282–1328) and Manuel II (1391–1425) respectively. Another, (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, was written by a Palaiologan princess, Theodora Synadene, and added to by her daughter Euphrosyne Palaiologina. Two documents, (55) *Athanasios I* and (60) *Charsianeites*, have patriarchal authorship—the only ones, along with (5) *Euthymios*, from this source in our collection. (58) *Menoikeion* was written by a metropolitan, Joachim of Zichna. Only one document, (61) *Eleousa Inv.*, comes from a specifically monastic source, the monks of the venerable *Eleousa* monastery, and even this document was drawn up to meet a canonical requirement and was subsequently certified by the local bishop of Stroumitza. Thus this collection of documents provides us with an unusual opportunity to observe the treatment of familiar issues in monastic life and governance by the empire’s public authorities.

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The documents in this chapter are contemporaries of many of those written for private religious foundations that are to be found in Chapter Eight. Chronologically, they cover the last one hundred fifty years of Byzantine history, with four dating from the fourteenth century and three from the fifteenth century. All of the fourteenth-century documents are clustered in the first third of that century, though there were later additions to (57) *Bebaia Elpis* and a part of (60) *Charsianeites* (itself an early fifteenth-century compilation), the *Rule* of Mark and Neilos [B], dates back to circa 1380.

Given the public authorship of most of these documents, it is inevitable that they should have been written for foundations located within the much-diminished boundaries of the Byzantine Empire. With the exception then of *Athanasios I*, a special case, the foundations for which these documents were written were less geographically dispersed than their counterparts in Chapter Eight. (56) *Kellibara II*, (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, and (60) *Charsianeites* were written for Constantinopolitan foundations, while (58) *Menoikeion* and (61) *Eleousa Inv.* were written for monasteries located near the Empire's northern Greek frontier. Both (59) *Manuel II* and (55) *Athanasios I* are addressed to the monasteries on Mount Athos, though the latter document also has universalist aspirations for its validity throughout the empire. Only (57) *Bebaia Elpis* was specifically written for a convent.

B. Typology of the Documents

1. Categorization

Five of the documents are self-described as *typika* or rules.¹ (61) *Eleousa Inv.* is a free-standing inventory, like its near contemporary, the inventory included in Chapter Eight as an appendix to (54) *Neilos Damilas*. (60) *Charsianeites* is formally titled by its author, Patriarch Matthew I, as his testament, though it incorporates the earlier *Rule* of his predecessors Mark and Neilos [B] as well as what he modestly titles *Subsequent Chapters* [C], both of which are in the traditional format of founders' *typika*. (57) *Bebaia Elpis* includes a supplementary *typikon* by the author's daughter [146] ff. as well as even later additions providing for commemorative services down to 1402. (56) *Kellibara II* is a fragmentary document, like the contemporary (47) *Philanthropos* in Chapter Eight with which it has been preserved in the work of a sixteenth-century excerptor. The text of (58) *Menoikeion* as we have it is a re-edition of an earlier version, now lost, that has left its traces in a table of contents that no longer coincides with the document's chapters.

2. Normative and Occasional Documents

Four of our documents, (56) *Kellibara II*, (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, (58) *Menoikeion*, and (60) *Charsianeites*, are normative texts in the fashion typical for founders' *typika*. The extraordinary (55) *Athanasios I*, with its bold attempt to supersede existing founders' *typika* in the monasteries of the empire, must be seen more as an ambitious political program rather than as an exemplar of the more usual type of a prescriptive *typikon*. (59) *Manuel II*, like the much earlier imperial documents also issued for Mount Athos, (12) *Tzimiskes* and (15) *Constantine IX*, as well as (21) *Roidion*, belongs in a small group of non-normative documents in our collection. Like its predecessors, it

¹ (55) *Athanasios I*, (56) *Kellibara II*, (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, (58) *Menoikeion*, and (59) *Manuel II*.

announces a reform program designed to deal with actual conditions of monastic life that were considerably at variance with the ideals so often prescribed in our normative documents.

3. Utilization of Earlier Documents

In an apparent acceptance of the argument for an intergenerational obligation for founders to respect the wishes of their predecessors that had been advanced in (37) *Auxentios* [15] and (40) *Anargyroi* [1], most of our authors show their respect for relevant prior legislation by incorporating it in one way or another in their own rules. Thus, (59) *Manuel II* makes explicit reference to the provisions of a “*Rule of Athanasios*” that is apparently not our (11) *Ath. Rule*, though there is unacknowledged use of (12) *Tzimiskes*. The author of (58) *Menoikeion* makes extensive use of (32) *Mamas* or perhaps a subsequent document descended from that twelfth-century *typikon*, while the author of (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [85] apparently employed an Evergetian *typikon* as a model.

As noted above, the author of (60) *Charsianeites* takes the extraordinary step of simply incorporating the whole of his predecessors’ regulation into the text of his own document. The authors of (56) *Kellibara II* [1], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [79], (58) *Menoikeion* [16], and likely also (60) *Charsianeites* [C17] all refer to and endorse as valid for their own foundations the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas. Finally, the authors of (61) *Eleousa Inv.* cite (incorrectly as it happens) a requirement of (10) *Eleousa*, their foundation’s eleventh-century *typikon*, as their authority for drawing up their inventory.

The failure of Andronikos II to mention his father’s (38) *Kellibara I* in his own (56) *Kellibara II* may only be apparent, due to the very fragmentary nature of the latter document, or else reflect the opprobrium in which Michael VIII was held for his Unionist policies.² Only the author of (55) *Athanasios I*, with his own political objective of establishing a measure of universal patriarchal control over all of Byzantium’s monasteries, implicitly rejects any obligation to make his legislation consonant with earlier founders’ *typika*.

C. Relation of the Documents to the Monastic Reform Movement

This group of documents shows a much stronger connection to the by now rather remote monastic reform movement than those written for the private foundations of Chapter Eight. In addition to the founders’ *pietas* seen in the unattributed use of documents in the Evergetian tradition by the authors of (57) *Bebaia Elpis* and (58) *Menoikeion*, there is the strongly pro-cenobitic stance of these authors and that of (56) *Kellibara II*, that has its ideological origins in the reform movement. (55) *Athanasios I*, even though its universalist pretensions are unique, was influenced by earlier cenobitic traditions including that of the monastic reform movement. The “*Rule of Athanasios*” cited approvingly by the author of (59) *Manuel II* appears to have been another product of the monastic reform movement rather than a document reflecting pre-reform conditions like the genuine tenth-century (11) *Ath. Rule*. Likewise, the custom of drawing up an inventory of monastic property was not, as the authors of (61) *Eleousa Inv.* [8] believed, a requirement imposed by their founder Manuel of Stroumitza, the pre-reform author of (10) *Eleousa*, but rather became firmly

² For the posthumous reputation of Michael VIII, see Alice-Mary Talbot, “Empress Theodora Palaiologina, Wife of Michael VIII,” *DOP* 46 (1992), 295–303, esp. 298.

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established in Byzantine monasticism thanks to the efforts of various founders of the monastic reform in the early decades of the twelfth century.

To be sure, our founders, along with many of their predecessors, show a curious reluctance—or perhaps a simple inability—to attribute the sources of their ideological and customary inheritance correctly some two to three hundred years after the creative era of the reform movement in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Instead, what we find in Palaiologan times are anachronistic attempts by authors like those who wrote (59) *Manuel II* and (61) *Eleousa Inv.* to read institutions that were actually fundamental achievements of the Evergetian reform back to the times of the founders of their own monasteries. In the case of (60) *Charsianeites*, a more recent foundation of the fourteenth century, this was not necessary, but instead we are presented with a document so militantly pro-cenobitic and imbued with classic reform ideology that it may justly be termed “neo-Evergetian,” along with (to a lesser extent) the extracts of (47) *Philanthropos* and (56) *Kellibara II*. Indeed, (60) *Charsianeites* takes positions on many issues that are more extreme than those found in any of the earlier documents in our collection, even (22) *Evergetis* and the other reform documents textually linked to it.

D. Other Concerns of the Authors

There is a considerably larger base of common concerns among the authors of the documents in this chapter than among their counterparts who wrote for the geographically scattered group of private foundations discussed above in Chapter Eight.

1. Support for Larger Monasteries

Only (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [147], sets a limit on the number of ascetics to be supported at the foundation (fifty nuns), but one’s overall impression is that the foundations represented by these documents were generally larger than their contemporary private counterparts.

2. Lack of Interest in Liturgical Regulation

Probably because of the widespread endorsement of the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas, our authors generally show little interest in liturgical matters. (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, written for a convent whose *raison d’être* was the performance of commemorations for the souls of the founder and her family, is an exception. (58) *Menoikeion* [16] provides for the celebration of the liturgy four times a week.

3. Limited Practice of Manual Labor

(57) *Bebaia Elpis* [95], where there was a traditional division of the community into choir sisters and those dedicated to services, provides an endorsement of manual labor. A similar arrangement is implied in (58) *Menoikeion* [12]. The *Rule* of Mark and Neilos, encapsulated in (60) *Charsianeites* [B20], leaves the regulation of manual labor to the superior.

4. Treatment of the Novitiate and Entrance Gifts

Only (60) *Charsianeites* [B15], [C1], which sets the term at the usual three years, discusses the novitiate directly. The convent described in (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [9] may have relied on orphan girls for its staffing. (55) *Athanasios I* [7] orders that potential entrance gifts not be taken into consideration in admissions, while (60) *Charsianeites* [B16] condemns the exaction of entrance fees as an act of hypocrisy for a foundation advocating monastic poverty.

5. Strong Cenobitic Bias

As noted above, this group of documents is strongly pro-cenobitic, particularly in the cluster of documents from the early fourteenth century. The outlook of (55) *Athanasios I* [1] is uncompromisingly cenobitic. The neglect elsewhere of the (Evergetian) notion of equality in food and drink is identified in (56) *Kellibara II* [3] as one of the precursors of idiorhythmism, which is treated more as a dangerous behavioral disorder than as an alternative form of monasticism. Idiorhythmic monasticism was certainly known to Euphrosyne Palaiologina, daughter of the author of (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [149], but not endorsed by her either. Joachim of Zichna, author of (58) *Menoikeion* [11], simply repeats the prohibition against kelliotic monasticism that he found in his late Evergetian model shared with (32) *Mamas* [26].

6. Acknowledgement of Cenobitic Alternatives

Despite this bias, by the fifteenth century there is evidence of a grudging acceptance of the existence of cenobitic alternatives even by authors who themselves preferred communally-based monasticism. The *Rule* of Mark and Neilos incorporated in (60) *Charsianeites* [B2] is unusually open-minded in its discussion of the issue although both the author of the encompassing document and his predecessors agreed on the superiority of cenobiticism. Only in (59) *Manuel II* is the author, confronted with the reality of many monks on Mount Athos already living idiorhythmically off private incomes, prepared to make concessions intended to effect a gradual restoration of the cenobitic lifestyle.

7. Preference for Independent Constitutions

Four of our documents, (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [15], cf. [14], (58) *Menoikeion* [3], (60) *Charsianeites* [C18], and (61) *Eleousa Inv.* [4], describe the foundations for which they were written as independent monasteries. The excerpts that have been preserved of (56) *Kellibara II* do not discuss the foundation's constitutional status. Though this same foundation is described as independent and self-governing in (38) *Kellibara I* [15], there is external evidence that its status had changed to that of an imperial and patriarchal monastery perhaps even before 1315.³ The remaining documents, (55) *Athanasios I* and (59) *Manuel II*, moreover, illustrate the public authorities, the patriarch and the emperor respectively, attempting to extend their authority over the monasteries of Mount Athos, many of which had long been recognized as independent foundations. In the case of (55) *Athanasios I*, the author appears to have intended to include other private and independent foundations in the scope of his regulation as well.

8. Dilution of the Meaning of Institutional Independence

In Palaiologan times, assertions of institutional independence were both more commonplace and less meaningful than in the era of the monastic reform of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, for instance, the author Theodora Synadene, despite her formal claim for the institutional independence of her convent, hails [124] her daughter Euphrosyne as its "mistress and heir," while later Euphrosyne herself would refer [159] to it as her "ancestral convent." Similarly, Joachim of Zichna, author of (58) *Menoikeion*, asserts [3] that his monastery is both "independent" and "patriarchal," while also conceding [22] certain traditional rights of imperial patron-

³ See discussion below in (56) *Kellibara II: Analysis*.

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age and allowing [21] a protector the authority of an old-fashioned private founder. In both of these “independent” foundations, especially the latter, the traditional notion of monastic independence seems to have been considerably attenuated. Moreover, the authors of (55) *Athanasios I* and (59) *Manuel II* were unwilling to allow the claims of traditionally independent monasteries to obstruct the exercise of patriarchal and imperial rights, respectively. (60) *Charsianeites*, however, seems to have been an independent monastery on the traditional Evergetian model, thanks to the willingness of its founder to forego his rights to own and manage it.

9. Endorsement of Collaborative Rule

Though particular prescriptions for self-governance vary, the authors of the documents in this chapter generally oblige the superior to rule collaboratively with the leading monks of his institution. Thus the authoritarian tendencies prominent in many earlier monasteries, both those within the reform tradition and without, seem to have fallen into disfavor. The imperial author of (59) *Manuel II* [6] even draws on an Aristotelian argument for the supposedly self-evident superiority of aristocratic government over tyranny or democracy to support consultative rule. In (55) *Athanasios I* [5] the superior is told to consult with three or four of the “more pious monks” for oversight of finances and for making appointments to offices. (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [73] is unusual in providing for selection of the convent’s officials through a general community-wide election. Here also the convent’s “leading nuns” play [55] a role in financial oversight. (58) *Menoikeion* [22] obliges the superior to govern in conjunction with “four brothers.” (59) *Manuel II* [6] formalizes the governing role of the leading monks who were to meet [7] every day or two and be responsible for electing [3] the superior and, along with him, selecting new officials. A comparable institution is lacking in (60) *Charsianeites*, but Mark and Neilos’ *Rule* [B9] warns the superior not to govern the monastery arbitrarily as if it were some sort of inherited secular authority.

10. Limitation of Patronal Privileges

As one might expect in an age when the patriarchs of Constantinople were striving to limit patrons’ rights while simultaneously holding them to defined responsibilities, there are few explicit claims to patronal privileges in these documents. The authors of (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [113] ff. and (58) *Menoikeion* [16] both claim the right to commemorative services. More tangibly, the founders of the monastery for which (58) *Menoikeion* was written thought it within their rights to bequeath [1], [21] it as “a kind of inheritance.” In (60) *Charsianeites* [A7] the original founder is said to have chosen the first superior before resigning any further patronal rights over his foundation. Subsequently, it became the custom for the superior to name [A5], [C18] his own successor.

11. Interest in Matters of Financial Management

Our authors, especially Theodora Synadene in (57) *Bebaia Elpis*, show a greater interest in financial affairs than their contemporary counterparts in private religious foundations (for which see Chapter Eight). The administration of these matters was one of the responsibilities the superior was to share with his principal advisors in those institutions with collaborative government.

Record-keeping procedures endorsed long ago by the reform monasteries in the Evergetian tradition appear in (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [55], where the steward is a nun “with great experience in

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practical affairs,” in (58) *Menoikeion* [5], and in (59) *Manuel II* [7]. (61) *Eleousa Inv.* owes its very existence to one such procedure for safeguarding the monastery’s movable properties.

Landed properties constituted a major element of financial support for the foundations described in (56) *Kellibara II* [7], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [121] ff., (58) *Menoikeion* [2], [21], and (60) *Charsianeites* [A8] ff. Entrance gifts played a role in the endowment of the foundations governed by (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [159], (58) *Menoikeion* [11], and (59) *Manuel II* [12], but both (55) *Athanasios I* [7] and (60) *Charsianeites* [B16] are critical, the latter actually banning them. (60) *Charsianeites* [C8] is unique in cheerfully accepting the obligation of paying state taxes on its landholdings.

12. Acceptance of Aristocratic Privilege

Our authors were generally willing to accord privileges to aristocratic postulants, provided these could be accommodated within the cenobitic system. Several of the foundations governed by the documents in this chapter permitted certain of their monks or nuns to have servants. (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [94] allows this as a special privilege to nobly born nuns. (58) *Menoikeion* [11], drawing on a late Evergetian custom represented by (32) *Mamas* [26], does likewise for monks from “an exalted station in life.” (59) *Manuel II* [2] permits all monks with the means to pay for them to have servants. Servants are not mentioned, however, in (60) *Charsianeites*, which is generally hostile to the notion of special privileges for members of the nobility or anyone else, though even there the deposed Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos was given the superior’s cell and permitted to renovate it during his residence at the monastery.

13. Reluctance to Concede Rights to the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

Interestingly, despite the public authorship of most of these documents, their authors are not significantly more generous in their concessions of rights over their foundations to the local church officials. The exception is the ambitious (55) *Athanasios I*, whose author, in asserting patriarchal rights of overlordship over the empire’s monasteries, is not acting as a founder conceding these rights to an external authority but rather as a public official eager to establish his entitlement to them. In (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [26] Theodora Synadene allows the patriarch of Constantinople only the right to bless a newly elected superior and to bestow on her the pastoral staff. Though Joachim, as metropolitan of Zichna, was himself a prelate, in (58) *Menoikeion* [3] he denies the local metropolitan of Serres any rights of overlordship over the foundation. In (60) *Charsianeites* [C12] Patriarch Matthew I requires only that the superior of his foundation visit the current patriarch twice a year in order to demonstrate that he (the superior) is in communion with the leader of the church in Constantinople.

14. Neglect of Institutional Philanthropy

As seems to have been the case with most independent foundations in the thirteenth century (for which see Chapter Seven), the foundations described by the documents here in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries seem to lack the interest in institutional philanthropy shown by their predecessors in the twelfth century. (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [89] is archetypical, endorsing a perfunctory form of philanthropy, the daily distribution of leftovers to the poor at the gate, justified with a self-centered rationale. The most substantial donations of food mentioned in (60) *Charsianeites* [C14],

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[C15] were limited to special feast days. Only the monastery represented by (58) *Menoikeion*, influenced by the late Evergetian tradition seen earlier in (32) *Mamas* [12], seems to have made a commitment to a substantial charitable distribution of food to all comers at its gate.

E. Historical Context

1. The Reform Program of Patriarch Athanasios I

The first document in this chapter, (55) *Athanasios I*, was issued during the early years of the second patriarchate of its author (1303–1309). During Athanasios I's first patriarchate (1289–93), he succeeded in alienating the empire's monastic communities by his insistence on strict discipline and his willingness to seize monastic funds.⁴ After his restoration in 1303, he reportedly encouraged Emperor Andronikos II to confiscate monastic property to provide landholdings for the support of soldiers.⁵ Naturally, there was a substantial core of opposition to the patriarch in monastic circles, augmented by die-hard Arsenite supporters of the late Nicaean Patriarch Arsenios Autoreianos (1255–60).⁶ Yet the patriarch had sought to secure a guarantee that the emperor would support him in all his ecclesiastical reforms.⁷ It is against this background that the daring program of (55) *Athanasios I*, an attempt to enforce a uniform code of monastic usages in monasteries throughout the empire, should be considered.

2. Continued Patriarchal Activism

Although this effort was clearly a failure, Athanasios I ushered in an era of patriarchal activism that would endure through the next hundred years. For instance, in December 1315, the patriarchal synod met under the leadership of Patriarch John XIII Glykys (1315–19) to consider a charge of sacrilege and decided to depose Theodore, superior of the monastery of St. Demetrios “of the Palaiologans,” that is, the independent monastery for which (56) *Kellibara II* was written.⁸ This latter document, which cannot be precisely dated, may have been issued in connection with a subsequent administrative reorganization of its monastery that sometime before the end of the fourteenth century had become reclassified as an imperial and patriarchal foundation.⁹

3. The Patriarchal Campaign to Curtail Patronal Rights

Beginning with Patriarch Isaias (1323–32), a series of patriarchs began to curtail longstanding

⁴ Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB*, vol. 2 (Bonn, 1835), pp. 148–49, with A.-M. Talbot, *The Correspondence of Athanasios I, Patriarch of Constantinople* (Washington, D.C., 1975), p. xix.

⁵ Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo*, ed. Bekker, vol. 2, pp. 388–90, with Talbot, *Correspondence*, p. xix.

⁶ Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo*, ed. Bekker, vol. 2, pp. 519, 618, with Talbot, *Correspondence*, p. xxiv.

⁷ V. Laurent, “Le serment de l'empereur Andronic II Paléologue au patriarche Athanase I^{er}, lors sa seconde accession au trône oecuménique (Sept. 1303),” *REB* 23 (1965), 135–38, with Talbot, *Correspondence*, p. xiii.

⁸ Vitalien Laurent, *Les registes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1, fasc. 4: *Les registes de 1208 à 1309* (Paris, 1971), no. 2053 (December 1315), ed. MM 1.42.

⁹ So MM 2.325–26 (1400).

patronal rights in private religious foundations. A decree of this patriarch dated to 1325 prohibits the sale of ecclesiastical foundations.¹⁰ The *typikon* of Theodora Synadene, niece of Michael VIII, (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [7], which probably dates from the patriarchate of Isaias, contains the tart command that the patriarch should be accorded only canonical prerogatives and “keep his hands off the rest,” a timely reminder of the contemporary conflict between patrons and the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Even the bitter controversy over hesychasm¹¹ did not distract later patriarchs from the continuing effort to curtail the traditional rights of patrons and transform them into a strictly regulated set of duties and (revocable) privileges. Patriarch John XIV Kalekas (1334–47) was an opponent of Gregory Palamas and an anti-hesychast. It was apparently during his patriarchate that a decision was taken to forbid the traditional practice of lay patrons deriving an income from private religious foundations, for in a case brought before his synod in 1334, the patriarch had alluded without adverse comment to a lay woman who received a pension from a church’s income, while some eight years later in 1342, he denied a founder’s right to personal enjoyment of parishioners’ offerings made to a church on Chios.¹²

4. The Civil War between John V Palaiologos and John VI Kantakouzenos

Hesychast partisans found support from the successful usurper John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–54), who in 1332 had served as the protector of the monastery of St. John the Forerunner for which (58) *Menoikeion* [21] was written. In 1347 he took Constantinople from Empress Anne of Savoy, who had been acting as regent for the legitimate emperor, the young John V (1341–91). A new patriarch, Kallistos I (1350–54), presided over a council in 1351 that recognized the hesychast position as orthodox, endorsed the supportive doctrines of the mystic Nicholas Kabasilas, and excommunicated the principal partisans of the opposing side, the Calabrian monk Barlaam and Gregory Akindynos.¹³

Also in 1351, Patriarch Kallistos I presided over the most important case on private foundations ever to reach the patriarchal synod.¹⁴ This concerned the convent of St. Mary of the Mongols, once an independent monastery, but which had lost its autonomy to a series of protectors related to the imperial family (cf. similar arrangements made in (58) *Menoikeion* [21]). One of these protectors, Isaac Palaiologos, an uncle of John V, had badly neglected many of the foundation’s properties, sold off others, and burdened the convent with fellowships (*adelphata*) for lay appointees. The patriarch simply disregarded patronal privileges by abolishing the protectorate and restoring the foundation’s independent status.

John V, with Genoese help, was emboldened to attempt to overthrow John VI Kantakouzenos

¹⁰ Jean Darrouzès, *Les registes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1, fasc. 5: *Les registes de 1310 à 1376* (Paris, 1977); fasc. 6: *Les Registres de 1377 à 1410* (Paris, 1979), no. 2126, ed. MM 1.138–39.

¹¹ See John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological, and Social Problems* (London, 1974).

¹² Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2171, ed. MM 1.568–69; no. 2234, ed. MM 1.231–32.

¹³ Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2324.

¹⁴ Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2330, ed. MM 1.312–17.

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and to seize Constantinople in 1354. John VI was forced to abdicate and find refuge in the monastery of the Mother of God *Nea Peribleptos*, whose founder John Charsianeites, a supporter of his, was also disgraced at this time. The former emperor's residence at the monastery as a monk is recalled in (60) *Charsianeites* [A8]. Philotheos (1354–55), the patriarch Kantakouzenos had chosen to replace Kallistos I earlier during the course of the civil war, was deposed on John V's restoration and Kallistos I (1355–63) was returned to office. Philotheos (1364–76), however, also had a second term as patriarch, being recalled to office after Kallistos' death.

5. The Controversy over John V's Confiscation of Monastic Properties

In 1367, when John V attempted to settle soldiers on lands belonging to the patriarchate along the coast between Constantinople and Selymbria, Philotheos rejected his promise to compensate the church with other lands, and declared that he had no authority to allow even a temporary alienation of church property of which he was only the guardian.¹⁵ After the Turkish victory at Maritza in 1371 over the Serbs, John V decided to disregard Philotheos' objections and took the even more drastic step of confiscating half of the lands of Byzantine monasteries in order to grant them out as *pronoiai* to soldiers.¹⁶

This action may have stimulated the discourse of the hesychast theologian Nicholas Kabasilas on the illegal exactions of the government and the ecclesiastical hierarchy at the expense of the great monasteries.¹⁷ In it Kabasilas makes use of traditional arguments for the respect of private property rights and the sanctity of a testator's will in order to defend the great independent monasteries against the government's requisitions. He echoes the arguments of lay patrons for whom the cause of private property rights was so dear. Kabasilas' arguments are based on a secular justification of private property rights, not on canon law, as was the case with the advocates of the monastic reform movement in the twelfth century and more recently, with Patriarch Philotheos. Like most private benefactors, he was also hostile to the claims of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to the exercise of rights over Byzantium's monasteries.

6. Impact of the Ottoman Conquest of Byzantium's European Territories

The Ottoman conquests in Europe also seriously affected the monasteries on Mount Athos and elsewhere in Greece.¹⁸ Even before the Ottomans made their first permanent settlements in the Byzantine Empire's former European dominions, Turkish pirates based in coastal emirates in Asia Minor had forced the larger Athonite monasteries to surround themselves with fortifications (for

¹⁵ Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2534, ed. MM 1.507–8, with Mark Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204–1453* (Philadelphia, 1992), pp. 106, 165, 168–69, on confiscations of monastic property for military purposes.

¹⁶ Recalled by Manuel II, *Prostagma* (1408), ed. V. Moshin, "Akti iz svetogorskikh archiva," *Spomenik* 91 (1939), 165 ff., with George Ostrogorsky, "Byzance, état tributaire de l'empire Turc," *ZRVI* 5 (1958), 49–58, at 51.

¹⁷ For Nicholas Kabasilas, see Ihor Ševčenko, "Nicholas Cabasilas' 'Anti-Zealot' Discourse: A Reinterpretation," *DOP* 11 (1957), 80–171.

¹⁸ For the consequences, see Nicolas Oikonomides, "Monastères et moines lors de la conquête ottomane," *SF* 35 (1976), 1–10, with bibliography cited therein, reprinted in *Documents et études sur les institutions de Byzance (VII^e–XV^e s.)* (London, 1976).

which see (51) *Koutloumousi* in the 1370s), while kelliotic and solitary monks had to flee to them for safety. A combined Byzantine and Venetian naval force barely saved Mount Athos from conquest in 1372/73, shortly after the disaster at Maritza, but the Ottomans established their control peaceably in 1383. Sensing the inevitable Ottoman victory beforehand, the monks of the monastery of St. John the Forerunner, for which (58) *Menoikeion* had been written, obtained assurances of its independence and a promise of protection from Sultan Murad I (1362–89) in late 1372 or early 1373, even though the foundation was then in territory that remained under Byzantine control until 1382.¹⁹ It is thought that the monks of Mount Athos may have taken the same precaution.

The Byzantines were unexpectedly able to recover Thessalonike, the Chalkidike, and Mount Athos in 1403 after the crushing defeat of Sultan Beyazid I (1389–1402) by the Mongols under Timur at the battle of Angora (Ankara) in 1402. (59) *Manuel II*, the last of the imperial *typika* for Mount Athos, was issued in 1406 and belongs to the interval of restored Byzantine control over the Holy Mountain. The disordered conditions depicted in that document, and the emperor's willingness to tolerate significant divergences from a cenobitic standard dear to him, reflect the economic difficulties the Athonite monasteries were experiencing in these troubled times. Thessalonike, handed over by the Byzantines to the Venetians in 1423, was finally conquered by Sultan Murad II (1421–51) in 1430. Even earlier, the monks of Athos had submitted to the sultan and agreed to pay tribute, in exchange for which they received his promise to let them keep their properties in Macedonia.

7. Final Activities of the Surviving Constantinopolitan Monasteries

Six Constantinopolitan monasteries represented by documents in our collection either certainly or very likely continued in operation down to the fall of the city to the Turks in 1453.²⁰ Another five monasteries in the capital for which our collection supplies documentary evidence may also have lasted down to the end of the empire.²¹ Among these eleven institutions, the relatively recently founded *Nea Peribleptos* monastery of Charsianeites played an especially important part in the religious life of the empire. Neilos, its second superior, was elevated to the patriarchate of Constantinople (1380–88), a diversion of leadership that (60) *Charsianeites* [A9] informs us had an ill effect on the economic well-being of that monastery. Its endowment was completely ruined as a result of the long Turkish siege of Constantinople in 1394–1402. In the midst of that siege, Matthew I, another superior of Charsianeites, likewise became patriarch (1397–1410).

8. Matthew I, the Last Reform Patriarch

Matthew I, author of (60) *Charsianeites*, was the last reformer who served as patriarch of

¹⁹ Elizabeth Zachariadou, "Early Ottoman Documents of the Prodromos Monastery (Serres)," *SF* 28 (1969), 1–12.

²⁰ The monastery of Stoudios: (3) *Theodore Studites* and (4) *Stoudios*; the *Pantokrator* monastery: (28) *Pantokrator*; St. Demetrios-Kellibara: (38) *Kellibara I* and (58) *Kellibara II*; the convent of Lips: (39) *Lips*; the *Anastasis* monastery: (46) *Akropolites*; and the *Nea Peribleptos* monastery: (60) *Charsianeites*.

²¹ The male monasteries for which (22) *Evergetis* (see discussion below) and (32) *Mamas* were written, and the convents for which (27) *Kecharitomene*, (47) *Philanthropos*, and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* were written.

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Constantinople in Byzantine times, following in the footsteps of his predecessors Isaias, John XIV Kalekas, Kallistos I, and Philotheos. Matthew I's register for the years 1399 to 1402 serves as an impressive record of his activity presiding over the patriarchal synod.

For our purposes, perhaps the most interesting case heard by the synod during these years was that brought by George Synadenos Astras against Nicholas Makrodoukas.²² At issue was the attempt by the former to oppose the latter in the exercise of his rights of ownership, as *ktetor*, of a church on the island of Lemnos. Makrodoukas had inherited a half share in this church from its original founder and later bought the other half share (in violation of the patriarchal ban on sales of ecclesiastical foundations, or so Astras claimed) from the monks of a monastery of the Mother of God *Evergetis*, quite likely (though not certainly) the famous reform monastery of the eleventh century. The monastery had been subordinated to Astras as its *ktetor*, who sought the patriarchal synod's assistance in reclaiming its rights in the church that Makrodoukas meanwhile had completely rebuilt.

The case was a difficult one, but the patriarch and his synod resolved it with characteristic skill. They rejected Astras' claim on behalf of *Evergetis* and confirmed Makrodoukas in his founder's rights, but sternly warned the latter to avoid any diversion of consecrated property for his personal use. The ideological justification of this decision can be traced back ultimately to Leo of Chalcedon's declaration of the fundamental inalienability of ecclesiastical property in the late eleventh century. It is a profound irony, however, that it was the Evergetian monastic reform tradition which had succeeded in gaining a general acceptance of this position in the course of the twelfth century and had played an indispensable role in its transmission down to Matthew I's own times at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The neo-Evergetian content of the patriarch's (60) *Charsianeites* thus is no surprise, given his reformist activities as leader of the Byzantine church.

²² Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 3082, ed. MM 2.322–23.

55. Athanasios I: Rule of Patriarch Athanasios I

Date: 1303–1305¹

Translator: Timothy Miller

Edition employed: Unedited²

Manuscript: Vaticanus graecus 2219, fols. 171r–174r (14th c.)³

Other translations: None, but there is a French summary by Vitalien Laurent, *Les registes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1, fasc. 4: *Les registes de 1208 à 1309* (Paris, 1971), no. 1595.

Analysis

A. Scope and Purpose of the Document

This document represents a bold attempt by Patriarch Athanasios I (1289–93, 1303–1309) to issue general legislation binding on the empire's monasteries that might well have preempted provisions of many existing founders' *typika*. An individual founder's selective incorporation of an external *typikon* in his own work or his referring to another document (e.g., the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas) as being authoritative for particular purposes is a regular feature of the majority of the more ambitious documents in our collection, but this forcible imposition of an external *typikon* is unprecedented. Moreover, while the document under consideration here inevitably shows the influence of earlier cenobitic traditions and usages, particularly those of (22) *Evergetis* and its family, Athanasios I does not hesitate to employ it to stake out extreme positions on such matters as dietary observances, tenure of office for the superior, and the propriety of accepting entrance gifts. The author's condemnation [4] of the practice of breaking fast days to celebrate (dominical) feasts shows that he did not hesitate to attempt to overturn the long established customs of earlier *typika*, including those in the Evergetian tradition. Clearly he wished to supersede these earlier documents, if not abolish them.

This attempt would seem less presumptuous if the document's intended audience was limited to the author's personal and patriarchal monasteries (as Laurent, *Regestes*, p. 378 believed), and it is true that our copy of the document was attached to a dossier intended for the election of a new superior of the Lavra monastery on Mount Athos. In consideration of the apparent universal scope of the document's greeting, which is addressed [1] to "those most beloved sons of the church who live throughout the whole inhabited world," Boojamra (*Church Reform*, p. 179), probably rightly, asserts otherwise: "Athanasios was innovative and even revolutionary in the extent and vigor of his monastic reforms and his attempts, unique in Byzantine history, to establish these regulations as universally valid and himself as universal ordinary."

This document's aspirations call to mind papal monarchist claims, and it challenges the long-established prerogatives of both traditional private religious foundations and of the newer, pri-

vately sponsored self-governing monasteries in Byzantium. It deserves to rank, therefore, as the quintessential public sector challenge to the empire's private benefactors.

B. Lives of the Monks

1. Liturgical Duties

The author briefly notes [4] the obligation of the superior and his monks not to neglect the performance of the liturgy and the canonical hours. His concern for proper deportment at the services—no leaning against the wall, lifting up feet, or talking—recalls the more extreme (36) *Blemmydes* [13], which forbids even the old and sick to sit down during the performance of chants.

2. Cenobitic Lifestyle

The overview of a monk's responsibilities, including renunciation (*apotage*) of property, obedience (*hypotage*) to the superior, no personal possessions, and a severance of family connections, summarizes [1] the author's uncompromisingly cenobitic outlook. The prescription [4] of equal food and drink for all, even officials, recalls the classic formulation in (22) *Evergetis* [26]. Refectory procedures, including the ban on conversation and the provision for a reading, had been part of the monastic tradition since (22) *Evergetis* [9] enjoined them in the eleventh century. The warning that neither the superior nor any of the monks were to leave the table except for a "compelling reason" may reflect a reaction to the absence of the superior from meals that is accepted as a matter of course in (32) *Mamas* [17] and in (58) *Menoikeion* [8]. The warning to avoid disorderly behavior on the monks' return to the monastery recalls the language of (22) *Evergetis* [4]. Only illness or "unavoidable necessity" could excuse [3] monks from their communal obligations of abstinence, prayer and fasting. In the interests of stamping out factionalism, the author enjoins [4] the superior to prevent sworn associations, drinking parties, and "special friendships" (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [42]), though he does not go as far as (60) *Charsianeites* [B7] which actually forbids personal friendships.

3. No Personal Possessions

Consistent with his support for the strictest form of cenobiticism, the author prohibits [5], cf. [1] the monks from retaining personal property that they might have wished to continue to control after entering their monasteries. Both (59) *Manuel II* [2] and (60) *Charsianeites* [B13] show the persistence of this desire even among monks nominally observing a cenobitic lifestyle.

4. Relations with Family

Apparently fearing [5] that otherwise monks would "scatter the things of God to friends or relatives" (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [18]), the author emphasizes [1] the importance of severing family connections. As part of a general policy intended to support monastic stability and to discourage both the superior and his monks from leaving their monastery, he orders [6] that they should resist the desire to visit their friends and relatives.⁴

5. Diet

Athanasios prescribes the same food and drink for both officials and ordinary monks alike [4]. Like the author of (36) *Blemmydes* [11] he was unwilling to see the stricter dietary regime for fast days set aside in order to celebrate a movable feast that might chance to occur on those days. Yet our author exceeds even *Blemmydes* in considering Monday to be a regular fast day like Wednes-

day and Friday, as (43) *Kasoulon* [5] also does. From our author's correspondence we learn that he sided with dietary rigorists like the authors of (7) *Latros* [8], (20) *Black Mountain* [43], cf. [38], and (43) *Kasoulon* [3] in prescribing only dry foods for these regular weekly fast days.⁵ Moreover, he endorses not only the traditional fasting periods of Lent, the Holy Apostles, and the Nativity, but also the relatively less-accepted fast of the Dormition of the Mother of God, endorsed elsewhere in our documents only by the authors of (20) *Black Mountain* [87] and (30) *Phoberos* [31].⁶ He was particularly horrified to see even the Good Friday fast set aside to celebrate the Feast of the Annunciation, as (22) *Evergetis* [10] and several twelfth-century *typika* in the Evergetian tradition provide.⁷ The author's preference for allowing monks to have only one meal a day, which is explicit in his correspondence, is implied here in this document too.⁸

6. Care for Sick Monks

The author instructs [4] that the superior should take care of sick monks, even one "from among those considered the least" (presumably in rank). This suggests, taken in consideration with (32) *Mamas* [33] and other incidental evidence from these documents, that the maintenance of such monks after they were no longer able to provide services to their monasteries was a matter of some controversy and that the consensus of a mutual obligation of support in time of illness was breaking down.⁹ Later, a fear of not being adequately supported would be one of the reasons why some monks would seek to retain control over part of their personal assets (see (60) *Charsianeites* [B13]).

7. Disciplinary Regime

An exceptional feature of this *Rule* is its imposition of an obligation to seek out [7] monks who flee the monastery. Those who repented and promised to return of their own free will were to be welcomed back. (58) *Menoikeion* [18] contains another unusual provision for readmission of a monk who has been punished with expulsion, and the expulsion of a particular monk is contemplated in (52) *Choumnos* [A15], but it is necessary to turn to (45) *Neophytos* [CB1] ff. to find legislation dealing with voluntary departures from the monastery. Ironically, the author of the latter document was himself once apprehended in flight, as is commanded here, from an earlier monastery in which he had served as a young man (see (45) *Neophytos* [4]). Presumably this legislation is part of our author's campaign for monastic stability, in which he attempts to bring a new enforcement mechanism into play.

C. Constitutional Matters

1. Leadership

The author's discussion of the personal requirements [3] for a superior who would be a "good shepherd" as well as his declaration [2] that "just any person" would not suffice to fill the position proceed from an outlook hostile to both private patronal appointment to the office and the internal selection seen in independent monasteries in that it implies the possibility that the patriarch could remove a superior from office for any number of administrative or personal shortcomings. For our author, as for Michael VIII in (37) *Auxentios* [3], orthodox belief is an indispensable requirement, as is knowledge of the patristic tradition on continence, fasting and prayer, which in practice meant a rigorist approach to problems of monastic discipline.

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The superior, moreover, should not rule [5] his monastery autocratically (cf. (60) *Charsianeites* [B9]: like a “paternal inheritance”), but in conjunction with three or four of the “more pious monks,” with whom he should make the appointments to the monastery’s offices and oversee its finances. Appointments based on personal favoritism or gratuities are indignantly rejected. Of course, collaborative rule had been popular from time to time in Byzantium, particularly since the influential (22) *Evergetis* [14] gave its endorsement to a governing role for its “preeminent monks,” and the authors of some important contemporary documents, (39) *Lips* [27] and (58) *Menoikeion* [22], also institutionalize consultative government.

2. Assertion of Patriarchal Rights of Overlordship

The admonition to obedience to the *typikon* (as opposed to patronal whim) is a commonplace in our documents since the monastic reform. Lately, as here, salvation itself is said to be dependent on observance of the rule (cf. (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [125]). What is unique is the open invitation to those in the monasteries who “fear the Lord” and are not “captives to evil” to inform the patriarch himself if his rule is not being observed. One may be sure that this invitation would have been intensely resented by the leaderships of monasteries, both traditional private foundations and the newer independent ones, in which the patriarch himself had no proprietary interest, but our author’s almost papalist view of the authority of his office is well attested in his other writings.¹⁰

3. Reading of the *Typikon*

The author boldly seeks to assimilate a novelty, his imposition of a universal rule upon the monasteries to which this rule was addressed, to a well-established Evergetian custom, the reading of the founder’s *typikon*, a commonplace since (22) *Evergetis* [43]. Here he orders that the superior have the present document read [8] on the fifteenth of each month. There is no indication whether this new usage was intended to supplement or to supplant the reading of the founder’s *typikon*.

D. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

As noted above, the superior was obliged to share [5] the financial administration of the monastery with a small group of “pious monks.” Similar arrangements are to be found in the *typika* of the author’s near contemporaries Michael VIII in (37) *Auxentios* [7], Theodora Palaiologina in (39) *Lips* [26], and (apparently) Joachim of Zichna in (58) *Menoikeion* [22]. Following the Evergetian tradition but citing “the holy fathers” and Basil of Caesarea, the author declares the theft of monastic property to be sacrilege.

2. Entrance Gifts Restricted

The author’s instruction that postulants should not be admitted [7] for such secular considerations as personal influence, family connections, or proposed entrance gifts may be an illustration of the increasing unease of contemporaries over discriminatory admissions policies, though the latter had been tacitly endorsed even by the reformist (22) *Evergetis* [37]. The “open admissions” policy espoused later in the fourteenth century in (52) *Choumnos* [B6] would lead to an outright prohibition on entrance fees in the early fifteenth century in (60) *Charsianeites* [B16]. While this last document would actually urge a preference for penniless monks, here we find a command that no

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one (presumably postulants are intended) was to be expelled from the monastery “on account of poverty.” Instead, piety and intensity of vocation were to be the determining factors for judging a candidate’s worthiness for admission.

Notes on the Introduction

1. See Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1595, p. 378.
2. A first edition is being prepared separately by Timothy Miller, with commentary by John Thomas and assistance from Angela Hero, and will appear in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*.
3. See Talbot, *Correspondence*, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii.
4. For the author’s view of the importance of monastic stability, see Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1723, ed. Talbot, *Correspondence*, no. 91, with Boojamra, *Church Reform*, p. 177.
5. Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1776, with Boojamra, *Church Reform*, p. 175.
6. Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1651, with Boojamra, *Church Reform*, p. 175.
7. (22) *Evergetis* [10], (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (32) *Mamas* [18], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18]; so also (20) *Black Mountain* [60]. Athanasios follows *C. Trull.* c. 89 (R&P 2.512), cited specifically by (43) *Kasoulon* [9], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [47].
8. Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1776, prescribes one meal daily except on Saturdays and Sundays, while no. 1736 prescribes one meal daily after the ninth hour for the entire year; Boojamra, *Church Reform*, p. 175.
9. See also (39) *Lips* [33]; (56) *Kellibara II* [5], [6]; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [92].
10. See Boojamra, *Church Reform*, p. 179, who reports a letter (Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1596) addressed to the superior of the Lavra monastery on Athos that asserts that the latter’s chief responsibility is maintaining good order in accordance with the instructions in the patriarch’s rule, and another letter (Laurent, *Regestes*, no. 1601) warning the same superior that he must resign if he was not strong enough for the job “rather than harm the community.”

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Translation

The document of the *Rule* which is to be read on the fifteenth of the month; while the [profession] and vows [of the rite] of tonsure [must be read] at the beginning of the month.

1. Mercy, grace, peace, and help from God the Father, and from our Lord, Jesus Christ, and from the All-holy Spirit to those most beloved sons of the Church who live throughout the whole inhabited world, who, because of the desire for God, love the monastic habit as the robe of unchanging glory, and who readily place their own necks under the harness of renunciation and of obedience to the yoke of Christ and, according to the divine saying (Matt. 16:24), take up their cross in order to follow along behind Jesus. For these reasons, it is necessary that each of you submit without question and humble yourselves before the superior and all the brotherhood in Christ, eagerly striving for freedom from desires and for mastery over the passions, in total denial of the wishes and desires of the flesh, by observing fasting, abstinence, vigil, brotherly love and prayer. It is necessary that you lead a life with no possessions, that you be rich in patience and in piety, that you "always and everywhere give thanks" (Eph. 5:20), that you preserve obedience to the shepherd unto the shedding of blood in whatever he commands according to God, that you make a most accurate account of the secrets of your heart, and that you shake from your soul every licentiousness of the flesh, luxury, vain honors, family connections, and [personal] friendship. For then will be lodged in you [the apostolic precept] "to be crucified to the world, and the world to you" (Gal. 6:14), something many of those before us strove to accomplish with God's help. For we know that such is the generation of those who seek the Lord; a generation which strives to live beyond the necessities of the body in the hope and desire of the glorious, blessed, and divine reward for those who have lived in this fashion.

2. The good Lord Christ, the Savior and king, has shown such concern that we slaves, though we are useless and under condemnation, before all else, should not have as our shepherd just any person in an offhand manner, but only such a one who has shown firm evidence that he fears the Lord, and loves him and is devoted to him. Therefore, we are indeed blessed, if we are numbered among the sheep or the lambs of any person who wishes [to fulfill this requirement]. But our shepherd also [is blessed], if, like the Great Peter, he gave in advance and received in return.¹ To

find such a man it is necessary that we seek him with much research even before entering the monastic arena, unless we walk on all fours and desire to scatter our gaze in the dust, ready to fall.

3. He must be a God-loving man, that is, one who takes care to lead souls to God, because nothing else is more important to God than this. No one ignores that we are taught by the divine fathers, the nurslings of the Church, what [virtues] must he who is called to be a [spiritual] leader possess in great abundance. In a few of these [virtues] we too require that [such a leader] shine forth. First of all, he must believe correctly and without fault in the holy Trinity and have knowledge and an accurate regimen of conduct and understanding; that is, the rule of abstinence, of fasting, of prayer, and of other things which were done and taught by the fathers; as much as [monks] persevere energetically in these things, the one who gives rewards has prepared their reward. But we are not ignorant of how the fathers define a monk. They say that “a monk is the order and rule of the incorporeal carried out in the filthy and material body. A monk is one who is attached only to the things of God every day, everywhere, and in everything. A monk is a continual forcing of nature and a constant guarding of the senses. A monk is a sanctified body, a purified mouth, and an enlightened mind. A monk is a grieving soul, meditating in the continual awareness of death, meditating both while asleep and while awake, and all the rest.”² Conscious of the many other things in which we fall so much short of the monastic life, we will not cease from beseeching God in humility with a contrite heart and with groans that we obtain his mercy, nor from seeking after abstinence, fasting, and prayer to the best of our ability.

4. Except in case of serious illness or unavoidable necessity, the superior and his charges should not be absent from the church. I mean during the midnight office, matins, the hours, the divine liturgy—when there happens to be one—the ninth hour, vespers, and compline. No one should lean against the wall, nor speak to anyone. No one should lift up his feet, but [everyone] should be devoted to God with every sense. Let neither the superior nor any brother leave the table except for a compelling reason. Let both the superior himself and all [others] have the same bread and wine and cooked food. No one should talk at table, but [all] should pay attention to the readings and delight in the enlightenment from this reading. They should also gratefully glorify [God] the provider of the food. Among the monks or lay persons living in the monastery, disorderly voices, shouts, disgraceful or idle words, and laughter should not be heard. It is, of course, unlawful to allow women inside. [In general], let the superior guard himself and the brotherhood from sworn associations and drinking parties during the day or night, also from special friendships with a few or many, either within or without the monastery. Trembling before the penalty in the apostolic canons, [the brotherhood] should not break the fast days as well as Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays,³ perhaps because of the excuse of feast days, but in truth because of a compulsion to gluttony. If it should happen at any time that someone from the monastery should fall sick, even from among those considered the least, the superior should consider him worthy of the proper care.

5. Let not the superior alone appoint a brother for a service within or without the monastery because of [personal] attachment or an accursed gift. Let no one dare to steal anything whatsoever

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from what belongs to the monastery because the holy fathers,⁴ and especially the great father Basil,⁵ have declared that such a person is found with the lot of Judas and Gehazi (4 Kings 5:20–28), whereas [the fathers] also condemn in similar fashion anyone who possesses in the cenobitic community any private property from home, or who sacrilegiously scatters the things of God to friends or relatives. Rather, under God’s supervision, let [the superior] with the other pious monks select without any emotion those who are able to administer all the affairs of the monastery. Let the knowledge of the income and the expenses not rest with the superior alone, but also with three or four of the more pious monks.

6. Unless there is a pressing necessity, neither the superior nor those under him should leave the monastery, either because they are shackled by indifference or vain thinking or because they are thinking of visiting friends or relatives—we have joined ourselves to Christ, and there is no family connection on earth for those “who have their citizenship in heaven” (Phil. 3:20). If necessity sends someone out on a required errand, [go] not alone, because woe to the single person, but [go] two by two because the Lord indeed says two are better than one.⁶

7. If you wish to enroll anyone [as a member of the] community, [do not do so] for some human reason of gain and not for reasons of salvation, nor because of a gift or personal influence or family connection, because the condemnation of the canons lies against these motives, but consider [that person] worthy if he passionately desires salvation and [is motivated] by piety. On account of poverty do not expel anyone from the monastery, this saving harbor. Do not tonsure one who refuses to assign to himself remorse and penance in word and deed; the reverence of the habit is destroyed by such things. If you do not seek after a tonsured [brother] who has fled, you are both liable to a fearful condemnation. Even if he has escaped by stealth or has been expelled, if he is not incurably ill, but promises of his own free will to return and to repent, let us receive him and confirm our love.

8. Once at the beginning of the month, if he hopes for judgment and reward, let the superior command to be read what we have vowed in the presence of God and of both angels and men when we had our hair tonsured. Let the superior teach those who do not know their letters the terrifying aspects of these vows, and beforehand [let him teach] himself since we will be held accountable [for these things] without fail at the hour of judgment. [Let the superior also read] the contents of this *Rule* in the middle of the month. Strive, therefore, to shepherd the flock of God carefully in love and humility, and not be led astray in the ways that the many suffer who connive to hide their own affairs or, in order not to appear oppressive,⁷ do not compel anyone to live according to the law in any way or, what is more unfortunate, [they act] out of malice.

9. Let us not be unaware of our position that we, wretched though we are, have been established as stewards of souls. For it is in our power to be found prudent and faithful. Thus, heeding our teacher and Savior, let us strive to do and teach what we have professed and what we have been ordained to teach. If, then, what has been said regarding salvation is of great concern to both, I mean to the superior and to the flock, salvation will come to both, as well as God’s great mercy

and indeed pride in progress for Christ's Church. If, on the other hand, both the superior and the flock, or one of the two, submit to wickedness and to sluggishness—something I pray will not occur—I adjure you for the sake of our common salvation—for not all are captives of evil—that those among you who fear the Lord should not be silent but should reveal to us in the love of truth only how things are. For when men hide what is harmful to men, and especially what is spiritually harmful, this is the cause of an unpardonable condemnation from God, the judgment against a soul which hates its brother, or more truthfully, hates God. But, those who say and do what brings salvation and pleases God according to their ability instructing both themselves and others, will be surrounded by God's great mercy, of which may we be judged worthy through the intercession of the Mother of God.

Notes on the Translation

1. Perhaps an allusion to Matt. 16:15–20.
2. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi*, 1.10, PG 88, col. 633BC.
3. Apostolic canon 69, *R&P*, vol. 2, p. 88.
4. E.g., the authors of (22) *Evergetis* [12] and related documents.
5. Cf. *Sermo asceticus II*, PG 31, col. 881.
6. Cf. Mark 6:7; Luke 10:3; John 8:17.
7. The text has *ei me dokei enbareis einai* which does not make sense grammatically. The translation is based on the conjectural reading *e me dokein embareis einai*.

Document Notes

- [1] Overview of a monk's responsibilities. For the ban on personal possessions, see also [5] below, with cross-references. For the injunction to confession, see also (22) *Evergetis* [7], [15] and related documents. For the ban on family connections, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [3], [8]; (12) *Tzimiskes* [14]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [30], [32]; (22) *Evergetis* [18] and related documents; and (59) *Manuel II* [10].
- [2] Importance of having a good shepherd. For the *topos* of the search for same, see also (24) *Christodoulos* [A3]; (34) *Machairas* [7], [11]; (35) *Skoteine* [5]; (45) *Neophytos* [4]; (48) *Prodromos* [2]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [A3].
- [3] Qualifications for the superiorship; definition of a monk. For the importance of orthodox belief, see also (37) *Auxentios* [3], and (49) *Geromeri* [2]–[11].
- [4] Various disciplinary regulations. For maintenance of the canonical hours, see also (52) *Choumnos* [A16], [B14]; (53) *Meteora* [11]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [10]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [59]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [C17]. For proper deportment at services, see also (11) *Ath. Rule* [20] and (36) *Blemmydes* [13]. For refectory procedures, see also (22) *Evergetis* [9] and related documents. For the ban on special friendships, see also (22) *Evergetis* [42] and related documents, (37) *Auxentios* [5], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [46], and (58) *Menoikeion* [22]. For the ban on drinking parties, see (22) *Evergetis* [9] and related documents, (56) *Kellibara II* [3], and (58) *Menoikeion* [22]. For the strict observance of fasts in spite of feasts, see also (20) *Black Mountain* [53], but cf. [48] and (30) *Phoberos* [17]. For the superior's obligation to care for sick monks, see (22) *Evergetis* [41] and related documents, (39) *Lips* [33] ff., (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [90], and (60) *Charsianeites* [B4].
- [5] Various administrative regulations. For consultative appointment to offices elsewhere, see also (39) *Lips* [21], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [73], (58) *Menoikeion* [22], and (59) *Manuel II*, but cf. (37) *Auxentios* [7]. For the condemnation of theft of monastic property, see also (22) *Evergetis* [19], [42] and related documents. For the ban on private property, see also (22) *Evergetis* [22] and related documents, (37) *Auxentios* [5], (52) *Choumnos* [B19], (56) *Kellibara II* [3], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [46], and (60) *Charsianeites* [B5].

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- For the recommendation of consultative government, see also (22) *Evergetis* [14] and related documents; (37) *Auxentios* [9]; (39) *Lips* [21], [23], [32], [38], [39]; (58) *Menoikeion* [22]; and (59) *Manuel II* [6], cf. (60) *Charsianeites* [B9].
- [6] Restrictions on absences from the monastery. See also (3) *Theodore Studites* [10], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [33], (32) *Mamas* [24], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [24], (34) *Machairas* [123], (45) *Neophytos* [C5], [CB2], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [9], and (59) *Manuel II* [5].
- [7] No admission of postulants for secular considerations; poor monks not to be expelled; monks who flee to be welcomed back or sought out. For other views on admissions in Palaiologan times, see (52) *Choumnos* [B6], [B7] and (60) *Charsianeites* [B16]; cf. the traditional reform position in (22) *Evergetis* [37] and related documents. For a monk's right of lifetime maintenance elsewhere, see (32) *Mamas* [33], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [36], (56) *Kellibara II* [7], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [91]; cf. (60) *Charsianeites* [B13]. For the reclamation of renegade monks, see also (45) *Neophytos* [4], cf. (59) *Manuel II* [8]. For attempts to prevent flight, see (34) *Machairas* [122] and (45) *Neophytos* [CB1], [CB4].
- [8] Superior to read every month the *Rule* and the vows made at tonsure. See also Subscription above and [9] below. For the reading of the *typikon*, see (22) *Evergetis* [43], (34) *Machairas* [167], (37) *Auxentios* [13], (39) *Lips* [8], (45) *Neophytos* [11], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [120], (58) *Menoikeion* [9], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C10]. For instruction of novices, see also (24) *Christodoulos* [A26], (34) *Machairas* [60], and (45) *Neophytos* [C17], cf. (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [129].
- [9] Assertion of patriarchal rights; mandate for reading the *Rule*. For the acknowledgement of patriarchal rights elsewhere, see (21) *Roidion* [A1], (28) *Pantokrator* [25]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [4], [111], (30) *Phoberos* [33], [35], [50]; (32) *Mamas* [1], [29]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1], [29], [48]; (38) *Kellibara I* [15]; (39) *Lips* [1]; (50) *Gerasimos* [4]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [26]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [C12].

56. *Kellibara II: Typikon* of Andronikos II Palaiologos for the Monastery of St. Demetrios-Kellibara in Constantinople

Date: 1315?–28¹

Translator: George Dennis

Edition employed: Ph. Meyer, “Bruchstücke zweier *typika ktetorika*,” *BZ* 4 (1895), 45–48, with corrections by G. N. Hatzidakis and Ed. Kurtz, “Zu den Bruchstücken zweier *Typika*,” *BZ* 4 (1895), 583–84.

Manuscript: Iveron codex 593 (1540 A.D.)²

Other translations: None

Institutional History

See (38) *Kellibara I*, Institutional History

Analysis

Like its contemporary (47) *Philanthropos*, this document is derived from excerpts from the original text compiled by the Athonite monk Pachomios Rhousanos in the middle of the sixteenth century. Like the former document, this one fulfills the excerptor’s evident purpose of illustrating the classic institutions of cenobitic monasticism, including various egalitarian usages on diet, clothing, care of sick monks, and prohibition of private property, that had long been part of the Evergetian monastic reform tradition.

The relationship of these excerpts to the partial text of (38) *Kellibara I* is problematic. Janin wondered if the attribution of the excerpts to Andronikos II might be incorrect.³ Yet the authorship of a second *typikon* for the St. Demetrios-Kellibara monastery by Andronikos II is not implausible, particularly since in (38) *Kellibara I* [16] his father clearly intended that the office of the monastery’s protector (*ephoros*) should be inherited by his successors. Moreover, external evidence suggests that the monastery, which had been granted “free and self-governing” status in (38) *Kellibara I* [15], had been taken over by the public authorities by 1315, at which time one of its monks, a certain Theodore, was condemned by the patriarchal synod.⁴ Thereafter, it became known as an “imperial and patriarchal” monastery.⁵ The present document, therefore, may have been drawn up as part of the administrative reorganization of the monastery.

The excerpts that make up this document address themselves exclusively to disciplinary matters from an aggressively pro-cenobitic perspective later adopted in (60) *Charsianeites* as well. At least in so far as its present state of preservation indicates, (38) *Kellibara I* was concerned primarily with matters of organization and governance. Perhaps disciplinary matters were not treated fully in that document, which led our author to remedy the deficiency in the present document, or, as in (37) *Auxentios* [11], there may have been a toleration of non-cenobitic monasticism in his

father's *typikon* that the public authorities were no longer willing to countenance after they assumed control of the foundation.

A. *Lives of the Monks*

1. Liturgical Duties

As in most contemporary *typika*, the author endorses [1] the "Rule of Jerusalem," i.e., the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas, for the regulation of liturgical services as well as the monks' diet: "Those who need to find out something should open the book containing that rule and read it, and they will certainly be able to find what they are looking for in it."

2. Manual Labor

There is no specific discussion of manual labor, but the author mentions [2] in passing a shoemaker, a gatekeeper and a baker among the monks in the monastery entitled to an equal share of food and drink.

3. Cenobitic Lifestyle

In an implicit endorsement of (22) *Evergetis* [26], the author instructs [2] that the same food and drink should be served to all the monks (manual workers not excluded), regardless of rank. There was to be no variation in quantity or quality either. A discussion of the perils of tolerating dietary inequality follows [3]. It is blamed for secret eating, drinking bouts, and even a tendency to idiorhythmism. Evergetian usages also inform [4] the author's regulations for the refectory. The monks were also to share [7] a common supply of clothes; the alternative of providing the monks with an allowance to purchase shoes and clothing (as in (32) *Mamas* [28]) is explicitly rejected.

4. No Personal Possessions

As his father did with stipends (*rogai*) in (37) *Mount Auxentios* [7], the author bans [9] the gratuities which are here called "blessings" (*eulogiai*). These he asserts to be "in reality just the opposite," and deserving of condemnation "in the strongest terms." The monks are admonished not to "chase after money and be eager to live in a worldly fashion."

5. Diet

As noted above, the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas was to be [1] authoritative for the regulation of the monks' diet. Dietary concessions were to be allowed [5] for the truly infirm, here defined as those confined to bed (suggesting a looser definition elsewhere), in accordance with the recommendations of their doctors (cf. (39) *Lips* [33]).

6. Clothing

There is a list of articles of clothing to be supplied [8] to the monks, comparable to that found in (37) *Auxentios* [7].

7. Care of Sick Monks

The monks are instructed [5] to "spare no expense" to help the sick regain their health, including paying for doctors, purchasing medicines, allowing special diets, and conveying the patients frequently to baths as required. In support of this mandate, the author cites [6] scriptural justifications and stresses the reciprocal nature of this responsibility to care for the sick: "The solace you

now bring to the one, you yourselves will surely soon be requesting from those in good health as an appropriate sort of reward.” Elsewhere, there is evidence that some monks preferred to retain control over personal assets so that they would not need to rely on their communities in sickness and old age (see (60) *Charsianeites* [B13]).

B. Constitutional Matters

The preserved excerpts of this document do not include the usual sections of the *typikon* dealing with constitutional matters. The author does mention [2] in passing the superior, the steward, and the ecclesiarch as well as [7] the treasurer as being among the monastery’s officers.

C. Financial Matters

Similarly, there is no formal discussion of financial matters in the excerpts. In [7] the author alludes to the (landed) properties and incomes he has donated to the monastery so that the monks might live the monastic life “absolutely undistracted,” just as his father had done previously (see (38) *Kellibara I* [12]). There was also a treasury for cash receipts from which the superior, through the treasurer, made [7] disbursements for needed items like footwear and clothing.

Notes on the Introduction

1. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2053 (1315), a record of the trial of Theodore, an ordained monk of this foundation, provides a possible *terminus post quem* for its reorganization as a public institution; see above, (38) *Kellibara I*, Institutional History, D.
2. See Meyer, “Bruchstücke,” p. 50.
3. *Géographie*, vol. 2, p. 231, n. 2; cf. Meyer, “Bruchstücke,” pp. 51–52.
4. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 2053 (1315), ed. MM 1.42.
5. Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 3091 (1400), ed. MM 2.325–26, with Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 92.

Bibliography

See the bibliography for (38) *Kellibara I*

Translation

From the *Typikon* of the most faithful and holy emperor Lord Andronikos [II] Palaiologos, founder of the revered monastery of the holy and great martyr Demetrios [also called] Kellibara.

[1.] The Rule of Jerusalem,¹ which you agreed to observe and my majesty has clearly ordered [that you should observe], not only sets forth the order of service in the church but also lays down regulations concerning meals. Those who need to find out something should open the book containing that Rule and read it, and they will certainly be able to find what they are looking for in it. But if something is not covered in that Rule, then it is appropriate and it is incumbent upon my majesty to call it to your attention. Indeed, that is what we shall do here.

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[2.] What is this subject? It is that there shall not be any inequality or disparity as far as diet is concerned among you who are brothers in Christ. For those living in community this almost invariably gives rise to scandal. It shall not be permitted that one has some special and richer food while another has poorer or less. Neither shall good wine, full-bodied and with a nice bouquet, be given to this one to drink while that one is given the opposite, like vinegar, foul smelling, and hostile to one's palate and one's stomach. But the same bread should be given to all the brothers to eat, whether you are talking of the superior, the steward, the ecclesiarch, or whether it be the shoemaker, the gatekeeper, the baker, or whoever it may be. Everyone shall drink the same wine and, in addition to their bread, all the provisions and food given them to eat shall be of the same quality and shall be served to each in equal portions.

[3.] All gradation, such as first and second, shall be done away with. In this regard my majesty expressly removes from their meals any idea of greater or less, large amounts or small ones, better or worse. These words denote inequality, which has introduced into the life of the monks everything which is foreign to their vows. The love of material things and indifference have come to triumph over the venerable and angelic way of life. Whence come secret meals for monks, not to mention stealing off for meals and for drinking bouts with friends? Whence come avarice, appropriating things by stealth, and having one's own possessions? So I do not have to list each one, whence come all the rest? Do they not derive from this very inequality? Do they not stem from the fact that this one has something to eat [p. 46] while that one does not? This one has something to drink while that one has nothing at all? This one is stuffed full while that one is dying of starvation? These things have stirred up murmuring, given rise to evil reports, and brought forth envy and hatred. This is why monks become unstable and go wandering about to no purpose. My majesty now puts an end to these things and insists on equality of diet, reminding you of the words of the apostle: "Pursue what makes for peace and for mutual upbuilding" (cf. Rom. 14:19). How do you make peace with one another and build up one another? You do so by observing what he says: Do not eat any one thing that causes someone to stumble or be scandalized (cf. Rom. 14:21). Do not let what you eat bring about the ruin of your brothers (Rom. 14:15).

[4.] For these reasons let there be only one table, one sort of food, one sort of drink. Let there be one time to partake of them, not some at one time, others at another. No one should eat in a special place or be served special fare. This equality brings peace and calm of soul. This is the bond of love and unity in Christ. This is what indicates progress in community life. In addition, while you are eating let there be reading from the sacred books. This provides nourishment for the soul as the food before you does for the body. Let silence be observed so you can listen, and may the words you hear enter into your soul. Let there be no curiosity in how one's neighbor reaches out to the food,² but let all offer thanks for what is placed before them as well as for the other gifts from God which we enjoy.

From the same rule

[5.] In general, then, this is what my majesty has to say about the healthy and able-bodied monks. Blessed is he who has the wisdom to understand these things and who at the same time will

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observe them (cf. Luke 11:28). But for the infirm, those who are truly infirm and confined to bed, not simply pretending to be ill, for “the law,” they say, “is not laid down for them” (cf. I Tim. 1:8). Indeed, the infirm shall not be subject to the above prescriptions until they shall have recovered from their illness. But they shall be allowed to eat as required by their treatment which shall be administered under the direction of a doctor. For my majesty wishes a doctor to be called and a brother assigned to assist with the needs of the sick among you, indeed several such assistants if several are needed. You should spare no expense in your efforts to have the sick regain their health. You should make payments for them to doctors, purchase medication, see that they get healthy food, convey them to the bath when they need to bathe, and do so frequently if it becomes necessary frequently.

[6.] Do all this with mercy and sympathy with the genuine feeling of Job, who said: “I wept over every helpless man; I groaned when I saw a man in distress” (Job 30:25). You should not grumble, murmur, and take it ill, but realize that by performing such service for your brothers you are [p. 47] being kind to your own selves. It is true that you are members of one another, and you are all one in Christ (Rom. 12:5). There is a need, which nature has as it were made into a law, to labor on behalf of one another because of your unity, for a healthy member does not take it amiss to care for another, but is sympathetic and devotes his best efforts to it. More importantly, though, by the special kindness you show to them you are kind to yourselves since you are of the same nature and subject to the same sufferings. The solace you now bring to the other one, you yourselves will surely soon be requesting from those in good health as an appropriate sort of reward. You will ask them to behave in such a way toward you as you did toward them. You must be concerned about the sick, manifesting greater concern in proportion to the gravity of the illness and the intensity of the person’s suffering.

From the same rule

[7.] My majesty knows this and knows it well, that, above all else, it is necessary for those who have promised to lead the monastic life to be absolutely undistracted in the pursuit of the goal proper to them. My majesty, therefore, has arranged that its brothers in Christ residing in the monastery of St. Demetrios-Kellibara should not have to worry about their sustenance and has granted them possessions and incomes. In addition, my majesty has already seen to it that they need not be anxious about clothing and shoes. Consequently the superior shall not give any of them even one coin, no gold or silver, from the common treasury to purchase shoes or clothing, and thus enmesh them again in distractions and cares. My majesty places an immeasurable value on drawing them away from these and leading them to God. The superior, along with the treasurer, should take thought for these things and should provide them with their footwear and clothing. Thus they need have no concern in this regard.

[8.] My majesty does not wish to leave this matter unregulated. Each year, therefore, the superior shall provide each one of the brothers with two white tunics, the kind worn right next to the skin under everything else. At the same time he shall provide each with one black tunic, larger and more ample than the others, and this garment will be worn over all the others. Each year he will

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also give each one shoes for his feet, a pair for winter and for summer. Every two years as the above items are furnished to each monk from the storeroom he shall in addition receive one black cloak and a vest thick enough to provide protection against the cold. This is how such matters will be arranged, and nobody will have any cause for anxiety.

[9.] In your holy community my majesty prohibits in the strongest terms that distribution of money which goes by the name of “blessing,” but is in reality just the opposite. It is our wish that you be content only with what has been set forth, [p. 48] and that you be persuaded by him who said: “If we have food and clothing, with these we shall be content” (I Tim. 6:8). “Do not be conformed to this world” (Rom. 12:2). Do not chase after money and be eager to live in a worldly fashion. Do not try to replace faith with disbelief or firm hope with uncertainty. To what else does gold condemn those who possess it if not dragging the hopes of men from heaven down to earth? My majesty has not brought you together and given you this residence because you are lovers of money. “If wealth should flow in,” says the divine David, “set not your heart upon it.” (Ps. 61 [62]: 11). Be constant in not loving material things, and place your hope solely in the Lord, that you may be an abundant source of blessing and heavenly mercy to yourselves as well as to us who have brought you together for this purpose. “Blessed,” it is said, “is the man that trusts in thee” (Ps. 83 [84]:13), and “Him that trusts in the Lord, mercy shall compass about” (Ps. 31 [32]:10).

Notes on the Translation

1. The liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 1–508.
2. The meaning is: “look at your own plate and don’t turn around to see how your neighbor eats”; cf. (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [86].

Document Notes

- [1] “Rule of Jerusalem” to regulate liturgical services and diet. For other endorsements of this document in Palaiologan times, see (37) *Auxentios* [8], [10]; (39) *Lips* [29], [30], [31], [32], [33]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [78], [80]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [4], [16].
- [2] Same food and drink for all. For the principle, see (22) *Evergetis* [26] and related documents; for endorsements in Palaiologan times, see (37) *Auxentios* [7], (52) *Choumnos* [B20], (53) *Meteora* [3], (55) *Athanasios I* [4], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [83], (58) *Menoikeion* [106], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C3].
- [3] Discussion of the perils of tolerating dietary inequality. See also the similar discussion in (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [83]. For the condemnation of secret eating, see (22) *Evergetis* [9], [22] and related documents, and, in Palaiologan times, (39) *Lips* [29], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [84], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C3]. Drinking parties are also condemned in (55) *Athanasios I* [4] and (58) *Menoikeion* [22].
- [4] Refectory procedures. See also similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [9] and related documents, as well as the relevant regulations in Palaiologan documents: (39) *Lips* [29], (52) *Choumnos* [A16], cf. [B20], (55) *Athanasios I* [4], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [85], (58) *Menoikeion* [8], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C3].
- [5] Dietary concessions for and care of the sick. See also similar provisions in (22) *Evergetis* [10], [26] and related documents, as well as the relevant regulations in Palaiologan documents: (37) *Auxentios* [7], (39) *Lips* [29], cf. [33], (52) *Choumnos* [B20], (53) *Meteora* [3], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [84], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C3]. For another reservation of concessions to the “truly sick,” see (39) *Lips* [33].
- [6] Justification of care for the sick. See also the discussions of the obligation to provide lifetime mainte-

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nance in (32) *Mamas* [33], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [36], (55) *Athanasios I* [7], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [91]; cf. (60) *Charsianeites* [B13].

[7] Communal supply of clothing. For the principle, see (22) *Evergetis* [25] and related documents; for endorsements in Palaiologan times, see (37) *Auxentios* [7], (39) *Lips* [36], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [97] ff.; cf. the different approaches taken in (53) *Meteora* [8], (58) *Menoikeion* [12], and (60) *Charsianeites* [B20].

[8] Articles of clothing provided. See also the lists in (37) *Auxentios* [7], (39) *Lips* [36], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [98], [99].

[9] Distributions of money to the monks prohibited. See also (37) *Auxentios* [7]; for similar gifts and allowances elsewhere, often for specific purposes, see (19) *Attaleiates* [33], [35]; (32) *Mamas* [28]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [12].

57. *Bebaia Elpis: Typikon* of Theodora Synadene for the Convent
of the Mother of God *Bebaia Elpis* in Constantinople¹

Date: 1327–35²

Translator: Alice-Mary Talbot

Editions employed: H. Delehay, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), pp. 18–105, supplemented by Ch. Baur, “Le Typikon du monastère de Notre-Dame tes bebaias elpidos,” *RHE* 29 (1933), 635–36.

Manuscripts: Oxford, Lincoln College, Ms. Graecus 35 (14th c.), supplemented by Berlin, State Library, Phillippicus 1489 (1640 A.D.)

Other translations: None

Institutional History

This foundation is known exclusively from the document translated below. The author, Theodora Synadene,³ was a niece of Michael VIII Palaiologos, himself the author of (37) *Auxentios* and (38) *Kellibara I*, who served [8] as her guardian after the early deaths of her parents. She married into the Synadenos family,⁴ a prominent Byzantine aristocratic clan, taking the *mezas stratopedarches* John Angelos Doukas Synadenos as her husband. After a military career of some distinction, he became [116] a monk under the name Joachim, probably shortly before his death. Theodora then decided [8] to embrace the monastic life herself under the name Theodoule (ca. 1295–1300, according to Hutter, “Geschichte”); she was joined [10] by her only daughter Euphrosyne. The convent of the Mother of God *Bebaia Elpis* (Sure Hope) in Constantinople for which this document was written evidently dates from Theodora’s profession, though her husband John Synadenos is also honored [116] as its founder (*ktetor*).

Theodora’s original *typikon*, probably composed circa 1300, is preserved at Lincoln College, Oxford, in an illuminated manuscript, and is frequently referred to as the “Lincoln College *Typikon*.” A gap in this manuscript at [144] was resolved by Chrysostom Baur by using another manuscript of the *typikon* now in Berlin. This latter manuscript was a copy of the original made in Constantinople in 1640 at the request of Jacques Sirmond (Baur, “Typikon,” p. 635). The first twelve folios of the Lincoln College manuscript contain miniatures of the founder and her husband, her parents, her three children, and four granddaughters and their husbands.⁵ Subsequently, Theodora’s daughter Euphrosyne drew up a second, supplementary *typikon* that is attached to the main document and also translated here. In 1392, it was necessary for a later benefactor, Xene Philanthropene, to undertake [158] the restoration of the convent to prevent its collapse. After her death, the convent benefited from the patronage of her daughter Eugenia Kantakouzene Philanthropene in the last years of the fourteenth century. A note of her death in 1402 is the last mention of the convent.

Based on the description [145] of the properties neighboring the convent, it appears that

Bebaia Elpis was located in the Heptaskalon quarter of Constantinople, in the south central part of the city.⁶ No remains have been identified.

Analysis

This document reflects the patronage of the foundation for which it was written over the course of three generations. The bulk of the document is the founder's *typikon* [1] through [145], including an appendix on commemorations for the founder Theodora Synadene's relatives ([134] through [144]) and boundary description [145]. In the next generation her daughter Euphrosyne Palaiologina composed the foundation's second *typikon* [146] through [154], actually a series of revisions to her mother's earlier *typikon* rather than a free-standing document in its own right, as (56) *Kellibara II* is, for instance, with respect to (38) *Kellibara I*. There follow various later appendices down to the early fifteenth century recording other liturgical commemorations, [155] through [159].

Therefore, we have here our most extensive documentation of continuous family patronage of a religious institution.⁷ In addition, many of the original author's relatives ([135] through [143]) chose to become monks and nuns, the women among them probably here in this foundation, though some of these may have been only deathbed tonsures.

A. *Model Typikon*

As was the case with the author of (39) *Lips*, (22) *Evergetis* or (more likely) some intermediary text in the Evergetian tradition was in the mind of our author here as she composed this document.⁸ While this model text is not specifically identified, the author was aware of her dependence on earlier tradition and the process of its transmission, for she describes [12] the purpose of this document as setting down a rule prescribing "the exact regulations and authorized observance of all behavior and every situation therein, which our teachers received from their elders long ago." The former are said to have "preserved them themselves well" and to have "handed them on in an exact fashion to their successors," a reasonable approximation of what we know actually to have taken place in the transmissory chain from (22) *Evergetis* in the eleventh century down to Palaiologan times.

B. *Lives of the Nuns*

1. Number of Nuns

The author originally set [23] the number of nuns in the foundation at thirty; subsequently her daughter Euphrosyne increases [146], cf. [147] this to fifty, professedly following her mother's wishes as she expressed them before her death. As in many other foundations of this era, the community was formally divided into choir sisters [56] and those charged with the various communal offices [58].

2. Liturgical Duties

Under the leadership of the ecclesiarchissa [49], the convent's ranking officer after the superior, the choir sisters were devoted [56] exclusively to the performance of church services. These nuns were to perform [78] services, vigils, fasts, and genuflections in accordance with the prescriptions of the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas of Jerusalem, which the author hails [79] (like

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the author of (39) *Lips* [30]) as the “middle path,” avoiding “superfluity and deficiency.”

Qualifications set by the author for the ecclesiarchissa required [50] that she be able to sing and chant in tune (the first citation of professional singing ability for this office) and be familiar with the ecclesiastical office and ritual. The author was also concerned with such matters as correct performance [50], appropriate deportment [62], and avoiding carelessness in prayers [58]. Nuns assigned to other duties should nevertheless “season their work” with prayers [60], cf. [96] and attend church services whenever they had free time [61]. Illiterate nuns attending services were to pray [62] with “those short but powerful phrases which are accepted by God in place of any other prayer.” Neither they nor anyone else was to tend [62], [63] to their handiwork during church services. All this suggests an intense concern over the possible inefficacy of endowed prayers.

The *raison d'être* for this foundation was the performance of commemorations for the souls of the foundress [117], her parents [113], [114], [134], her husband (hailed as the “founder”) [116], their children (also to be considered “founders”) [119], and their descendants [136]. These were to be performed as a matter of patronal rights. Other members of the imperial family endowed their own commemorations, including the author’s brothers [137], [138], her sister [139] and brother-in-law [140], two of her nephews [141], [142], her son’s father-in-law [143], and a daughter-in-law [135]. Both the author [144] and her daughter Euphrosyne [145] admonish the nuns not to neglect funded commemorative services even should the foundation encounter financial difficulties. Should that occur, the nuns were to conduct these services to the extent of their resources and capabilities. The *typikon* also includes [112] prescriptions for the patronal feast, the Dormition of the Mother of God.

3. Manual Labor

Even though she clearly considered church services to be more important, our author advocates [95] manual labor as a defense against idleness. The nuns were to receive [96] materials for work from the storeroom supervisor and return the finished products (presumably articles of clothing, cf. [97]) to her afterwards; holding anything back is condemned as theft or sacrilege. Private work projects [66] were also not allowed.

4. Novitiate

There is no discussion of a novitiate, though there is a provision [148] by the author’s daughter Euphrosyne for the education of girls who wished to become nuns. [9] implies that the author recruited orphans to staff the convent.

5. Sacramental Life

A priest was to celebrate [79] the eucharist at the foundation’s church four times a week, on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays and Sundays (i.e., the non-fast days). The celebrant was to be a pious, married man of mature years (but not a eunuch as in (27) *Kecharitomene* [33]). He was also responsible for conducting both the morning and the evening services of the daily office.

The author also exhorts [111] the community to choose a spiritual father to hear confessions. Several chapters in the *typikon* [105] through [111] are devoted to a discussion of the indispensability of confession and its benefits. Since the author believed [105] it was only human to sin

hourly (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [15]), she recommends [109] summoning the confessor whenever he was needed; daily confession [105] was advisable.

6. Cenobitic Life

The author strongly endorses the basic components of cenobitic monasticism, as does [154] her daughter, who was certainly aware [149] of the idiorhythmic alternative. In a section that echoes some of the language of (22) *Evergetis* [42], the author takes [46] a hard line on private property, declaring that “everything private, every personal possession, will cease to exist.” There was also to be a common table, time and place for meals. The author endorses [83] the notion of “equal and fair” portions of food popularized long ago by (22) *Evergetis* [26], declaring that otherwise such evils as secret eating will result. Even gifts of food from a nun’s family were to be divided [84] up among all the rest of the nuns if possible, or if not, given to sick nuns or served to the designated beneficiary at the common table. Refectory procedures [85], including a dinner-time reading, are similar to those found in (22) *Evergetis* [9]. The author extends [66] the Evergetian mandate against frivolous talking to something approaching a rule of silence by banning conversations with other nuns without the mother superior’s permission (cf. [65]). The author’s daughter Euphrosyne adds [154] her endorsement of the essentials of the cenobitic life: observance of the church office, good order in the refectory, tranquility and diligence in the cells.

7. Servants Permitted to Members of the Nobility

Despite her allegiance to most cenobitic institutions, our author was willing to allow [94] a noble woman to have a single servant, though she is at pains to make clear that this concession applied “only for those women who come here from a life of privilege.”

8. Relations with Family

Although she asserts [75] the need for her nuns to “have hate without hatred” for their parents and relatives in the world, the author actually permits a fairly lenient visitation regime. Blood relatives could visit [76] a nun occasionally with the permission of the superior. They would meet their relative in the company of an old nun in the area between the foundation’s inner and outer gates. A younger nun, accompanied by two other nuns, could even visit [77] her relatives at home “for the sake of a little relaxation” on rare occasions, but had to return to the convent by evening and be interrogated by the superior afterwards. In general there was a greater access to the convent by visitors of both sexes (see [55], [72]), which shows that this foundation was much less a cloister than the Komnenian convent described in (27) *Kecharitomene* [17], where nuns were allowed to leave only to visit a dying parent or as in (39) *Lips* [15] for “dire necessity” only.

9. Importance of Reading

The author pays some attention to reading in regulating the lives of her nuns. Literate nuns are urged [66] to read (as well as to pray and recite the psalter) during their free time in the cells. Twice she endorses [30], [132] hagiography, particularly the lives of female saints, so that “like a skillful artist, you will make your own way of life an accurate model of them.” She preferred [120], however, that the convent’s *typikon* should be read more than any other book, it being “the finest and most valuable of [her] possessions” offered to her nuns in lieu of “great wealth and any other rich inheritance.”

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10. Diet

As in most contemporary institutions, the *typikon* of the St. Sabas Monastery in Jerusalem was to regulate [80], [81] the nuns' diet, both during fasts [82] and on ordinary days. As elsewhere, this decision relieved our author of the necessity to make detailed dietary prescriptions, as many founders chose to do up through the twelfth century. Generally speaking, the nuns were to practice [86] moderation, defined as stopping eating "when one is still a little hungry," and not to make [87] eating "a pleasurable end in itself, but only a means of survival." Food, including fresh fish and other seasonal items, was to be purchased [88] outside the convent three times a week. An allotment of three gold coins is provided [112] for the especially costly and plentiful patronal feast, and of two *nomismata* for the "elegant and costly meal" associated [114] with the commemorative service for the author's parents. These are among our only indications of the actual expense of feeding a monastic community in these documents.

11. Clothing

The superior and storeroom supervisor were responsible [97], cf. [68] for supplying the nuns with clothes and other essentials. Many items of clothing were distributed [98] to the nuns yearly, while others (principally outer garments) were handed out [99] every three years. Shoes were repaired [98] at a workshop in the convent as they wore out. The nuns also received [100] a monthly allotment of nitre to wash their own clothes. The author professes to take [102] a very utilitarian view of clothing. Nuns were not to seek to imitate [103] worldly women of rank, but should prefer a habit that was [104] inexpensive but dignified and modestly adorned.

12. Bathing

The author permits nuns who choose to do so to bathe [101] four times a year, as in (39) *Lips* [34], but considerably less frequently than the once-a-month baths allowed in (29) *Kecharitomene* [58]. The regulation suggests that certain nuns in this foundation were foregoing bathing as a rigorist observance. Sick nuns could bathe [90] more often as their doctor prescribed.

13. Care of Sick Nuns

The author instructs [90] that a "skilled and pious" doctor should be summoned to examine sick nuns. The cost of treatment would be borne [91] by the convent. The doctor's recommendations for food, medicine and bathing should be observed [90], and other nuns should not begrudge [92] this special treatment.

C. Constitutional Matters

1. Independent and Self-Governing Status

The author formally declares [14], [15] the freedom and independence of her convent. To guard against the favorite devices of her contemporaries for seizing control of private religious foundations, she explicitly states [15] that it was not to be added (i.e., through *epidosis*) or united (through *henosis*) to any other convent, church, hospice, or old age home. She denounces [14] any violator of the foundation's independence as an enemy and traitor deserving of capital punishment.

Elsewhere, however, there is evidence of more traditional proprietary attitudes towards her foundation, as in [124], where she asserts that her daughter Euphrosyne is "mistress and heir of

this convent and all my property,” and in [159] where her daughter refers to it as “her ancestral convent.” Also, although the foundation was clearly the beneficiary of an endowment [121] separate from that the author intended to bequeath [124] directly to her daughter Euphrosyne, the description of the convent’s boundaries shows [145] that the convent was hedged in by adjoining private residences belonging to the author and to her relatives, from the ranks of whom the foundation’s protectors would be chosen (see below).

2. Leadership

The author piously hails the Mother of God herself as the true owner [14], [123] and guardian [13] of the foundation. However, in a passage which indicates that she was aware that it was a controversial institution, our author nevertheless provides [18] for a protectorate over the convent. After asserting that “the frail nature of women” requires male guardianship and protection, she designates [19] her eldest son as the first incumbent of the office, to be followed in turn by her next oldest son and other suitably powerful and pious relatives. Their responsibilities included [20] defending the *typikon*, providing for the material needs of the nuns, and repelling their enemies.

Like most founders of professedly independent monasteries, our author was hesitant to grant explicit recognition to the superior as the foundation’s effective governor; like many others, she prefers to emphasize [13], cf. [127] ff. the supremacy of the *typikon*, which is said to be a “reminder of pastoral administration and supervision” for the superior and “a law of genuine submission and a lesson in pure obedience” to the nuns.

In any event, the superior was to be selected [25] internally by the community, a procedure said to be “in accordance with the tradition of the fathers.” The author’s list of qualifications [25] for the office does not restrict the choice to any class of individuals—as (39) *Lips* [5] does to choir sisters—but her vague prescriptions for the election provide [26] no clear idea of how the new superior was actually to be chosen.

As far as the convent’s other officials are concerned, the ecclesiarchissa outranked [49] the steward, an uncommon order of precedence, professedly because the former official more closely resembled the essentially spiritual character of the superior. There was also to be a disciplinary official [67], a storeroom supervisor [23], [68], a gatekeeper [72], and a cellarer [69]. The last-named official was aided [70] by various assistants, including the cook, the baker, and a food server.

In an unusual democratic provision, the author orders [73] that the monastery’s officials were to be selected for their offices by a general election and voting lest she “appear to do anything improper and contrary to the apostolic tradition.” In actual fact, the author is making an important break with administrative absolutism, e.g., the usual reliance on the superior alone (as in (37) *Auxentios* [7]), or the superior’s joint responsibility with the spiritual father (as in (39) *Lips* [21]) for making these appointments. After election, there follows the ceremonial [74] for the installation of officials which resembles that found in (22) *Evergetis* [13].

The *typikon* is not entirely consistent, however, on this important matter of the community-wide election of officials. Elsewhere, the superior and the “leading nuns” are said [67] to choose the disciplinary official, and in [23] the superior chooses nuns for certain other (possibly minor and menial) offices, again with the advice of the “preeminent and leading” nuns. These same nuns are said [55] to play a role along with the superior in the financial oversight of the foundation.

3. Style of Rule

The author sketches out an unusually bold and confident role for the superior, exhorting [27] her to “forget feminine weakness” and govern “if not ‘like a man’ (Job 38:3), then at least in manly fashion.” While the author warns [35] the superior not to be arrogant and to consider [34] herself to be in fact “a worthless maidservant,” she also exhorts her to project “an air of solemnity and awe and respect” so that the nuns would not scorn her authority.

Features of authoritarian rule attested elsewhere are combined into a model of absolute obedience to the will of the superior. This has few parallels elsewhere in Byzantine monasticism. Nuns are said [126] to owe obedience to her when she forbids rigorous voluntary fasting (so also (23) *Pakourianos* [15]). Nuns were forbidden [9] to leave the convent, to receive anything from outside (even a remedy for a disease), or do anything else without the superior’s permission (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [22], (32) *Mamas* [24]). She is authorized [32] to correct the nuns’ faults, although not in a “passionate” manner (cf. (32) *Mamas* [48]: “you must be angry without anger”), and forgive and pardon “whatever is permitted to a male superior who is not a priest,” hinting at a kind of para-sacramental disciplinary authority exercised by non-ordained superiors of both sexes. She is to remedy [33] deficiencies like “a physician, not being angry at those who are afflicted with illness, but combating the illness alone” (again, cf. (32) *Mamas* [48], [29]). A regime of punishments is set down [65] including genuflections, fasting, a water-only diet, and standing vigils as well as “other remedies” the superior might think “appropriate to the fault” (cf. penal codes found in (34) *Machairas* [122] ff. and (45) *Neophytos* [CB1] ff.). In an extreme summation, the author declares [44] “Everything that is ordered by the superior, even if it seems reprehensible, is completely free from condemnation as being irreproachable.” This is quite apart from the mainstream Byzantine tradition since the monastic reform, which assumed that a superior was fallible, and to some extent relied on the community (usually the “preeminent monks”) to check excesses and even instigate his or her removal in extreme cases (cf. recently, (37) *Auxentios* [5], (39) *Lips* [10]).

4. Patronal Privileges

As noted above, the performance of memorial services was the central function of this foundation. Those conducted for the foundress [117] herself as well as those for her parents [113], [114], [134], her husband [116], their children [119], and their descendants [136] fall into the category of patronal privileges. Reflecting the contemporary anxiety about entitlement to these privileges in the absence of actual contributions to the foundation in question (for which see (46) *Akropolis* [6]), the author insists upon an expansive definition of the term “founder” so as to include both her late husband [116] and her children [119]. Interestingly, her daughter Euphrosyne initially refused [118] the honor of commemoration although subsequently she changed [153] her mind.

Various donors from the author’s family received commemorative services too, but in exchange for various donations of icons, lamps, other valuable movable property, vineyards and other immovable properties, and large sums of cash (see [134] through [143]). The author, again reflecting contemporary sensitivity on this subject, orders [136] commemorative services for one of her granddaughters “even though she made no donation to the convent” since her father had made “abundant contributions and will make further donations.” Additionally, at least one family member, one of the author’s nephews, was to be buried [142] in the convent.

Aside from these, there is no discussion of any other patronal rights that the author and her family might have exercised in the foundation. This in itself is a reflection of the substantial curtailment of patronal privileges in Palaiologan times, especially from the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁹ Even as far as the mostly inoffensive surviving rights of liturgical commemoration and burial were concerned, it is evident that contemporary opinion was hardening to a position that no one, regardless of his or her family ties to a founder, was entitled to any patronal right in the absence of a personal donation to the foundation. In this document, the author's daughter Euphrosyne is even self-conscious about her provision [149], cf. [150], [151] of a joint commemoration for the nuns of the foundation itself. It is defended on the grounds that the nuns have no personal assets of their own (and therefore could not be expected to pay for their own commemorations). Aside from special exceptions of this sort, the benefits of patronal rights were becoming increasingly indistinguishable from the rewards traditionally accorded generous external benefactors unrelated to the founding family.

5. Reading of the *Typikon*

The author implicitly endorses [120] the Evergetian practice of reading the *typikon*, which was to take place in the refectory at mealtime at the beginning of each month. Also, the superior was to teach and transmit [129] the precepts of the *typikon* to the nuns through the incorporation of them into her own life.

D. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

As elsewhere, the convent's chief financial officer was the steward, here evidently a nun (unlike (27) *Kecharitomene* [14] or (39) *Lips* [25], which require or prefer a eunuch), who was required [54] to be past middle age, with "great experience in practical affairs," and able to resist temptation when visiting the convent's estates. There is a detailed list [55] of the steward's responsibilities that shows her involvement in a whole range of administrative activities that would surely have been thought inappropriate for a woman in Komnenian times, if not a few decades earlier when (39) *Lips* was composed. The steward was obliged to keep careful records, a commonplace of financial administration since the reform monasteries in the Evergetian tradition of the twelfth century, and hand these over to the superior and the "leading nuns." The storeroom supervisor was likewise required [68] to keep "precise accounts" of the articles of clothing, bedding, etc. in her charge.

The author chose to donate [121] half of her ancestral estate to the convent, while retaining the other half for her own "maintenance and modest comfort" and that of her daughter Euphrosyne. She and one of her sons also donated the village of Ainos in which they each owned half shares. Other relatives had entrusted the author with additional properties [122] to be donated for the support of the convent. The author is careful to identify [124] the parts of her estate that she chose not to donate to the convent. Overall, especially compared to the Komnenian convent described in (27) *Kecharitomene* [Appendix A] or even (39) *Lips* [44] ff., the patronal endowment of this foundation was based on just a few key properties rather than a long list of scattered holdings. The foundation may also have been more dependent than earlier ones on outside benefactions.

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2. Inalienability of Property

Like most of her predecessors since the monastic reform, our author was considerably concerned about the wrongful alienation of her foundation's assets. In addition to demanding [14] capital punishment for transgressors, she identifies [72] the prevention of theft of (movable) monastic property as one of the responsibilities of the convent's gatekeeper, which suggests an entirely new angle to the traditional problem of curbing peculation.

3. Entrance Gifts

There is no discussion or regulation of entrance gifts on the traditional Evergetian model or any other, but at the end of the *typikon* there is a reference [159] to another benefactor, the (new) "foundress" Eugenia Kantakouzene Philanthropene, who is said to have been tonsured in the convent at an early age and to have spent "all her fortune" on it until her death.

4. Other Sources of Income

Evidently the foundation's assets increased over the years to the point where the author's daughter Euphrosyne was able to support [146] an additional twenty nuns, a two-thirds increase in the number of positions since the original endowment (cf. [23]). Some of the increase came to the foundation thanks to outside donations. Two donors unrelated to the author's family were accorded [156] commemorative services in exchange for their substantial gifts to the foundation, the bishop of Ephesos, who was the author's spiritual father, and the bishop of Mytilene, both presumably absentee prelates resident in Constantinople. Later on, Xene Philanthropene and her daughter Eugenia Kantakouzene Philanthropene [158], who were the author's granddaughter and great-granddaughter respectively [159], made donations to the convent after the death of the original founder. Towards the close of the fourteenth century, the nobleman John and his wife Maria Asanina donated [157] a substantial gift of cash for the purchase of property to endow posthumous commemorative services. As the Turkish grip on the city of Constantinople tightened, the nuns evidently lost much of their traditional income and became increasingly dependent on the money accruing to them from these commemorative endowments.

5. Building Maintenance

Thanks to the generosity of benefactors, the foundation was able to arrange for building maintenance. This seems to have been a special responsibility of the founder's hereditary line. The author's daughter-in-law paid [143] for the repair of the convent's cells in exchange for a commemoration of her father, while the author's granddaughter Xene Philanthropene [158] paid for the restoration of the convent itself "which was threatening to collapse in several places," beginning in 1392. In 1400, the author's great-granddaughter paid [158] for the restoration and repair of the church and its bell tower.

E. Overall Philosophy

As we have noted above, there was the special privilege awarded [94] only to nobly born nuns of being accompanied by a personal servant in the convent. This was part of the author's general policy, following the tradition of (32) *Mamas* [26], to allow [93] the superior to make similar concessions to and treat more sympathetically noble women who were "accustomed to a luxurious life in the world." That our author was somewhat self-conscious about these concessions

seems evident in the fact that she has placed them in a chapter dealing with treatment of sick nuns. Her declaration [92] that the rest of the nuns should not be envious of the special treatment of the latter is not repeated, however, in conjunction with the concessions awarded to the nobility.

F. External Relations

1. Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

Unlike her counterpart in (39) *Lips* [7], our author instructs [26] her nuns to take their newly elected superior to the patriarch who will give her “the customary blessing and grace” (i.e., *sphragis*) and bestow the pastoral staff. Yet as far as other rights were concerned, she makes [16] the bold though—for a private founder—hardly uncharacteristic declaration that the patriarch should take “only what he is commanded to take by the holy canons and keep his hands off the rest,” an injunction that should be considered against the contemporary background of the reassertion of patriarchal rights.

2. Institutional Philanthropy

Like other convents, such as that for which (27) *Kecharitomene* was written (though not (39) *Lips*), our author’s nunnery had only a minimal, ritualistic commitment to institutional philanthropy. This was fulfilled principally through distributions of bread and wine at the gate to the poor on such occasions as the commemorative service for the author’s parents [115] and for the convents’ nuns [149], [150]. The commemorative endowments of other family members and external benefactors generally did not include provisions for charitable distributions (but cf. [142]). In a revealing provision the author instructs [89] the nuns to distribute leftovers at the gate on a daily basis, since “with these small surplus morsels of yours, you will alleviate to a degree their great poverty” and be certain of being repaid a hundred-fold in the convent’s storerooms. This suggests an essentially perfunctory form of philanthropy with a self-centered rationale, as does the author’s daughter Euphrosyne’s provision banning [148] the education of lay children except for those girls who might wish to become nuns, who were allowed to “learn lessons which contribute to the monastic rule” (cf. the later (53) *Meteora* [6]).

Notes on the Introduction

1. With a second *typikon* by the author’s daughter Euphrosyne Palaiologina beginning at [146].
2. See Hutter, “Geschichte,” forthcoming; cf. Cutler and Magdalino, “Precisions,” p. 198, Postscript, for whom the range of possible dates is 1327–42.
3. She is portrayed three times in miniature illuminations in the manuscript of the *typikon*, fols. 2r (as Theodora), and 7r, 11r (as the nun Theodoule); see Cutler and Magdalino, “Precisions,” pp. 185, fig. 1 (fol. 2r), 186, fig. 6 (fol. 7r), 187, fig. 7 (fol. 11r), and 193.
4. For the Synadenoï, see Hannick and Schmalzbauer, “Die Synadenoï,” pp. 125–61, and Alexander Kazhdan, “Synadenoï,” *ODB*, p. 1990.
5. See Cutler and Magdalino, “Precisions,” pp. 192–94, with illustrations, pp. 185–87, and Spatharakis, *Portrait*, pp. 190–206.
6. See Laurent, “Kyra Martha,” pp. 306–11, with Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 160.
7. See Paul Magdalino, “The Byzantine Aristocratic *Oikos*,” in *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. Michael Angold (Oxford, 1984), pp. 92–11, esp. 103, reprinted in *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Byzantium* (London, 1992).

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8. Echoes of (22) *Evergetis* and related documents: [9] restrictions on outside contacts, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [22] and (32) *Mamas* [24]; [32] correction of nuns without anger, cf. (32) *Mamas* [48]; [33] appropriate remedies for faults, cf. (32) *Mamas* [29], [48]; [46] ban on personal possessions, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [42]; [74] elections without rivalry and contention, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14], and investiture of officials, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [13]; [85] refectory procedures, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9]; [105] human nature to sin hourly, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [15].
9. For this development, see Chapter Eight, Historical Context, 4.

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Translation

[First *Typikon* of Theodora Synadene]

With God's help, an index of the *typikon* divided into 24 chapters.

[I.] Concerning the freedom and independence of this convent of mine.

[II.] Concerning the *ephoreia* and guardianship of the convent and who should be its *ephoros* and guardian.

[III.] Concerning the number of nuns, and what sort of person the superior should be, and how she is to be elected to the office of superior.

[IV.] An admonitory and advisory discourse to the superior.

[V.] A hortatory address to all the nuns, inspiring them to obedience.

[VI.] Concerning the ecclesiarchissa and her duties.

[VII.] Concerning the steward and her duties. [p. 19]

[VIII.] How the choir sisters should perform the church services when they assemble in church, and what their duties are.

- [IX.] Concerning the attitude towards the daily church offices of the nuns assigned to other duties outside the church, and how they should attend [the offices].
- [X.] How the superior should punish negligent nuns, and through which nun she will strive to eliminate apathy.
- [XI.] Concerning the keeper and supervisor of the communal storeroom and her duties.
- [XII.] Concerning the cellarer and her duties.
- [XIII.] Concerning the guard and gatekeeper of the convent and her duties.
- [XIV.] How the election of these officials should take place.
- [XV.] How the imperfect and weak nuns are to see their relatives in time of need.
- [XVI.] That all the doxologies to God and vigils and fasts and genuflections should be performed in accordance with the *typikon* of Jerusalem.
- [XVII.] That all the nuns should have the same daily diet.
- [XVIII.] How the superior should treat nuns who are ill, and what care she should provide for them.
- [XIX.] That all the nuns should do their work in common and not privately, and how they should be clothed.
- [XX.] That daily confession is obligatory.
- [XXI.] How the feast day of the Mother of God should be celebrated annually.
- [XXII.] How to celebrate the commemorations of the parents of eternal memory of the foundress, as well as the commemorations of the blessed founder of this holy convent, and of its foundress [and their children].
- [XXIII.] [Enumeration of] property dedicated to the Mother of God for the support and maintenance of her handmaidens. [p. 20]
- [XXIV.] A hortatory epilogue to all the nuns and the superior to abide by the *typikon* and not to transgress [it] in any way.

1. It seems to me that there are many fine and great ways to show our pure love for the Creator and our ardent passion for him; but nothing, I think, is better than to construct for him from the foundations divine sanctuaries and holy dwellings, sparing no [expense], and to demonstrate attentive eagerness and generosity “with all one’s soul” (Matt. 22:37) and hands. If in addition one should build holy monasteries and workshops of virtue for the salvation of souls who choose to live in accordance with God, this would be to an even greater extent the clearest manifestation of that [love]; [but to engage] in both these undertakings is the greatest achievement, surpassing all other virtues.

2. For in that manner the first and greatest of the commandments is realized; and moreover “the second” in order and “like” the first in its power, which clearly bids its true disciples “to love one’s neighbor as oneself” (Matt. 22:39). For they are always linked together by the Lawgiver, as the sum of “the law and the prophets” (Matt. 22:40), and they cling to each other, and each supports the other, and each introduces the other. For the first is the beginning and root of the second, and the second naturally depends on the first as being its very cause. Again the second clearly completes the first; and the second, through some divine reason, makes the first complete; and through

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the first zealous people totally accomplish the second, and through the second return again to the first in a most marvelous fashion, since he who truly loves God also really loves his neighbor as a consequence. For [p. 21] Christ said, “He who loves me will keep my commandments” (cf. John 14:15). Also “This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you” (John 15:12). However, he who genuinely loves his neighbor can without any doubt fulfill his love for the divine, because God transfers this act of grace to himself, and accepts it and considers it [as his own]. For “as you did it to one of these my brethren, and if he was hungry and thirsty, naked and a stranger, sick or in prison, you fed him, gave him drink, clothed him, welcomed him, visited him and ministered to him, you did it to me” (cf. Matt. 25:35–40).

3. So that he who carries out the first and greatest of the commandments together with the second is shown to be not only a lover of God, but a lover of his brother and of his fellow man. Rather in accordance with correct and accurate reasoning, when the second returns to the first, of necessity, as has been said, he who loves his brother and God is inferred to be totally a lover of God, by certain physical attractions and ineffable bonds. For he depends upon the Creator as his creation, and always instinctively stretches out to him, and clings to him with passion, and is able to sing with the Holy Scriptures, “I am wounded with love, and my soul has kept very close behind thee” (Cant. 2:5; Ps. 62 [63]:8–9); and “my soul thirsts and longs for thee, the living God, as the harts,” inflamed with extreme burning thirst, “long for fountains of water” (Ps. 41 [42]:2–3). Thus the lover of God clings ardently to the divine, not only because he was brought by God in the beginning “from non-being into existence,”¹ but because having his origins from God he is maintained and supported by him. Therefore the eminent theologians and explicators of the Holy Scriptures do not celebrate divinity only as the creative and essential cause of everything, as we have been taught, but also as [p. 22] the ultimate desirable object, and as “the peak of everything desirable,” for which “every rational nature yearns, and towards which only the mind of the perfect [person] looks and ascends,” and for whose lovers, according to the theologian Gregory [Nazianzen], “there is repose from every other sort of spiritual contemplation.”²

4. Since in some obscure fashion I conceived in the womb of my heart and gave birth to this truly good and holy and divine love and desire, I decided to construct a holy dwelling for my all-pure Lady the Mother of God, and in addition to build from the foundations a convent. It was to be a secure refuge for women who have chosen the ascetic way of life, and it was also for me and my dearly beloved and most true daughter, whom I consecrated not only from infancy, but almost from the moment of her very birth to the all-holy Virgin and Mother of God, and through her to the God of all, just as Anna of old [dedicated] Samuel (1 Kings 1: 10–28) before his birth. Like a welcoming harbor [this convent] was to receive her some time later, as she fled the storms and waves of this world. I have now accomplished this task, and brought to light and realization that deep-felt and old desire of mine. I have repaired and restored this divine church for my great hope and protection, our common and sole Mistress of us all, and I have constructed this holy convent from its foundations as best I could in this place, to her greater glory and in accordance with my primary purpose.

5. I have done this as a small repayment of my great debt, in thanks for the protection and great blessings, beyond all reckoning and number, which I have received from her all my life. For example, leaving aside the rest of her blessings which are more numerous than the sand of the sea and drops of rain, straightaway from the beginning, as a result of her favor, I had admirable parents distinguished for their noble lineage, [p. 23] fine reputation, lofty honors, extreme wealth, physical courage and incomparable beauty, spiritual virtue, genuine piety towards God, and every other blessing with which man is endowed, possessing every [attribute] in themselves and taking pride of place in all respects, just like the sun which is brightest of all the stars.

6. My father³ belonged to the most noble family of the Palaiologoi, and was honored and glorified with the great honor and rank of *sebastokrator* by his brother the emperor.⁴ As for his distinguished campaigns and deeds of valor, and the victories which he won in east and west, with the help of the mighty and invincible strength of God, when he led the Roman armies against the foe, defeating every enemy and opponent throughout the empire and slaughtering them from the youth upwards, let others speak of them who have the leisure and freedom to speak of such matters. For my ties of kinship and natural great affection for this father of mine and piety encourage me to keep silence in the end and not say anything further. But such a man was my father and of such lineage.

7. My mother⁵ was also most noble and distinguished among all women, tracing her golden lineage to that extremely famous and celebrated Branas family. She was endowed with all blessings analogous and equivalent to the magnificence of her husband's family. She surpassed the distinguished and great women of that time in all respects, as much as my father took precedence completely over the superior and distinguished men of his time.

8. Alas, both my parents died when I was very young; but straightaway, through the providence of the Mother of God, I was deemed worthy [p. 24] of the concerned guardianship of my uncle the emperor. Shortly thereafter I was married to a man who was distinguished in all external and physical aspects, and could not endure to be second to anyone in authority, but was even more distinguished for the internal characteristics which adorn and beautify his very soul. He traced his lineage clearly to the families of the Komnenoi and Synadenoi, and before his marriage was splendidly exalted by the emperor with the rank of *stratopedarches*.⁶ Why do I need to tell how this man, just like my father,⁷ was treated compassionately and supported and honored by my all-merciful and all-powerful uncle, the emperor, and what an alliance he achieved thereby, and how much time he spent waging war against every enemy and fighting nobly on behalf of his kindred people, the Romans, both before and after his promotion? For I am restrained on all sides and forced to keep silence even now by the same factors as before, when I was narrating a few facts about my parents. But everyone who knows him and his deeds in great detail⁸ is aware [of his character], and surely does not require any further description.

But when my husband died (such are the inscrutable judgments of God!), I was left alone in life, anchoring my hopes on one daughter,⁹ who is exceptionally dear to me above all others, and on my two young sons.¹⁰ I then decided not to remain any longer in the world, nor to live in a

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worldly fashion, nor attach myself to its dreams, nor struggle in vain with its shadows and fantasies, but with the help of God rather to break loose from the world and be mortified to all life, and to adopt this monastic yoke, and to live here on earth “the life hidden in Christ” (cf. Col. 3:3) through the great guidance and assistance of the [Holy] Spirit.

9. Therefore, disregarding all delights and abandoning from my heart all the beguiling pleasures of this enjoyable and delightful life, I brought myself [to this convent], and I also brought [p. 25] my only daughter who is good and fine in all respects, the pleasant and charming light of my eyes, my sweetest love, the flame of my heart, my breath and life, the hope of my old age, my refreshment, my comfort, my consolation. With joyful and leaping soul I dedicated her to the Mother of God and through her to Christ, her only-begotten Son and the God and King of all. As I said, of old I had promised with all my heart to give and dedicate to him this sacrifice of mine, to him I had vowed of old with all my soul to marry this dearly beloved daughter of mine, the adornment of all her family, and to betroth her to the purest and true and only Bridegroom who is “more beautiful than sons of men” (Ps. 44 [45]:2), and who loves and feels affection for the souls who genuinely love and are beloved of him because of his great compassion and incomparable goodness. If she who is mystically wed to him should prove fit to please and satisfy and refresh the Bridegroom, this will be a great mercy for me in accordance with my hopes and prayers to the Mother of God, this will be the chief of her blessings on me, this will be the height of her many great instances of succor.

10. Not only did I thus bring and dedicate myself to God, and also brought my cherished daughter, but I also enclosed in this convent a few virgins who have the same purpose as I do in all things and whose souls are afflicted with the same desire and love, and who agreed, with God and the angels and the Church as witnesses, to live with me always. I have cast all my thoughts, all my hopes, all my anxiety, all my concern for myself and my orphaned children upon the Lord, the Father of orphans, the protector of the defenseless, the great hope and succor of those in despair, from whom every blessing and gift and favor comes to [p. 26] mankind, and who opens his hand most generously and fills everything with contentment and goodness (cf. Ps. 144 [145]:16).

11. But in this way and for these reasons the entire convent together with this divine church was constructed from the foundations and established in honor of the Mother of God. Through her powerful intercessions and protection may it be fruitful as a vineyard, having virgins and nuns within like flourishing and beautiful vine branches, teeming with numerous large and excellent bunches of grapes, to the glory of Christ, and to the glory of his wholly undefiled Mother, and for the eradication of my unspeakable sins, which I have committed inasmuch as I am human and of changeable and fallible nature, and therefore I incited and provoked my Creator to anger (would that I had not!). I think I have said enough about how and why the convent was originally established.

12. It is time then for me to turn to my purpose towards which I was eagerly hastening. This is for me to set down a sort of rule for this convent, prescribing the exact regulations and authorized

observance of all behavior and every situation therein, which our teachers received from their elders long ago. They preserved [these regulations by observing] them themselves well and in a manner pleasing to God, and handed them on in exact fashion to their successors as was fitting in word and deed, and they transmitted them just as the inhabitants of famous cities [transmit] the local, original and indigenous laws, or, if you prefer, as the leaders of great peoples [transmit] their native and ancestral [customs]. My dear women, if you follow these rules and regulations in the conduct of your lives and in your behavior, I know well that first of all you will act in accordance with the approval and good will of my Lady who is praised by all, and you will then act in accordance with my wishes, and in accordance with what I do and strive for most eagerly and desire. Thereby you will receive [p. 27] a great reward from God above, and you will also receive from men ineffable blessings and public praise. For you have chosen to live according to God, and you strive always to set yourselves forth as a good example of virtue for your successors, not undermining your angelic way of life by apathy and daily deficiencies in good behavior, but rather reinvigorating it with good words and deeds, and through your disciplined behavior preparing its most pure light to shine forth abundantly.

13. This set of rules and regulations is to be a kind of reminder of pastoral administration and supervision for your superior and common teacher, and for her disciples a law of genuine submission and a lesson in pure obedience. The Mother of God herself is to be the guardian of her rules, and, as she knows best, is to wisely inspire spiritual perfection, and whatever guides and leads to the promised blessedness.

I. Concerning the freedom and independence of this convent of mine.

14. Above all else it is my wish that this convent built by me for the Mother of God be autonomous, and be and remain for all time completely free and unenslaved of any power and authority here on earth. For it is neither just nor pious nor holy for [a convent] which has become once and for all a holy dedication to and possession of the Lady of all, and through her of the eternal and incorruptible King and God, ever to come under another human rule and corruptible authority and power, and for [a convent] which was entirely dedicated to one lord and master, [p. 28] the true Lord and Master, to have human masters. For this is a cause of great damage and unspeakable danger, not to say spiritual death, for those who would dare to do this against the holy and sacred [institutions]. If a man with bold spirit and daring hand should attack this ephemeral government and empire here below, and wickedly attempt to appropriate as his own that which has been dedicated to this [empire] alone and wickedly to use it as his own property, in the judgment of the laws and truth itself he is considered a man deserving capital punishment, and is condemned to execution as an enemy¹¹ and disaffected traitor. How then will he not rightly pay the penalty and be condemned to even worse than death, if he raises up impious hands and not only seeks to rebel against God himself, but impiously takes for himself that which has been consecrated and dedicated to God alone, and is really anxious to enslave that which is truly free.

15. As I have said, the convent is to be independent and autonomous, completely rejecting human enslavement, and in no way recognizing earthly masters. For thus will be maintained inviolate

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[the commandment], “Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar’s, and to God the things that are God’s” (Matt. 22:21). Wherefore no one at all who truly fears and is in awe of God will be able with impunity to lay tyrannical hands on it, nor to oppress it in any way, nor will he ever try to subordinate and subject [the convent] or any of its property to himself or anyone else, nor will he add or unite it, to any person either lay or ecclesiastical,¹² to any other convent, or church, or hospice, or old age home, to nothing else at all. Rather [the convent] is to preserve its independence, and control, manage and administer itself and all its property; and it is to manage and administer just as I have set forth now in this document. [The convent] is to love, honor and abide by [these rules] unceasingly, and preserve them all its life, and subject itself to them in its heart, and obey them unquestioningly, striving to serve God alone and ardently to worship him alone, which [conduct] alone is able truly to liberate the man who is truly noble and free by nature. [p. 29]

16. Even he who is most holy patriarch at the time should take only that which he is commanded to take by the holy canons, should be content with these things alone and perforce keep his hands off the rest, that is whatever does not lead to the edification and support [of the convent], but to its ruin and destruction. The word of truth knows that this is not the work of pastors who herd voluntarily the flocks of Christ, the Chief Shepherd, but rather [of those who herd] tyrannically and by force and for base gain. But it is my wish that this holy convent of mine be thus independent and adhering to its original form, and I ordain this above all else. May it thus be preserved in perpetuity and may no one ever be found who would take away its freedom with tyrannical and violent force.

17. But if any truly malicious and greedy and unjust person should dare to take this step, and should wish to nullify and transgress these regulations, let him know for sure that, whoever he may be, he will be guilty of a most serious and unforgivable sin, and will be subject to the worst curses, and will greatly provoke divine hostility, and will find the Mother of God herself opposing him, as an avenger of such injustice and boldness. And because he obviously did not fear to commit sacrilege and thus dared shamelessly to appropriate the property of God, for endless ages he will suffer that revenge which is the special punishment of those who attack Christ, and who impiously crucified the Lord of glory, and who bear the guilt for his blood and the frightful sufferings of [his body].

II. Concerning the *ephoreia* and guardianship of the convent and who should be its *ephoros* and guardian.

18. On occasion the frail nature of women requires the *ephoreia* and guardianship of men, to drive away to the best of their ability the insolent and [p. 30] greedy people who are likely to attack them from time to time, through the envy and rage and cooperation of the devil who is always indignant at and envious of the good, so that [the nuns] may be completely liberated from troublesome and bothersome people. Therefore I do not prohibit this [*ephoreia*] in my convent, rather I approve and encourage it, to preserve for the convent its status as untroubled and unharmed and completely liberated.

19. But who should be the *ephoros* for the convent, who would be a guardian most nobly disposed toward it, who else than someone who is always very close and dear to me, and labors on behalf of my affairs and strives on their behalf with all his heart? Who else is dearer and closer and, as I have said, is better disposed to me than my dearly beloved sons, who, just as they are the heirs and successors of the family and of [my] other possessions, are also the heirs of the things which I have strived to accomplish to the glory of God and the salvation of souls? Therefore let the eldest of my sons be the first *ephoros* and first guardian; and after him, my second son. Then whoever of their descendants is abundantly endowed by heaven above with grace and foresight and succor, and thus by far surpasses his other relatives in power and titles, and in all other ways of prosperity appears much more distinguished and notable than the others.

20. Therefore the *ephoros* of the convent will be this man whom I have appointed to its *ephoreia* and guardianship. But he is to do only those things for the convent which I [do]. Thus this *ephoros* will be nobly disposed toward the convent, just as I am, or rather as this book of regulations explains and sets forth in accordance with [the teachings of] the Fathers and the Church. Above all else he should treat [the *typikon*] reverently and [p. 31] strive first of all to carry out its instructions. Sometimes he should deem worthy of mercy and compassion the nuns who strive to live in accordance with God, giving to them freely of his stores, to the extent of his means, and thus buying that which is stable and incorruptible through the transitory and corruptible. At other times he should serve as their guardian in another way, on the one hand repelling once and for all those who wish to wrong the [nuns], on the other eagerly driving away those, who as the result of satanic influence and attack, rise up against them. His most important concern should be to have the Mother of God as a guardian and intercessor, who rewards and recompenses greatly, and perfectly fulfills his other petitions, and above all else provides the salvation of the soul which is the greatest [blessing] of all, and whose attainment is the worthy task of the highest and first prayer.

III. Concerning the number of nuns, and what sort of person their superior should be, and how she is to be elected to the office of superior.

21. After I discuss the number of nuns and to what number they should be limited, I should then speak of the sort of woman to be their superior, and how she is to be chosen, and how she is to be elevated to her lofty position of authority and leadership by patriarchal blessing and installation.

22. The number of nuns who are going to live in the convent should not be limitless, nor should their number be imprecise. For their [affairs] will not prosper if they are thus disorganized [p. 32] and disorderly, since this will be the usual result of imprecision, and they will go far astray from the proper and obligatory [course of conduct], sometimes uselessly increasing to an unprofitable and excessive number, sometimes being reduced to lesser numbers and falling far short of the required [size]. Therefore the entire group of nuns should be limited to a definite and fixed number, so that as an excellent and beneficial result there is good behavior and order, and, thirdly, neither wrongful excess nor deficiencies in the necessary and appropriate affairs.

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23. Therefore the whole group of nuns should number three times ten, and they should be thirty in all. This number should never be exceeded nor diminished and reduced. For this number is sufficient for the demands of a cenobitic community, and does not require any increase which would be superfluous and useless. Some of the nuns are to perform their pious duties at church offices and services, each in accordance with her knowledge and age and piety and discipline, with one of themselves as their leader. Another [nun] will be assigned as a prudent and faithful steward of their common property, and to care for physical necessities, another will be entrusted with the important charge of the storeroom. As for the others, the superior will assign them with much care and testing to different duties for the common good, with the cooperation and advice of the pre-eminent and better nuns here, not to say all of them, just as the fathers of old have taught us.¹³

24. Such is to be the number of nuns in the convent. It is fitting that their superior be capable of instructing the others in the noble teachings of divine philosophy, and to guide them in good works and lead them along the path of virtue. She should persuade them, not force them, teaching them a little [p. 33] about virtue through her words, but teaching them much more with good actions, wondrously matching her words to her deeds, thus guiding and leading her followers steadily towards salvation. One of the holy men, indeed, defined this as the “art of arts, the science of sciences,”¹⁴ to lead and guide toward God this most diverse and varied animal which is man.

25. Such should be the woman who leads the others; such a woman you must all seek and choose from among yourselves, one who is able, as I said, by speech and action to instruct her disciples in the fixed word of truth and the holy lessons of piety, and to instill zeal for the truly good, and to kindle your souls with fine love for this, and thus in no way whatever fail to attain the goal. She should provide herself¹⁵ as an example to you and model of the good, and whether speaking or silent present herself to you as an exhortation. For heeding and obeying the traditions of the fathers in this matter, too, it is my command that the search for as well as the selection of the superior should be conducted by you alone.

26. This is the way you will appoint her: all of you are to go together to the holy church. Then all of you together should pray in your hearts that you will have God to assist you in the serious task at hand, through the intercession and support of the Mother of God. After your supplication, you will choose the nun who is superior to the others in all respects, and the one who, as a result of her fine obedience and tutelage, knows well how to rule and control others, [a nun] who has provided, in the past, much evidence of her innate piety, prudence, and qualities of leadership. After choosing her in this way with the help of God, next you should take her and go to the most holy patriarch; and she is to accompany you. Then, after she has received from him the blessing and grace of authority as well as the pastoral staff, as is customary for the patriarch at such installations, you should return to the convent with great joy [p. 34] and cheer, and with God’s assistance you will behave towards each other in the prescribed manner. She will teach according to the commandment, and will explain what can prepare us and lead us to God and make Christ to dwell in our hearts, and you are to obey her just as beasts of burden obey their masters, or as the lifeless tools of a craft [obey] the craftsman. For thus you will certainly be able to demonstrate faultless and unflinching obedience, and will receive from God the full reward for obedience.

IV. An admonitory and advisory discourse to the superior.

27. Therefore, most honorable superior, you who are pleasing unto God, who have been preferred to the others, and thus lawfully elected, you have been appointed to this great and truly difficult task, that is, to supervise human souls, and snatch them away from the world and give and assign them to God, and to make Christ to dwell in them through contemplation and action, and to “be-troth” them to him alone as the One most pure Bridegroom, and to “present chaste” and holy brides and pure “virgins” (cf. II Cor. 11:2) to him, together with Paul, the church’s great “escort of the bride.”¹⁶ As you are taught by Holy Scripture, “Awake, awake, put on the strength of thine arm” (Is. 51:9). Forget our feminine weakness, and for the most part “gird thy loins,” if not “like a man” (Job 38:3), at least in a manly fashion. Assume a manly and masculine temperament, brace up yourself as best you can. Expound that which is necessary and leads to salvation, not only through your teachings and instruction in accordance with the commandment, but through your actions and deeds. Surpass the others in virtue, thereby giving sure pledges and guarantees to your followers, that the achievement of virtue and the good is by no means impossible. Say confidently and boldly to your subordinates, [p. 35] “Look at me, and do as I do.” “For we are not contending against flesh and blood,” as the holy apostle says, “but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places” (Eph. 6:12) and on account of the heavenly places.

28. Therefore, my spiritual mother, do not labor only to teach and instruct your charges all the time about this frightful war, and after arming them securely and fortifying them on all sides lead them forth to the fierce battle against demons; you should also strive to fight in their front ranks, to protect and shield them. Make this your most important task, smiting these unseen and dangerous enemies as with “arrows” shot “from the hand of a mighty man” (Ps. 126 [127]:4), through psalmody, prayer, vigil, abstinence, contrition, tears, all the other weapons of the [Holy] Spirit. Thus you will defeat the enemy with all your strength and utterly vanquish them, and will render your [disciples] invulnerable to the wounds of arrows, and make them completely safe, and totally remove them from all danger.

29. This, then, is a great charge and truly important responsibility which has been entrusted to you; and for this reason it will require much anxiety, much concern, much exertion, much toil, much zeal, much vigilance and alertness on your part, lest the devil suddenly attack you unawares, like a “roaring lion” (I Pet. 5:8), and accomplish his goal, and lest “the blood” of the lost soul “be required” (cf. Luke 11:50) from the hands of the superior, because she neither gave warning about the justice and judgment of God, nor did she explain how to repent and make amends after a spiritual lapse.

30. In any case, like a skillful and master artist, “you should look often at the lives of the” most blessed and “holy” female saints, as if they were “living images” and “efficacious and inspiring [p. 36] figures,”¹⁷ and examine them very clearly; thus you will make your own way of life an accurate model of them, and will adorn it with all the imperishable flowers and colors of the virtues, and thus you will make their goodness and their fair beauty your own through exact imitation.¹⁸

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31. In the same way the [nuns] under your direction should look at and regard your steadfast and orderly conduct and your dignified way of life as the perfect archetype, and should scrupulously transform their own conduct, and model their own images after the original character of your goodness and virtue. Thus the many different types of conduct will resemble each other, and thus in a similar fashion the good character of life will shine upon the entire community, just as, if several artists were to paint the representation of one model, all the images would resemble each other. For of whatever nature the leader and ruler, for the most part such is likely to be the subject, and in the words [of the Bible], “As the judge of the people is himself, so are his officers; and what manner of man the ruler of the city is, such are all they that dwell therein” (Sir. 10:2).

32. “Be urgent in season, and out of season,” said the holy apostle; “convince, rebuke, and exhort, be unfailing in patience and in teaching” (II Tim. 4:2). Thus you should at all times and in every way be urgent and reprove the [nuns] who are examined [by you] and caught in error, but you should reprove them with patience, with teaching, with the compassion of Christ, in a spirit of gentleness. You should not only reprove them, but also subject them to penitential discipline for their benefit. You should also chastise them in like manner, gently and sympathetically, with love, with exhortation, calmly. For if you apply these remedies to the ailing [nuns] in a passionate manner, overcome by wrath and anger, not only will you fail to rid them of their illness, but you may perhaps subject yourself to an even more serious disease. For we have been taught “to correct those who oppose” the teaching and commandments of Christ “with gentleness” (II Tim. 2:25), [p. 37] rather than with wrath and anger. We have learned to instruct those who are ignorant and go astray rather than chastise them, just as we guide blind people, but in no way punish them. You will be irritated and angry, without being at all irritated or angry within yourself. Moreover, you should overlook sins with discretion, and forgive and pardon whatever you are permitted to forgive and pardon. You are permitted to forgive and pardon whatever is permitted to a male superior who is not a priest. And you should grant forgiveness in moderation, recognizing the limitations of human nature, and accordingly yielding to the habits and weaknesses and differing qualities of people, as long as no harm will result either to you, the superior, or to the sinner.

33. On the one hand you should strive for the glory of God, since he is dishonored by the transgression of his commandments, but you should also sincerely show the compassion of sisterly love for the salvation of the [nun] who thus dishonors God. You should both lament and mourn, and also shed tears for the nun who is in peril because of her sin, or bitterly dying. For as the Scriptures say, “the soul that sins shall die” (Ezek. 18:4). You should prescribe remedies for the [nuns] who fall subject to passion in exactly the same manner as a physician, not being angry at those who are afflicted with illness, but combating the illness alone, and battling the causes and origins of the diseases, and thus healing the affected members of the community. For physicians say that “opposites are the remedies of opposites.”¹⁹ As it were, vanity will be corrected by the demands of humble behavior, idle talk by silence, excessive sleep by psalmody and prayerful vigils, laziness by physical labor, immoderate eating by fasting, grumbling by expelling the grumbler for a few days from the church and the common table of the [nuns] who are grateful. In short, the superior will correct every sin by its opposite behavior. [p. 38]

34. Thus the dignity of authority is great and lofty is the honor of leadership. But let not this dignity puff you up, or the honor exalt you. For this puffing up and exaltation prepares the one who has thus puffed up and raised herself to fall from the blessing of humility, and makes her to fall into the sin and trap of the devil because of her arrogance and pride. Therefore in the disposition of your heart and the secret [recesses] of your soul you should consider yourself a worthless maidservant and lowly slave granted by God for this purpose to the servants and daughters and brides of Christ himself, but by your external physical appearance you should show the distinction of the total authority and power which you have over them all. You should always preserve about yourself an air of solemnity and awe and respect, so that your authority will not be contemptuously disdained and scorned by the [nuns] in your charge, and so that well-honored humility may be taught by your praiseworthy condition.

35. Furthermore, in the conviction that authority over the majority and concern for them makes you rather their slave and servant, and that you will have to give a greater accounting to God on behalf of the majority, do not make this a cause for pride or fill your heart with much anguish and fear and unspeakable terror. Do not be arrogant because of your authority, but be humble because of the great concern and thought about the defense [you will have to make]. Thus you will set yourself forth as a fine example for your subordinates, not only of humility, but also of love, the love which is truly lofty and the peak of all the other virtues. You will set forth [this example], if you love and cherish the entire assembly of nuns equally and like your own limbs, as if they were your organs. As is reasonable, you should show more honor to the nuns who are the most useful and distinguished; but you should radiate your love and sympathy equally, like the rays of the sun, not more or less, since [p. 39] we naturally love the limbs of our body equally, but we consider some to be more honorable than others. For we love our eyes and feet equally, but we do not deem them both worthy of the same honor, nor do we protect them in the same way, although the pain of both affects us in the same way. Therefore, in accordance with this line of thought, you should care for and watch over these [nuns] as a true mother looks after her own daughters, and cares for them like her own limbs and organs. You should compassionately consider the needs of each of your charges, and treat them without fail as is appropriate for their need, and to the best of your ability you should sustain and strengthen and refresh the truly ailing member of your community with the kindness appropriate for a mother.

36. You, the superior and teacher, should undertake the supervision in this manner which my discourse has briefly expounded; for I have omitted a great deal, so as to avoid showing off, and at the same time have shunned excessive length because of my dislike for surfeit. Thus you should lead the nuns, calling upon the heavenly power of the Bridegroom with spiritual and ceaseless cries, so that it may support you in all things, lightening the burdens of your ministry through its own goodness and helping you to endure its labor and toil, if you desire to fulfill worthily the purpose of your profession, and not to bear the name of superior unworthily or in vain.

V. A hortatory address to all the nuns, inspiring them to obedience.

37. As for you, my dear daughters and maidens and brides of Christ, who are a joy and crown for

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me, and glory and pride, you should remember almost hourly how you [p. 40] were called or received by God, and the vows you made to God after this vocation and reception, and what you have renounced and to whom you were betrothed, and with whom you made a covenant, and to whom you trust and hope to be joined ineffably as to a Bridegroom; and thus endure with all pleasure and joy every toil and trial and every other hardship of your ascetic or angelic way of life. Endure on account of your shared great hopes, on account of the pure and undefiled love and desire which you ought always to nurture and cherish in your heart for our Lord Jesus Christ and God, your true lover and beloved. "For his sake you have" willingly "suffered the loss of all things, and count them" all "as refuse," in the words of the apostle, "in order that you may gain" (Phil. 3:8-9) as your Lord the one who is greatly desired, the truly beloved, the truly insatiably adored. Above all stoutly enduring, struggle through the great contest of the truly blessed submission and obedience, obeying and submitting to your superior unhesitatingly in all things, as if she were Christ, your Lord and Bridegroom and Savior. For "he who receives you receives me" (Matt. 10:44), as he says in the gospels. The great apostle calls upon everyone in exhortation, "Obey your leaders and submit to them; for they are keeping watch over your souls, as men who will have to give account" (Heb. 13:17).

38. Therefore, as I have said, obey your guide and teacher, and submit to her in obedience, in no way whatsoever opposing her, in no way questioning her commands, in no way thwarting them. Obey your superior, and obey her as true daughters obey their mother, or as simple slaves and humble maidservants obey their true lady and mistress. Indeed [you should obey her] just as animals obey their shepherd, turning whichever way the herdsman guides them. Obey your superior, because you have been called for this purpose, that is for obedience, for compliance, for renunciation, for total denial of your own will; and obey in fear of God, with much reverence, with contrition of the soul, in the spirit of [p. 41] humility, always striving to assume the good and sweet yoke of obedience, always bending your necks to the holy hands of your teacher. For "she will keep watch over your souls" (cf. Heb. 13:17), she will carry your burdens, she will be your judge, your leader, your guide, your corrector, your steward, your guardian, she will be everything to you, she will substitute for your father, your mother, your brothers and sisters, your other relatives and acquaintances and friends, she will substitute for everything else; she will be your teacher, your counselor, your doctor, your consolation, your exhortation, your cure, your refreshment, your encouragement; and perhaps I should mention the greatest and most important [point], that she, in imitation of Christ, "will lay down her life for you" (cf. John 13:37) and on the Day of Judgment she will give an accounting for you to Christ who judges all our [actions] impartially.

39. Your obedience will have no contrary result, nor will it result in any harm or damage, indeed it will be the salvific foundation of everything fine and good. What are these? Remission [of sins], freedom, spiritual kinship, immortality, life. Remission [of sins] because once and for all it will relieve you of all your sins, if the psalmist says truly, "Look upon my affliction and my trouble, and forgive all my sins" (Ps. 24 [25]:18). Freedom, because it will completely release and deliver you from the most bitter slavery of your passions. Spiritual kinship, because it will make you worthy of divine grace, because it will make you true daughters of God. Again immortality and life, because it will provide you with immortality and eternal life.

40. A witness to my words is the great and obedient Akakios. For when he was questioned after his death, he replied from the grave, “‘A man who is truly obedient’ will never die.”²⁰ Through obedience you will easily be led back to paradise whence we originally fell because of our disobedience; rather [p. 42] you will be led up to the very heavens, since as we have heard, “our commonwealth is in heaven” (Phil. 3:20). For wherever is Christ himself, there of necessity will be the women who, like you, have followed him and truly imitated his obedience and humility. For “if anyone serves me,” say the Holy Gospels, “he must follow me; and where I am, there shall my servant also be” (John 12:26).

41. Through obedience the original goodness of our nature and its nobility will again be restored to you, and the sin of disobedience of our foremother Eve will be veiled over by your obedience. You will be true disciples of our Savior and God, and you will truly strive to emulate the way of life of the incarnate Christ and his apostles, the Savior because he obeyed his own Father “even unto death” (Phil. 2:8), the apostles again, because in the same way they obeyed Christ and imitated his shameful death.

42. This virtuous and holy obedience has been called a martyrdom and confession by the early Fathers. Therefore it will also crown you as martyrs and make you worthy of the glory of confessors. I dare say it will also procure for you the radiance of the angels. You will show true and perfect obedience to your superior, not only by renouncing that which is improper and contrary to divine law, in accordance with her advice and counsel, but also by not doing those things which are pleasing and dear to God without her encouragement and permission. For a nun who does not obey her superior when she gives advice on this, that is, on what is pleasing to God, and who does not submit to obedience, offends against God. This is a grievous offense, so grievous that she may justly be considered by God to be resisting him. For, as the apostle says, “Therefore he who resists the authorities resists what God has appointed, and those who resist will incur judgment” (Rom. 13:2). Christ says, “If any man comes to me, let him deny himself” (cf. Matt. 16:24). [p. 43]

43. You will not be able to achieve this self-denial, unless you divorce yourselves once and for all from your previous worldly habits and from your own desires. For it is completely forbidden by the Fathers and teachers for any of you to follow her own wishes and, in accordance with her previous habits, to fulfill her own desires and pleasures. In any case, if a nun who has taken the vows of obedience does something in accordance with her own wishes, not only does it simply not seem good in truth, but it seems dangerous and destructive for the soul, since it is clearly contrary to the teachings of Christ, who said, “I have come down from heaven, not to do my own will, but the will of my” Father “who sent me” (John 6:38). It is also [contrary to] the apostle who said this, “to prevent you from doing what you would” (Gal. 5:17).

44. Therefore a nun who is motivated to do something for her own pleasure and on her own responsibility suffers from the affliction of pride, but, in the words of Holy Scripture, “what is exalted among men is an abomination in the sight of God” (Luke 16:15). If it is condemned as sinful to rely totally on oneself, it is very clear that everything which is approved and ordered by the superior, even if it seems reprehensible, is completely free from condemnation as being irre-

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proachable. Therefore, do not do anything at all without the approval and permission of the superior, since a tool cannot do any work on its own, if the craftsman is resting and idle, nor can any limb of the body be moved involuntarily, unless the soul which inhabits the body stimulates the limb to move.

45. You should behave towards your spiritual superior and teacher and obey her, as I have indicated. How should you behave towards each other? As the blessed and great apostle wisely taught, “outdo one another in showing honor” (Rom. 12:10), and “through love” of the Spirit minister unto and “be servants of one another” (Gal. 5:13), [p. 44] openly through your deeds observing the words of the Gospel, “Whoever would be great among you must be the slave of all and last of all and servant of all” (cf. Matt. 20:26–27). For “the Son of man came not to be served, but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many” (Matt. 20:28). “Love one another with brotherly affection” (Rom. 12:10), and grieve and lament when some of your dearly beloved sisters fall into sin and damage their souls by certain harmful actions, for theirs is truly a risk “full of horror”;²¹ but, on the other hand, you should rejoice and be glad if certain of you achieve the good works of virtue, whose benefit is incomparable, according to the commandment which bids us, “Rejoice with those who rejoice, and weep with those who weep” (Rom. 12:15), and in accordance with [the words], “if one member suffers, all the members suffer together,” by reason of your love and spiritual disposition in Christ, and “if one member is honored,” that is, by acting in a manner pleasing to God, “all the members rejoice together” (I Cor. 12:26). For if you are not thus most purely affected towards each other, you will be accused of being²² everything else except lovers of your sisters.

46. Banish from your midst every rivalry and dispute, whispers and slanders and jealousies and the evil fruits of envy and hatred. Preserve with great care the most perfect communal life, in which all private property will be abolished, and every disagreement will be banished, and private friendships will be meaningless. Meaningless, too, will be the expressions “mine” and “yours,”²³ everything private, every personal possession will cease to exist, rather the principle will strongly prevail that you have everything in common, your souls, thoughts, bodies, food and other physical necessities. Most important, you should have God himself in common, salvation in common, your travails in common, your struggles in common, your trials in common, your achievements in common, your victory in common, your prizes and awards in common, your rewards in common, glory in common, wreaths in common. For you have many separate bodies, but you all have one, indivisible soul; you have many bodies, but the bodies are instruments of the same purpose. [p. 45]

47. If you behave thus towards one another, if you live together in this way, your mode of life will truly be in accordance with Christ, you will truly be an army and company of God, a canonical²⁴ church of Christ, you will truly emulate the very life of the angels,²⁵ and you will show forth this virtuous society and community of yours as an exact model of the way of life and behavior we hope for in the hereafter. If you thus conduct your lives with scrupulous piety and holiness, and have this attitude of love towards your superior and each other, you will seem to everyone to have striven after the peak of virtue, and you will be deemed blessed by everyone for this. In the end

you will inherit the kingdom of heaven, and you will be deemed worthy of the royal and eternal bridal chambers, the everlasting nuptial chambers, the undefiled bedchambers and those blessings “which no eye has seen,” in the words [of the Scriptures], “nor ear heard, nor has the heart of man conceived what God has prepared for” his pure and holy maidens, and whichever of you “have loved” (I Cor. 2:9) the true and fine bridegroom in your souls.

VI. Concerning the ecclesiarchissa and her duties.

48. The entire congregation of your sisterhood, together with your superior in Christ, resembles a complete body, composed and constituted of a head and different parts, which have different faculties and energies. Therefore in view of this interconnection and harmony of yours, in accordance with the analogy of the parts of this body a worthy and appropriate position should be assigned to each of you. Thus, one will have the faculty and rank of the eyes, another the ears, another the mouth, another the hand, yet another the foot, and each [of you will be assigned] to each part, [p. 46] so that all of you together, proportionately and as the needs of the common body require, may offer your capabilities and energies in your duties without stint and earnestly for the common benefit. So, too, together you may demonstrate decency and discipline in your behavior in accordance with the words of the apostle who said, “all things should be done decently and in order” (I Cor. 14:40). After these words it would be appropriate for me to discuss and assign²⁶ individually the other nuns and officials and their duties, however God may provide.

49. First of all [I should speak about the nun] who will assume responsibility and leadership in all the holy church services, and then concerning the second in rank, who will be chosen and assigned to supervise the household management of the community. For these [two] have precedence and preeminence over the other nuns second only to the common mother and superior, since they resemble the common teacher and spiritual leader more than the other nuns, the ecclesiarchissa in matters which are more spiritual and in everything that affects the soul and relates to it, the steward in matters which have to do with the management of this humble body which is material and corruptible.

50. The superior and the other sisters should choose as ecclesiarchissa the best nun, who is distinguished for her wisdom and piety, for her moral decency and stability, and especially for the inner chastity and purity of her soul. [She should be] a nun who is able to sing and chant in tune and with skill, and is much more familiar than the others with the ecclesiastical office and rite. [She should] also be steadfast and conscientious, and spiritually passionate and zealous with regard to the holy hymns and divine doxologies. For on the one hand, by setting herself forth as an example of right action, she should incite and encourage the other choir sisters to similar divinely inspired zeal, and be able to persuade them of her own accord not [p. 47] to succumb to laziness, or *akedia*, or drowsiness, or any carelessness with regards to the hymns which should be offered up daily to God, but rather to devote themselves to them from beginning to end with the most fervent zeal and total concentration; on the other hand, [she should be] well qualified lest on account of inexperience and ignorance some part be omitted of the prayers and psalms ordained from above, or some mode of the doxology be removed and inserted in the wrong place, which I personally consider

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just as serious as completely omitting it, since confusion is called “a vehicle of the devils and a dissolution of the psalm,”²⁷ as certain Fathers have said.

51. She is to assign the proper place and position to each of the choir sisters, with the knowledge and approval of the superior.

52. She is to “love the beauty of the holy habitation” (cf. Ps. 25 [26]:8) of God and its purity, and will exert all zeal and diligence with regard to this place, so that there may be nothing unseemly or disorderly in it, or anything at all neglected.

53. She will take great and vigilant care to light and keep constantly burning the two lamps which are supposed to be lit night and day for the glory of God, as I have set down and instructed. She will see to it that there is no quarreling or disturbance during the holy church services, nor any whispering and idle talk, but only such words as offer glory and weave praises for God, and illuminate the soul and lead it towards God and altogether prepare it to fly up to heaven. The young nuns who devote all their efforts and zeal exclusively to chanting and to learning their letters will be under her authority and will be assigned to obey her, so that these [offices] may thus be performed in good order, gracefully and without any omissions, and so that the duty of directing the choir offices may be performed with all elegance and good order. [p. 48]

VII. Concerning the steward and her duties.

54. Thus the head and leader of the choir sisters should be such a woman, and such is the nature of her holy duty and ministry. In similar fashion, as steward should be chosen a nun with such different qualities as this ministry and situation requires, that is, a nun who first of all has passed through her youth and middle age and is already elderly, not so much in terms of actual years, but with respect to her wisdom and character and the purity and chastity of her life; she should be a woman who is greatly practiced in ascetic toils and labors, and has also over the years amassed and gained great experience in practical affairs. A nun of this nature will not grow faint-hearted or shirk in her duties, when of necessity she is required to work more than the others; nor on those necessary occasions when she must leave the convent in order to visit the monastic estates will she be liable to any of the involuntary sinful actions which can harm the soul and inflict blame and criticism on it. Since, as I have said, she will have this experience in practical matters, she will not permit the monastic property to fall into decline or deterioration through poor and improper management.

55. Indeed the steward is not to concern herself solely with internal properties, nor to administer these alone with much faith and wisdom as if they were her private property, but she is also to make inquiries and have accurate information on the revenues and profits and crops of the external estates. Of necessity she is to ask for accounts from each of their managers and bailiffs, who will meet with her in the convent. She will determine which estates are being properly managed, and [p. 49] especially certify that they are being properly managed; but as for those which are not progressing properly, she will demand appropriate improvements, and will make sure that henceforth they do prosper. When she has already in hand these [revenues and crops] that she received

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personally, she is to deposit the produce and all the other such [agricultural products] in their own storerooms, entrusting them with precise accounting to the responsible nuns. She is to give all the records to the superior and the leading nuns; moreover, if there is any object of gold and silver, she is to hand it over and entrust it to [the superior]. Again the superior, with the knowledge of the leading nuns, is to deposit it for safekeeping in the place where such [valuables] are usually stored and kept secure.

VIII. How the choir sisters should perform the church services when they assemble in church and what their duties are.

56. The choir sisters, who have as their sole occupation the offices celebrated in the church, and who perform this service as a ministry specially assigned to them, should refrain from every other task and duty, and apply themselves to this great work alone. Therefore when the wooden [semantron] is struck for the offices, summoning those who are not engaged in other work to assemble in the holy sanctuary, they should be the first to enter, and show themselves as first in zeal and eagerness through the sobriety of their soul in the divine singing of hymns of the holy gatherings. They should disregard every bodily pain and every physical weakness through the courage and nobility of their soul, standing before the Lord and serving him with great fear, and praising him with love, and worshiping him, trembling with boundless joy of heart. [p. 50] Moreover, when their mind is for the most part distracted and dispersed to external matters, they should make it concentrate once more, and attend to the meaning alone of what is sung and chanted; for thus it can beautifully ascend to a conception of God and be brightened and illuminated and sweetened and made pleasant by the most brilliant light which shines therefrom. For if you choir sisters do not stand before our King and God here on earth, how will you be able to hear, as both appropriate for you and applying to you, the words, “Sing praises to God, sing praises; sing praises to our King, sing praises; sing praises with understanding” (Ps. 46 [47]: 7–8).

57. How will “the words” of my Lord “be sweet to your taste, sweeter than honey and the honeycomb” (Ps. 118 [119]:103)? Again how will they be considered by you “more to be desired than gold and much precious stone” (Ps. 18 [19]: 10), and “more than gold and topaz” (Ps. 118 [119]:127) and truly “more than thousands of gold and silver pieces”? (Ps. 118 [119]:72). How will God hear you and fulfill your petitions, when you are thus made captive and distracted, and say one thing with your tongues, but another in your hearts, and therefore you do not perceive the One before whom you are standing and to whom you are speaking, nor what you are saying and singing?

58. How will you be able to succor the sisters who wait upon you and serve you and are thus distracted and concerned for your comfort, and for this reason are absent from the communal offices and prayers? How will you petition God and receive from him remission for their oversights? How will you succor and help in accordance with their hopes all the others who beg for your prayers for their aid and salvation as the prayers of saints? Rather how will we not irritate God, how will we not provoke him to anger and vexation against us, if you do not apply yourselves to the prescribed hymns in the way I have described, but with great carelessness, since we have heard the words of the Holy Scriptures, “Cursed [p. 51] is the man who does the works of the Lord carelessly” (Jer. 31 [48]:10)?

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59. May this not be your fate, but may you rather attract the grace of the Lord above upon you and the members [of your community] and your sisters, who work on your behalf and whose salvation depends upon your prayers, and who endure every toil and labor for your sake. But so that you may open the great and divine heart for others, too, on whose behalf you piously offer up daily supplications and petitions, perform the customary offices with sobriety and vigor, as I have previously said, and apply yourselves in this way to the praise of God and singing of hymns. You should turn your entire mind from external distractions to the inner storerooms of the heart, and to God through pure and ceaseless prayer, all but not breathing. Thus you will give the greatest gift to yourselves and your sisters, by thus steadfastly laboring for your salvation and theirs.

IX. Concerning the attitude towards the daily church offices of the nuns assigned to other duties outside the church, and how they should attend [the offices].

60. Therefore these choir sisters will thus perform their duties and devote themselves to this pure and holy service. But as for those of you whose duties require physical labor, and who are engaged in these most of the time, you should not on this account always absent yourselves from the prescribed offices, nor should you see the holy dwelling and sacred precincts of the Lord only from afar, nor should you hear the singing of the holy [p. 52] hymns only from a distance. But when it is time for you to be engaged in your duties, you will give precedence to your work, I mean your ministry, above all. At that time you should occupy your hands with their work, but should privately turn your mind to certain prayers, and season your work with these prayers like salt, and let the phrases of these prayers be on your lips, word for word, "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, be gracious unto me the sinner," or "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me the sinner," or "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, help me who am wretched and weak." These phrases may be short and customary, but they are very beneficial and powerful and bear within them the force of almost all prayers. All people need to use these prayerful phrases on all occasions, whether they are sinners or just, because we all need divine mercy, because we all most urgently need heavenly grace, inasmuch as we are needy and lacking in divinity. Thus you should act and this should be your attitude, as you work with your hands.

61. But when you have free time and complete leisure from your work, and it is time for an office and the wooden [semantron] is struck for the holy office, summoning the nuns to the service, then you should hasten as fast as possible to the sacred precincts, like thirsty "harts" towards pure and fresh "flowing streams" (Ps. 41 [42]:2), on the way singing by yourselves those holy verses of David, "I was glad when they said to me, 'Let us go to the house of the Lord'" (Ps. 121 [122]:1). "But I will enter into thy house in the multitude of mercy; I will worship in thy fear toward thy holy temple" (Ps. 5:7). "How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts! My soul longs and faints for the courts of the Lord; my heart and my flesh have exulted in the living God" (Ps. 83 [84]:10). "I would rather be an abject in the house of my God, than dwell in the tents of sinners. [p. 53] For a day in thy courts is better than a thousand [elsewhere]" (Ps. 83 [84]:10), and whatever other such verses you know.

62. When you have thus arrived at the great and holy sanctuary of God and are standing there with

the rest of the congregation, strive as if you saw God himself before your eyes. You should stand consumed with fear and much trembling, with contrition weeping for the sins with which you, as human and subject to human passions, have offended against him. If you should be able to read, sing with both heart and mouth, honoring your Master and Creator and Bridegroom with psalms and hymns and spiritual odes. But if you should be completely ignorant of your letters, then of necessity you should pray with those short but powerful phrases which I know well are accepted by God in place of any other prayer, indeed are superior to every other prayer. However, if in your leisure time you should hasten to assemble with your other sisters, as I have said, and present yourselves²⁸ before God like them, at such times do not do any handiwork. For the best and most salutary [course] which we urge you always to follow is to “pray constantly” (I Tim. 5:17), in accordance with the great injunction of the apostle, and, whether you are working or not, on every occasion and in every place to address God in prayer and “do everything in the name of Christ as we have undertaken to do” (Col. 3:17).

63. But to work also during the hours which are specially dedicated and consecrated to God, and to share them with concerns of [the flesh,] and to attempt to “serve two masters,” at the same time God and your handiwork, or in other words “God and Mammon” (cf. Matt. 6:24), this [course] does not lead to salvation, nor do we permit it in any way whatsoever, rather we completely dissuade you from it and forcefully reject it. For how then will you pray to God in a pure fashion? How will you keep your mind on the chanting [p. 54] and singing, when it is distracted by your handiwork? How will you be able to lift up your hands unto God, as the ecclesiastical rule bids you do, when of necessity you keep your hands bound to your handiwork, and tightly bound indeed? Therefore you should never work during a church service, but without distraction you should concentrate only on the prayers and singing of psalms.

64. If you do these things, if you behave thus each day, be confident that, even if you are physically absent, on the one hand you will have invisibly from these holy offices both the sanctification and grace which are sent down unhesitatingly by God above to those who approach the holy and divine churches with much longing and fear, and you will also share with your sisters the not inconsiderable reward and great benefit therefrom. But if you do not behave as I have said, but rather waste your free time and negligently become involved in and devoted to foolish pursuits, and engage in harmful thoughts, and this while you are in good health and not occupied with the common tasks (which I trust will not befall any of you), I do not know how you will justly receive a share of the blessings of your sisters.

X. How the superior should punish negligent nuns, and through which nun she will strive to eliminate apathy.

65. The heedless, negligent and disorderly behavior of certain nuns, [which does] not [lead] to edification, but is rather a cause of scandal, is not without danger for the superior, since she is liable to give accounting for all [her charges]. [This is] especially [true] if, in the face of apathy, she should remain silent, not out of ignorance, but because as a result of flattery she shows indulgence toward the faults of each [nun] so as to appear gentle and [p. 55] pleasing to all of them.

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Therefore of necessity she must take care to correct as much as possible this apathy or disorder or slackness or laziness; and she will [be able to] rectify [their behavior], if she does not disregard and ignore and overlook and allow to go unpunished those nuns who demonstrate these faults to their own detriment, I mean carelessness and slackness. She should discipline and punish them, sometimes with genuflections, at other times with fasting or drinking only water, sometimes by standing vigils, and at other times other remedies appropriate to the fault. She should do this with compassion and maternal solicitude. As one who is entrusted with the care of all [the nuns], [the superior] will expediently discipline and punish not only those who are careless and lazy, but also all the others who engage in untimely and inappropriate conversations with each other, and who choose to engage in idle and unprofitable conversation and talk, which cause great harm and injury to their souls.

66. Therefore no one of you at all will have leave or permission, not even when she has free time from her handiwork, to engage in untimely conversation with another nun outside her cell, without need and without the knowledge of the superior, and to talk about matters which are not their affair; nor should she approach another nun who may perhaps be meditating only on herself and God in her cell, and thereby distract her from this praiseworthy occupation. Neither should any [nun] walk into [another cell] if there is no need, nor without necessity should she stand or sit in [another cell]; nor should she do anything else which is neither useful or beneficial, thereby causing great harm to herself, and inopportunistly leading into temptation the nun who is soberly meditating. Rather every nun, who is not engaged in the work of her special ministry, should remain in and cleave to her own cell, and while she is remaining quietly there, she should either pray or recite the psalms or read, if she knows her letters, or work on a communal project, not her own, for no one is allowed to do this, [p. 56] not even to the extent of making a cord of wool [for herself]. At that time her work will occupy the hands of the worker, but prayer will occupy her mind.

67. This is the tradition of the fathers from long ago, this is the rule of precise discipline, and simply of the solemnity of our habit and of our vows; and if some of you devote yourselves to and submit to this rule (and may all of you become submissive and obedient), peace and the blessing and grace and mercy of God will be upon you. This will always continue, and apathy will be completely banished from your midst, and the solemnity and reverence of our habit will be restored, if the superior and the leading nuns (or all of them), choose one of you, who not only seeks after piety more than anyone else and concentrates on her own salvation, but has already entered old age. The nun who has been chosen in this way should be assigned as her permanent task and vigilant concern to watch carefully and be attentive in every way and to observe day and night where and how each of the imperfect nuns and those who need more attention and stability work at their own salvation. She should correct on her own what she is able to correct, but she should refer to the common teacher of all [the nuns] those [faults] which she is unable to correct; and it will always be her concern to concoct and offer to the ailing nun the salutary drugs of correction. Inasmuch as she is their spiritual mother, she will not ignore this suffering nun, just as a mother in the flesh cannot bear to disregard her own child, who is about to fall into a ditch, or to leave it once it has slipped and fallen. How could her illness be ignored by the teacher who is “affectionately

desirous” of her, in the words of the apostle, and “is ready to share not only” the word and “the gospel of God” (cf. I Tim. 2:8), but also her own soul? So much for this subject. [p. 57]

XI. Concerning the keeper and supervisor of the communal storeroom and her duties.

68. It is time now to set down instructions and regulations about the remaining officials and their duties, so that there will be no element of disorder in the convent, or anything without rule or regulation. Therefore the convent should have another extremely essential official, who is to manage with prudent supervision the communal storeroom. She should be a pious nun who fears the Lord, and at the same time have a disposition in which gentleness and great humility are mingled, and she should be very sociable and accessible to everyone; and at the same time she should guard that which is entrusted to her with much intelligence and security. She is to receive all the cloaks and tunics, and all the shoes, and the covers and bedding, and everything else which you assuredly need. She is also to receive all the fruit. She is to take the delivery of all these items when they come from some outside source, and after she receives them she is to keep them all with precise accounts, with the knowledge of the superior and your leading nuns; and she is to distribute them only in accordance with the judgment and instructions of your common teacher. Such should be the keeper of the communal storeroom.

XII. Concerning the cellarer and her duties.

69. Of about the same character and manner should be the cellarer, who keeps whatever food is served you, and also keeps the wine, if you should have any. From this supply she is daily [p. 58] to garnish and prepare and serve the refectory meals in proportion to the number of nuns and as the season requires. Other nuns should assist her in her duties. Of necessity she will be assisted by the nun in charge of the refectory and waiting on the sisters, who will serve the dishes and remove them again, and perform other services for the pleasure and refreshment of the nuns seated in the refectory.

70. She will not be the only assistant, but also the nuns who have the task of making and distributing the communal bread, as well as the cook. The former will usually take the wheat, the latter the foodstuffs they need from the cellarer, and after doing everything necessary and appropriate to them they will return the foods to her all prepared and without anything missing. The cellarer is to be very careful to maintain equal compassion and patience towards all the nuns, and to do nothing out of jealousy or with partiality or on account of passionate attachment, so as to deprive some, of whom she is jealous, of their true needs, but to give others, to whom she is partial or passionately attached, more than they really need. The first is an act of hating one’s sister, the second is an act of forbidden passion. Through these [emotions] the bonds of love and fellowship are broken; and wicked suspicions and jealousies and quarrels and carelessness in one’s work take their place. She is not only to do this with great care and concern, but should maintain restraint in her own diet so as to consume the same amount of food and wine as all of you, and so as not to imprudently give herself more and better food.

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71. Neither she nor any other official among you will accomplish this (since you all have the obligation to accomplish this), unless they all [p. 59] adopt such a disposition and attitude so as to believe that they are not serving and ministering unto human beings, but unto Christ the Lord and Savior of all, who with benevolence accepts for himself the honor and zeal and service and refreshment rendered to your sisters by them, and benevolently promises them the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven for these [services]. For he says, "Come, O blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world," because "as you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me" (Matt. 25:34, 40).

XIII. Concerning the guard and gatekeeper of the convent and her duties.

72. As for the gatekeeper of the convent, about whom I must now speak, one should not appoint any nun at random, but one who has given evidence of piety, of course, and judgment and prudence. She should also be possessed of a character which is at the same time dignified and steady and stable, so that by her appearance alone she can put to shame and instill awe in those nuns who wish to approach the gate unseasonably and without need, led [astray] by absent-minded and careless thoughts. She will cause them to retreat straightaway, covered in humiliation. She should thus be of such an age that she herself should not require supervision, on account of her youth, instead of supervising others, nor on account of old age should she be less vigorous and sluggish, and incapable of fulfilling the demands of her obligation and duty.

She should take the keys from the superior in the morning, and return them again to her in the evening without fail, and should attend to the guarding of the gates which are always kept closed, so as not to allow anyone at all from outside or inside to enter or go out, without the knowledge [p. 60] and permission of the superior. She is to open [the gates] without question only at that time when some essential need causes a familiar person to go in or out, but by no means for strangers to the convent and people unknown to her, except in the case when the superior bids her do it that one time. If someone comes from outside and seeks admission, first of all the gatekeeper should make inquiries of the visitor and learn from him his identity and whence he came and the purpose of his visit and presence there. After she has obtained this information, she should then report it in detail to the superior, and then she should escort him inside, if the superior permits his admission, or not admit him, if the superior refuses permission. If security is maintained here in this way, none of the nuns will suffer any spiritual harm, nor can any monastic property at all be secretly stolen.

XIV. How the election of these officials should take place.

73. So that in the choice and selection of the nuns who are going to be assigned to these offices we do not appear to do anything improper and contrary to the apostolic traditions, it is my will and command that each of the officials be promoted to the appropriate office by a general election and voting. For that holy band of apostles, in the initial phases of their preaching, when they were going to choose the seven marvelous deacons for the needs of the first converts to Christianity, and to establish them in this ministry, did not entrust the election and voting to themselves, but rather to the multitude (cf. Acts 6:3). Laying their holy hands on the men who were thus²⁹ chosen in a general election, with general voting and summons and prayer, and invoking the grace of the Spirit above, [the apostles] established them in the rank and position of deacons. [p. 61]

74. Therefore, you should make your selection objectively and vote without any rivalry and contention, after you have first of all assembled for this purpose, when the need arises. After the election and voting has thus taken place, you should all enter together into the church, where of necessity your holy spiritual father should be present. After the *trisagion* and a general prayer, your spiritual father, who is perforce a priest, will make the concluding prayer. Then the nun who has thus been elected to the needful service, pressing her head to the ground, she will prostrate herself three times before the all-holy icon of the Mother of God, and beg with all her soul to receive her assistance in the duties assigned to her. Next she is to kneel once before the superior, prostrating herself on the ground, and then she is to make the same genuflection before the nuns who are standing in two choirs. After requesting a blessing through their prayers, and receiving her request, she will thus begin her service. As one who has received the needful ministry from Christ himself and his immaculate Mother, and who is going to have to render an accounting for it to Christ on the Day of Judgment, she should undertake her work and strive until the end to keep her conscience clear.

XV. How the imperfect and weak nuns are to see their relatives in time of need.

75. I believe that it is permissible and irreproachable for us to pray for the best for our relatives and for [characteristics] conducive to salvation, I mean piety and virtue and whatever else we deem honorable and worthy of much zeal and pursuit. [p. 62] But it is not permissible and causes unspeakable harm, not to say condemnation, for us to be emotionally involved with them in a worldly manner, contrary to our vows, and to physically exert ourselves on their behalf, and to tie our thoughts to worldly and vain concerns about them. For as a consequence we wish to see them continually, and to make inquiries and ask after them, and are most anxious to visit their houses frequently, and converse with them freely, and associate with them fully and fearlessly. For if we introduce into our souls the attitudes of our relatives through continual contact with them, and our minds are filled full again with worldly concerns, we turn away from our honorable commitment, and are separated from our spiritual purpose, and we wickedly reject the fine promises which we made to God, without anyone forcing or compelling us. For how is there total renunciation of the world, if our relatives are a part of it? Where is its total denial? Where is “the death of Jesus,” which it was necessary for us “to carry in the body” (II Cor. 4:10)? Where is “the cross” which we have promised always “to take up” (Matt. 16:24) towards God? Where is the hate without hatred for our parents and all our other relatives? How will we maintain the same separation from them in our attitudes as we see in the separation of the dead from the living, which is the chief of our vows?

76. It would be best and a good guiding [principle], if until our death we were to maintain the same attitude toward relatives and friends that we had when we first entered the convent and took our vows. But since now there is a great weakness of soul, and we cannot therefore maintain a completely perfect way of life, because of our weakness we must yield a little (this is the proverbial “next best way”),³⁰ and relax the intensity of discipline without causing any harm. Therefore, as a concession I order that we should welcome in a civilized manner and with pleasant address the blood relatives who come here occasionally with the knowledge and permission of the superior,

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[p. 63] and escort them to the area between the two gates, and bid them sit there. Then without the knowledge of any other nun, the superior should summon the nun from within and bid her go there, keeping before her eyes her own Bridegroom, Christ, and praying in her heart that her conversation with her relative will be harmless and beneficial. She should be accompanied by one of the venerable elderly nuns for her greater security. As this pious old woman looks on and hears all their words, very little should be said by either party, and it should be innocuous in nature. Then, taking her leave of her relative, she should depart straightaway, and return to the convent together with the venerable elderly nun.

77. As I have said, in this case one of the God-loving elderly nuns should accompany the younger nun. But when it should be necessary for one of you to go visit her relatives at home for the sake of a little relaxation, at the decision of and with the permission of the superior (for of necessity on rare occasions this should be permitted and allowed to occur), then perforce not only one but two nuns should accompany the nun who leaves [the convent], and even more than in the previous case they should watch the young nun and themselves so that nothing forbidden is said or done, or in any way at odds with the dignity of the [monastic] habit. The young nun who has ventured forth must return in the evening without fail, and should then be questioned privately by the superior (and she should be questioned and respond with the greatest of care). She should tell her what she was thinking about all day, and what her soul was thinking and meditating, and what words were spoken, and what matters occurred perhaps contrary to her wish, and if she remained in fear of God for the entire day, and if she was tempted to violate any of the customary rules, either because she slipped and was led into this as a result of her own indolence and laziness, or because she was carried along unwillingly by disorders and circumstances beyond her control. Then the superior should confirm with approval that which is worthy of approbation, and should correct inappropriate behavior with suitable maternal instruction, [p. 64] to the best of her ability. For thus the sisters who make visits in the manner which I have described will be more prudent during their subsequent [visits], when they consider that they will have to render a complete accounting of their absence, and the superior will not be thought to neglect their way of life even during their absences.

XVI. That all the doxologies to God and vigils and fasts and genuflections should be performed in accordance with the *typikon* of Jerusalem.

78. Since it is necessary for us to have for daily use some form of rule as a guide, in accordance with which you will praise the God of all with hymns, and will celebrate unceasingly to his glory the offices which we are accustomed to recite in the church, and will sustain yourselves in daily essential needs, this rule should be none other than the one which came to us of old from Palestine for the benefit of our churches here, which is usually called the *typikon* of Jerusalem,³¹ and has been selected and preferred above the others by prudent people.

79. It has been preferred because it is characterized by “the royal”³² and straight path, which does not make its followers deviate to left or right, because it partakes of a middle position in due proportion, and, equally avoiding superfluity and deficiency, it neither exceeds nor lacks in what is needful and proper. Since it has thus been preferred, for the same reasons it should by all means

be preferred by you. Thus the entire holy church service and the doxologies to God which were formulated of old by the Fathers, or rather by the Holy Spirit, should be celebrated by you [p. 65] in accordance with this rule, as well as all the others, including those used for all-night vigils. For in this way in your vigils you will keep vigilant in the manner and at the times that this rule prescribes. Your priest should offer the bloodless sacrifice up to God four times a week. The days for this sacrifice are to be Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday. As for this priest, first of all he should have a lawful wife, and then he should have sufficient dignity and piety, and he should not be youthful, but of mature years. He should be so zealous and eager about the daily holy church services so as to never be absent from the morning or evening doxology to God unless he is ill.

80. In the refectory as well you should follow the daily regime which is so well set forth and formulated by this *typikon* [of Jerusalem]. Thus you are to eat twice a day when this [*typikon*] so prescribes; but you are not to eat twice a day when the *typikon* forbids it. You are to eat fish when the *typikon* bids you eat them; you are not to eat fish when it is forbidden by the *typikon*.

81. You may partake of olive oil and wine when it so permits; when it does not permit it, you are to abstain from them completely. You are to make genuflections when the *typikon* approves; you are not to make genuflections when it does not approve.

82. During the holy period of sacred fasting, both the great fasts and the others, you should fast as this *typikon* bids you. But although it is permitted by the *typikon* for monks to partake of olive oil on Sundays of the great fasts and on Saturdays during Lent, you should not use any oil at all even on these days, unless one of the nuns is ill. For in that case the ailing nun should not only partake of oil on account of her illness, but she should also eat fish frequently, without being subject to criticism, if the superior so permits. [p. 66]

XVII. That all the nuns should have the same daily diet.

83. The superior should take great care with regard to the daily diet of the nuns, lest inequality and the "false balances" (cf. Amos 8:5) of greediness prevail here and triumph over justice and equality; rather justice should prevail and equality should clearly be the rule among you. Thus there are to be no substitutions in your meals at all, neither of food nor drink, but the same bread and wine and the same foods and sustenance are to be set before all the nuns from head to foot [of the table], or from first to last, and furthermore the portions should be equal and fair. For there should be no need for some nuns to have more and others less, or some much and others little, nor again should some be given better [food], others worse. For this would not be an act of justice, but injustice, and would not bring about peace and love, but countless scandals and much disorder and confusion. The result would be secret gluttony, suspicion, innuendo, condemnation, grumbling, meddling, laziness and indifference, and, in short, all the other manifestations of hostility and wickedness, not to discuss in detail the evils brought into our life by greediness and inequality.³³ Therefore there is to be one and the same food and drink for all of you, and one and the same table, and one time and place assigned for communal meals.

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84. This is peace in God, this is love in Christ, this is the unity of spiritual friendship, this is the bond of concord, this is the strongest union of sisterly love. Since your meals will be of this sort and prepared in accordance with God's commandment, no nun at all [p. 67] will be allowed by the rule to have any food or drink, and keep it in her own cell.³⁴ For all the nuns should equally and communally enjoy the common repast and refrain from these private forbidden [foods] as unlawful. If one of the nuns should be sent something by one of her relatives, she is not to take it, but the keeper of the storeroom or the cellarer is to take it, and serve it at the refectory table to the nun to whom it was sent. She may partake of it without blame, and give thanks to God. But if the gift [of food] is sufficient to be divided up among many people, perhaps even all the nuns, they are all to receive a small portion, and all are to partake of an equal share for the sake of their peaceful relationship. If it is not sufficient to be thus shared, it should be distributed only to the nuns who are ill.

85. Sacred writings should be appointed to be read aloud. For only the book is to speak and to teach, while all of you alike are with great reverence to maintain the utmost silence, and to listen to the readings with the proverbial "pricked ears."³⁵ Thus you will nourish your body with these material foods on an equal basis, and also nourish your soul equally with the incorporeal sustenance of the [spiritual] readings. For [the sayings] "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God" (Matt. 4:4), and "The mouth tastes food, but the mind discerns words" (cf. Job 12:11), very nearly represent this incorporeal diet of the soul. If it should be necessary for the superior to speak about something and receive a response, she should speak quietly and in a subdued tone, and with very few words, and then should immediately become silent again, as before.³⁶

86. No one at table will be allowed to raise her eyes and look at her neighbor to see how she eats the food set before her, and what has been served her. Each nun should not only have eyes for herself alone and focus her attention on the food set before her, [p. 68] but should concentrate to an even greater extent on the sacred readings. She should thank God who has granted this food solely on account of his infinite compassion for our bodily constitution, and should pray from her heart for the nuns who, in response to God's commandment, have prepared this food for her like "unworthy servants" (cf. Luke 17:10). Nor is it right to disregard the following. For in such times as this, it is always necessary to observe this [precept], I mean, not to seek after satiety, nor to stuff your stomach, nor to gorge yourself with food. For this is worthy of all curse, inasmuch as the Lord said, "Woe to you that are full!" (Luke 6:25). Even aside from the terrible burden of this curse, overindulgence renders our body useless for action, and prone to sleep and more liable to carnal sins. For taking of nourishment has one purpose, the satisfaction of one's needs, and moderation means to stop eating when one is still a little hungry.

87. Furthermore, you should not make eating a pleasurable end in itself, but only a means of survival, renouncing undisciplined pleasure. For "to be a slave to pleasures" (Tit. 3:3) is not different than to make "a god of your belly" (Phil. 3:19).

88. Three times a week provisions are to be purchased for you outside [the convent], either fresh fish or anything else which happens to be in season.

89. On no account should you store away the leftovers from this daily meal of yours, nor keep them for the next day, but rather you must distribute them to the poor, my brethren in Christ, those who are driven by starvation and harsh and grievous famine to come to your gate every day, and who look to your generosity, after God, so as to be nourished by you with a small morsel of bread and the tiniest bit of food. With these small surplus morsels of yours, you will alleviate to a degree their great poverty, with both compassionate mercy and with much gladness, since through them you all but feed Christ, and through them [p. 69] you really welcome Christ, and as a result you do yourselves an even greater favor than you do them. For not only “will you be merciful, even as your heavenly Father is merciful” (Luke 6:36), but you will also be blessed and righteous. For, in the words of the Scriptures, the just man “is merciful and lends continually” (Ps. 36 [37]:26), and “he has dispersed abroad, he has given to the poor; his righteousness endures for evermore” (Ps. 111 [112]:9), and “blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy” (Matt. 5:7), and “blessed is the man who thinks on the poor” (Ps. 40 [41]:1), and “he who sows in mercy, reaps the harvest of life” (cf. Hos. 10:12), that is, of immortality and blessedness. If, as you have heard, “he who has pity on the poor, lends to the Lord” (Prov. 19:17), then you will always have as your debtor the Lord who will repay in time your loan and debt with much profit and heavy interest. But if “he that dishonors the needy” (cf. Prov. 14:21) angers his Creator, then you will clearly honor God by treating his creatures compassionately. If “by mercy and faithfulness iniquity is atoned for” (Prov. 16:6), how will you not cleanse the filth and pollution of your souls, by making use of the purifying herbs of mercy, and become as “white as clean wool” (cf. Isa. 1:18)? You will not only grant yourselves these greatest of blessings, but, as the promise goes, “you will receive” back in your storerooms “a hundredfold” (cf. Mark 10:30) the gift from heaven. Because you planted those few seeds of mercy, you will manifestly find this gift stored in reserve, increasing and multiplying the supplies within. Now on account of the poor, your storerooms will be blessed by the Lord of all and Steward and Provider of all blessings, he who “will have mercy rather than sacrifice” (Hos. 6:7), since he receives the compassion offered to him through the needy [more] graciously and benignly than “tens of thousands of fat lambs” (cf. Mic. 6:7). [p. 70] When you are set free from and depart this earth, without any doubt he will bid that “you be received into his eternal habitations” (Luke 16:9) on account of his infinite and immense mercy, as he has taught.

XVIII. How the superior should treat nuns who are ill, and what care she should provide for them.

90. The superior should sustain and provide food for all the healthy nuns in this way every day, and thus she should care for them with maternal compassion; if they are ill, however, she should not treat or care for them in the same way at all, but in a better fashion, altogether differently, as necessity demands and the attending doctor recommends for the patient. For a physician should be summoned who is both skilled in his profession, and endowed with great piety. In accordance with his skilled diagnosis, the patient should take medicine and eat healthy foods and be taken by

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you to the bath to bathe, and she should do everything else for herself, in order to restore her health to its previous condition through medical remedies.

91. The superior should accord such attention to the patient, and should continue according it, and providing all the expenses from the common [treasury] until the nun is completely cured of her illness and completely regains her health.

92. None of the nuns should be jealous, or fall prey to envy because one of their own sisters is deemed worthy of such special treatment; rather they should accept this and visit their ailing sister with compassion. For it is right that the ailing nun be pitied, not envied. It is meet to visit her, not bear a grudge against her. This should be their attitude and their actions. For, on the one hand, they should consider her illness as that of one of their own limbs, and likewise believe her treatment to be conducive to their own health for this same reason; [p. 71] on the other hand, they should endeavor to obtain good treatment for themselves from the healthy nuns in case of similar illnesses and circumstances, that is, if they at some time should fall sick.

93. The superior should treat not only ailing nuns in the manner which I have described, but also women of noble families, who have been accustomed to a luxurious life in the world, if they should enter [the convent], in order to dwell with you and share a communal life. If she wishes to make concessions and treat them more sympathetically for a time, and give them a modest degree of comfort, in accordance with her discretion, she has permission to do so.

94. The superior should not only provide these comforts, but should also grant permission if any of them should ask to have one servant only to provide a modest amount of service and ease. But she is to make this exception only for those women who come here from a life of privilege, and in no case for anyone else.

XIX. That all the nuns should do their work in common and not privately, and how they should be clothed.

95. Since idleness is the root of all evil and is itself the teacher of all wickedness—for [Scripture] says, “idleness is the teacher of all evil” (Sir. 33:28)—it is necessary [for the nuns] to work, indeed this is as important as their daily bread. I think it is for this reason that the most wise Solomon wrote in praise and eulogy, “She does not eat the bread of idleness” (Prov. 31:27). For this reason Christ, too, [p. 72] did not simply say that everyone or anyone whosoever “is deserving,” but that “the laborer deserves his food” (Matt. 10:10). For this reason the apostle [Paul] “did not eat anyone’s bread without paying, but with toil and labor worked night and day” (II Tim. 3:8); and therefore he also “gave you this command: if anyone will not work, let him not eat” (II Tim. 3:10), and the great teacher of the church indicated thereby that idleness is evil.³⁷ Work is necessary, on the one hand, for the mortification of the flesh and the maceration of the body (for our flight from the vanities of this world and our profession of vows are no excuse for idleness or avoidance of work, rather they should incite us to even greater labor and travail), on the other hand, because of our

love for our neighbor, so that we “may be able to give to those in need” (Eph. 4:28), in accordance with the commandment of the apostle.

96. Thus all of you alike should work on behalf of the community, and with such intent you should take your work materials from the common stores. When the nun in charge of the common stores distributes these materials to you, you should keep your hands on your work, and pray aloud when this is possible. Otherwise, raise your inner thoughts in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs and prayers and supplications, both praising God and at the same time giving thanks unto him. You should add more thanksgivings because he has granted you the capability of work, and provided you with intelligence to comprehend your work, and in his generosity has mercifully provided you with the basic materials for your work, and at the same time you should pray that your work may be so guided as to please God. Thus of necessity you should work, and for the purpose which I have mentioned (for in assigning to each nun her task I have learned my lesson well from the patristic literature and Holy Scriptures) you will provide for the common [benefit] and place [your finished work] in the storeroom, refraining from making or keeping anything for yourself. For to make and keep anything in this latter fashion is, according to the great Basil,³⁸ simply theft and sacrilege, leading to death, not profit. [p. 73] Even if this should seem to be good, it is in opposition and contrary to the *Acts of the Apostles*, where it says: “All who believed were together, and had all things in common, and distributed them to all, as any had need” (Acts 2:44–45). Again, “The company of those who believed were of one heart and soul; and no one said that any of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had everything in common” (Acts 4:32). Any nun who is guilty of this is no different from the traitor Judas, as the great saint says there (cf. Acts 5:1–3). For she betrays the true word of piety and reverence to death and destruction, so to speak, just as that abominable man betrayed the Lord of glory.

97. Therefore you should all work in this way and thus concern yourselves about your work. The superior, inasmuch as she has assumed the common concerns of all [the nuns], and the nun in charge of the common stores will furnish you with the essential [garments], providing them out of your common toil and labors, and will distribute them to you as follows (for it is well that I not neglect this point and omit it from the *typikon*).

98. Every year each nun should receive two white tunics, worn next to the body, and also one black tunic, which we wear over the other clothes and usually call *himation*. In the same way each nun is to be provided with shoes suitable for women like yourselves, two new pairs annually, and when they are worn out they should be repaired from the common stores and made new again.

99. The items above are to be distributed to you annually. Every three years each nun should receive without fail, in addition to the garments described above, a cloak and two vests thick enough to insulate and warm the body and protect it sufficiently against the bitter cold of winter. Each nun will receive not only these [items] from the common [stores], [p. 74] but everything she needs to cover her head. I give the name of “*skepai*” to these headcoverings which you term “*phakiolia*” and “*magoulikia*” in the popular idiom.

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100. Furthermore each nun is to receive monthly one *litra* of nitre to wash her clothes.

101. In the same way they are to be given linseed oil in order to provide the necessary illumination for their cells. Those nuns who choose to bathe when necessary will be given permission to bathe four times a year.

102. For the female disciples of Christ should be characterized by these outer garments, and should at the same time demonstrate clearly by means of their simplicity and cheap and common [fabric] the purpose of their use, inasmuch as we need clothes only to cover our shameful [bodies] and to avoid harm from drafts. For as the apostle says, “if we have food and clothing, with these we shall be content” (I Tim. 6:8). No more, however, do we need the decorative variety of clothes and the adornment from them, which is the vainglory rightly forbidden by the same apostle. At the same time again we should clearly indicate by our garments the special character of Christian humility, since our very clothing proclaims and testifies to our profession of the godly life. Thus it is proper for you to design and choose those garments which are simple, common, and, thirdly, sufficient for the purpose of their use. Again you should not seek out luxurious [garments], but rather inexpensive ones, so that we may demonstrate our humility by our actions, and not obtain the reputation of being selfish and vain and vainglorious. For those nuns who wrongly desire the first ranks cannot have love, and are totally deprived of humility.

103. Fame-loving women make it their business to pursue vainglory for themselves from the variety of their garments and clothing, aspiring [p. 75] to be gazed upon and admired for the extravagance of their dress. In similar fashion those who imitate the humility and frugality and poverty of Jesus to the best of their ability, and who, in accordance with his great commandment and exhortation, have cast aside their own life to the utmost, ought to choose the worst of all from among these outer garments and mantles. Thereby they will imitate not the women of rank and those who have been raised in royal households, garbed in soft and flowing [garments], but that John who was great “among those born of women” (Matt. 11:11), the son of Zachariah, whose garment was of camel hair. They will imitate not only him, but also those holy women of ancient times, who of old were pleasing to God, who “went about in skins of sheep and goats” (Heb. 11:37), as we are told.

104. Therefore you should choose the cheapest and most common [garments], if indeed you are concerned to distinguish specially in this manner among yourselves the character of the holiness of the [monastic] habit and [to identify] the genuine disciple of the Savior. For just as each worldly rank and office has a distinguishing feature in its dress, by which they are recognized, thus it is appropriate for the female disciples of Christ to have a special character to their garments, a habit of frugal and modest adornment that is at the same time inexpensive and dignified, by which they will be recognized by those who see them (and perhaps also by those who hear them) for what they are, that is to say female disciples of Christ, to the glory of our only great Teacher.

XX. That daily confession is obligatory.

105. According to the theologian Gregory, “The avoidance of sin is” truly beyond man, and [is possible] “for God”³⁹ alone, and lack of repentance and the resultant failure to heal is caused by the evil and opposing power [of Satan]; but for sinners to turn to repentance and fervent confession [p. 76] daily is human and characteristic of those who are saved. It is of utmost necessity therefore that we make use of this salvific drug of repentance and confession, if in truth we desire to find remission of our sins and attain salvation. For it is impossible, it is impossible for us not to sin hourly, inasmuch as we are human and are affected by such passions as human nature is likely to experience. Nor is it possible for us to avoid being horribly attacked by the flaming arrows of the devil and frightfully wounded. For, as the Scriptures tell us, no one “can boast that he has a pure heart” (Prov. 20:9), because, as we have heard, “no one shall be pure of uncleanness” (Job 14:4), even if his whole lifetime were to last only one day, since neither the sky nor the “stars are clean” (Job 25:5) (I will utter the words of Job) in the sight of God. But since, as human beings, we sin daily and daily need to turn away from sin, how else should we sincerely turn away from it unless we resort first to sincere repentance? How will we sincerely repent unless we avoid sin in our hearts and reject it from our hearts? How will we reject sin, unless we expose it, as is right, by pure and blameless confession of our secrets?

106. This confession will serve as a salvific drug for us, a truly powerful drug, and a truly effective drug, drawing out the wretched and troublesome inner matter of sin and casting it somewhere far away from the soul, completely purifying it and granting it perfect health, if only “we do” not “wickedly return as to our own vomit” (Prov. 26:11) to the sin which we formerly vomited forth and denounced, through good actions and confessions. Outright confession is like hyssop and “fuller’s soap” (Mal. 3:2), cleansing and purifying all defilement, all the dirt of every impurity, whitening its disciples even more than the whiteness of the snow. [p. 77]

107. Nothing has the power to remit and forgive sins more quickly than confession. The Holy Scriptures bear witness to this, saying, “If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just, and will forgive us our sins, and cleanse us from all unrighteousness” (I John 1:9). Again, “I said, ‘I will confess my iniquity to the Lord’; and thou forgavest the ungodliness of my heart” (Ps. 31 [32]:5). Again, “Do thou first confess thy transgressions, that thou mayest be justified” (Is. 43:26). Again, “A righteous man accuses himself at the beginning of his speech” (Prov. 18:17). The Scriptures said once through the prophet and king David, “I have sinned against the Lord.” He immediately heard from God through another prophet, Nathan, “The Lord also has put away your sin” (II Kings 12:13). Confession is a great healing drug for us who sin, and a very strong bridle to keep us from sinning, and a mighty safeguard. For the brother of God says, “Confess your sins to one another, that you may be healed” (James 5:16). The great father John Klimakos said, “Bruises which are divulged do not get worse, but are healed”;⁴⁰ and “a soul which intends confession is restrained from sin as if by a bridle.”⁴¹ Confession is by nature a great “lamp to our feet and” a great “light to our path” (Ps. 118 [119]:105). Therefore those who make use of it daily, as they should, are illuminated as if by a great light and will never “stumble on dark” and hostile “moun-

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tains” (Jer. 13:16). Just as of necessity the opposite will befall [those who choose] the opposite [course]. For those [nuns] who do not confess daily, as they should, journey in deepest darkness, as it were, and are no better off than blind people, continually bumping up against and running into sin, so that are fulfilled the words of the prophecy which are especially appropriate for them: “They shall feel for the wall as blind men, and shall feel for it as if they had no eyes” (Is. 59:10). [p. 78]

108. But there is some shame attached to the act of confessing; this I, too, know full well. But I also know full well that this shame, which is part of the hell of the afterworld, as we have learned, is able to intercept and eliminate some of the torments which await us. I am convinced that everyone realizes how much less burdensome and easier it is to be ashamed in front of only one person, and this man a holy and compassionate and merciful father, than to be tried in front of that multitudinous and universal theater composed of angels and all men (cf. I Cor. 4:9), and to be shamed eternally. This will not be our⁴² fate, however, as long as, through the grace of Christ, we understand the blessing of virtue itself, and always make use of zealous and purifying confessions.

109. Therefore let us avert through confession the face of God which will appear terrifying in the hereafter to those who sin and do not repent. Let us confess, while we have time. Let us summon our spiritual healer to us more frequently, rather constantly, and let us disclose to him with purity and without shame everything that is in us, our deeds, our words, our thoughts. For on the Day of Judgment we shall have to render to Christ an accounting for all the deeds that we have not disclosed until the end, and for which we have not been chastised. Let us show him that our hearts are freshly wounded, and therefore easily healed, before they begin to smell and mortify and thus become difficult to heal.

110. It is impossible for anyone to be saved without this virtuous action. Wherefore let us not be negligent with regard to this good deed, but let us always strive with the utmost zeal and effort to make use of such an excellent remedy.

111. Let us always choose a spiritual physician and father who is capable of this great task, I mean the healing of souls, a man who knows exactly how to provide wisely for your salvation, skillfully devising and concocting the drugs efficacious for this purpose. For we have learned from the sacred writings of the fathers that even many who made confession received no benefit, as a result of the inexperience of these spiritual physicians [p. 79], and slipped down into total despair, that is the pit of Satan and destruction which is most certain to follow.

XXI. How the feast day of the Mother of God should be celebrated annually.

112. Since you should celebrate this feast day annually and never omit its celebration, I should set down instructions concerning this, too, how the celebration should be performed by you in a manner pleasing to God. Therefore it is my will and command that every year we should celebrate the feast day of my surpassingly pure Lady the Mother of God, and this feast day should be a

splendid one celebrated at the time of her holy Dormition, on the 15th of August. During this feast day you should hold an all-night vigil and sing psalms, and provide for lavish illumination, with six candelabra all filled with candles appropriate for this great and splendid feast day. You should also light all the small chandeliers, I mean those usually called “*polykandela*.” You should offer up the most fragrant incense, and decorate the entire holy church of the Lord in a most glorious and pleasing manner. All the nuns should be given wax tapers for the vigil. These are your instructions for the services.

In the refectory, your food should be much more costly⁴³ and plentiful than usual. So that such a fine meal may be prepared for you, I order that three gold coins be spent at that time for the purchase of the necessary food. Furthermore you should distribute to my Christian brethren who beg at the gate 6 *annonikoi modioi* of wheaten bread, and 4 *tetartia* of wine, that is one maritime *modios*. Thus you are to celebrate, and you are to celebrate by yourselves [p. 80] alone, together with your usual priest, carrying out the entire service of the all-night vigil, and not inviting any other priest from outside.

XXII. How to celebrate the commemorations of the parents of eternal memory of the foundress, as well as the commemorations of the blessed founder of this holy convent, and of its foundress [and their children].

113. When the appointed day in the year comes round (it is the 25th of October), on that day without fail you should celebrate the commemorations of my eminent departed parents, the monk Kallinikos and Maria,⁴⁴ and you should celebrate them with great joy and zeal. You should decorate the holy and revered church of the Mother of God in the evening, and you should prepare the six candelabra, and they should all be filled at that time with candles, and all should be prepared for lighting. Moreover you should prepare the *kollyba* which are customary for the departed faithful. Eleven priests should be invited from outside, so that altogether there should be twelve including your priest. In the evening the *parastasimon*, the prayer and supplication on their behalf, should be made by these priests alone, but not by you—for it is not permitted for you to sing and stand together with the priests.

114. In the morning when the awesome and great mysteries are celebrated by your regular priest alone, together with the same illumination and the *kollyba*, you should perform all of this holy service as customary. After its conclusion, you should go to the refectory to partake of a more elegant and costly [p. 81] meal than usual which has been prepared for you, with the additional expense of only two gold *nomismata* from the treasury. Thus you should eat and rejoice and pray in your hearts for the salvation of my parents of eternal memory and for their blessed repose.

115. Thus you should celebrate. My brethren in God, the poor people at the gate, should receive from you 4 *annonikoi modioi* of wheaten bread, and three *tetartia* of wine, for the spiritual [salvation]⁴⁵ of those who are commemorated and of you who thus commemorate them.

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116. In the same way you should commemorate each year, on the sixth of February, your blessed founder the *megas stratopedarches*, lord John Angelos Doukas Synadenos, who took the monastic name of Joachim.⁴⁶ You should do everything exactly the same as for my blessed and holy parents,⁴⁷ I mean my father, the most fortunate *sebastokrator* lord Constantine Komnenos Palaiologos Doukas Angelos, who took the monastic name of Kallinikos, and my holy mother, Branaina Komnene Laskarina Kantakouzene Palaiologina, with regard to the candelabra⁴⁸ and all the other preparations and prayers, I mean the divine services, the food for the nuns, and the charitable donations to the needy at the gate.

117. You are to make the same arrangements for your humble servant, whenever, that is, God chooses to take me from the living as he knows best.

118. I would have liked the commemoration for my dearly beloved daughter lady Euphrosyne Palaiologina⁴⁹ to be more lavish and splendid than those of her parents on whatever day she is transported from this life to the better and eternal [life above], [p. 82] inasmuch as she was dedicated by me to God at infancy, and has chosen of her own accord to seek after every form of virtue with great abundance, and provides a model for her successors. Since, therefore, she chose such blessings from infancy, that is a life of contemplation, quiet, poor and merciful, and has achieved this [goal], she should enjoy the complete ceremony that is owed to the holy departed. Since, however, as in everything else she spurns honors, and seeks moderation and simplicity, she asked me to make no provision and instructions for her own commemoration, let it take place and be commemorated as she chooses and prefers, and in accordance with her dying instructions.

119. Concerning the two sons of the foundress,⁵⁰ who are also founders. With regard to the commemorations of my dearly beloved sons, lord Theodore Doukas, the *protostrator*, and lord John Palaiologos, the *megas konostaulos*, and their wives, when God chooses to take them from the living as he knows best, I order that they be celebrated in exactly the same manner as those of their mother and father, and those of my holy and thrice-blessed eminent parents, with respect to the lavishness of the illumination and in all other regards.

XXIII. [Enumeration of] property dedicated to the Mother of God for the support and maintenance of her handmaidens.

120. I have set down the previous instructions in this document so that you may conduct yourselves and live in a manner pleasing to God, and for the salvation of your souls. Certain provisions are addressed to the superior, for the purpose of reminding [her of her duties], others are directed to the whole assembly of nuns, for their instruction and [p. 83] exhortation, as I said at the beginning of the document. I have also included certain [sections] not out of place or unbefitting the precepts of the fathers, all of which, as I believe, indeed truly believe, are consonant with and in accordance with them in all respects.

You should read this *typikon* aloud in the refectory more often than any other book, with all of you listening, and you should read it attentively and read it at the beginning of each month. For if

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my written instructions are always resounding in your ears, they will not permit forgetfulness to do her work, making you forget these instructions from reading them infrequently, and they will enable my divine purpose to be realized by you. So first of all I bequeath this [*typikon*] to you instead of great wealth and any other rich inheritance, the finest and most valuable of all my possessions. I bequeath it as a great benefit for your souls through the grace of Christ and the support and compassion of my Mother of God, for the procuring of salvation, for your greater edification, and greater security. Thus I bequeath it to my beloved sisters in Christ.

121. For your physical needs and support I leave you half of my entire ancestral estate called Pyrgos, whatever this half might be, whether arable land or a vineyard, or anything else this half might be, as I said; but the other half⁵¹ will be mine for now, and will be managed by me personally for the maintenance and modest comfort of myself and my dearly beloved daughter. In the same way, [I bequeath to you] the village near Parapolia called Ainos, valued at 400 *hyperpyra*, of which 200 were donated to the convent by a divine and venerable chrysobull as my ancestral property. My dearly beloved son, the *protostrator*, donated the other 200, which were taken out⁵² of [the sum] granted to him by the divine and holy chrysobull. [p. 84]

122. In the same way I bequeath the vineyard of ___ *modioi*⁵³ planted at the expense of the convent at Selokaka; another vineyard of ___ *modioi* near St. Nicholas Mesomphalos, together with its houses, which was bought years ago from a man named Kaligas for 400 *hyperpyra*, which was barren land, but which I later planted with vines; another vineyard, located near the land of the Kosmidion,⁵⁴ of ___ *modioi*, which was donated by my dearly beloved nephew, son of the most eminent *despoina* of the Bulgars, lord John Palaiologos Angelos Branas (who took the monastic name of Joasaph); another vineyard in the land of the Kosmidion, of ___ *modioi*, which he himself gave for “fellowships”⁵⁵ for his wife, from which 8 *hyperpyra* are paid annually to the monastery of the Kosmidotes for taxes; another village called Morokoumoulou near Thracian Herakleia, in which is also the land of Diakephalaiois; another vineyard, located in the village called Kanikleion, of ___ *modioi*, which my dearly beloved daughter-in-law, lady Thomais Palaiologina Kantakouzene,⁵⁶ donated to the convent, for her spiritual salvation.

123. In the same way I bequeath to you my ancestral vineyard, such as it is, located at Pegai, beyond the Queen of Cities; similarly let the other vineyard which is also found at Pegai be yours to keep. From now on they will be your ancestral property and in the future and all years to come, rather they will be like holy dedications honorably and justly dedicated and consecrated to my surpassingly pure Lady the Mother of God. No one at all is ever to take them away or confiscate them, unless he wishes, whoever he may be, [p. 85] to be called a sacrilegious person and to bring down upon himself the most terrible curses and judgments, which have been brought from of old against everyone who trampled on and disobeyed the holy laws of truth and justice. But so much for this.

124. On account of the weakness of my human nature and for the care of my daughter who is most dear in every respect, and for the modest comfort and relief of her many serious illnesses, I have

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retained personally for myself the following [properties]: half of my ancestral estate called Pyrgos; the village in Parapolia, called Kanikleion, my ancestral estate; the garden called Gymnou near our convent, and the large vineyard which my cherished son, the *protostrator*, gave to me, and the houses around it, very near the *Kyriotissa*,⁵⁷ on the public road. I ordain and command with all my soul and purpose that, after my departure from this earth and my release from the present [life], this [property] should be owned and administered by my dearest daughter, just as by me, for her modest comfort and care, inasmuch as she is mistress and heir of this convent and all my property. Then, whenever, after a lengthy and “most abundant old age” (Ps. 91 [92]:14), she should depart to eternal and better rest, to live and rejoice together with her immortal Bridegroom forever, then the other half of the estate of Pyrgos, and the other properties previously mentioned, which were retained personally by me for my maintenance and then by my dearest daughter, are to be immediately donated wherever she wishes and decides, as is just. [p. 86]

Lord, help your maidservants to fulfill these instructions.

XXIV. A hortatory epilogue to all the nuns and the superior to abide by the *typikon* and not to transgress [it] in any way.

125. O my beloved congregation in Christ, I have set down and formulated in this *typikon*, as you see, those rules which it was necessary for me to set down and formulate, for the sake of your spiritual benefit and salvation, as well as for your physical needs; and even if they are not worthy of the occasion, it is not for any lack of zeal or effort on my part. It will be your responsibility from now on both to heed these rules sincerely, and to accept them sincerely into your soul, and thereafter you should strive in your very deeds to obey all the rules without transgression, which is the primary purpose of all my zeal. For mere hearing and acceptance of the good words of salvation is not able to justify the one who only listens to them and only accepts them, but deeds must be added to the hearing and acceptance. For thus a just man becomes perfect. “For it is not the hearers of the law who are righteous before God” (these are the words of the apostle), “but the doers of the law who will be justified” (Rom. 2:13). You will demonstrate clearly that you are obeying the rules steadfastly, if you display the same attitude toward your teacher and spiritual mother as toward Christ himself, the God of all, to sum up my instructions briefly, and if you obey her as if again the Savior and Lord of all should command you.⁵⁸ For in the Gospel his all-holy lips said, “he who hears you hears me, and he who rejects you rejects me, [p. 87] and he who rejects me rejects him who sent me” (Luke 10:16). You should not have any will at all of your own, or ever permit yourselves to do anything on your own, but you should strive to wish and do only those things which your teacher wishes and orders you to do by way of commandment.

126. Furthermore you must obey the superior in this way not only when she “teaches scrupulous observance,” and prescribes fasting, but even when “she forbids you to fast,” or advises you to partake of satisfying nourishment, when necessary, or bids you relax your discipline in any other way. You must carry out all her [commands] in the same way with the utmost zeal, in the belief that “every word spoken” by your teacher in Christ is “law,” and thus you must accept it and obey it, and in no way permit yourselves any discussion or inquiry about her instructions. For such

behavior and attitude is “a practice and habit which lead to anarchy” and disobedience. Therefore you should accept “every counsel” without question, and “carry it out, not with sadness” or “from compulsion,” but “with” great “eagerness, so that your obedience may be rewarded.”⁵⁹

Thus your attitude towards your teacher,⁶⁰ and again towards each other, should resemble your attitude towards your very own limbs and inner organs, always maintaining towards each other spiritual love, true humility and genuine and unfeigned submission, “forbearing one another in love, eager to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,” and in accordance with the apostolic teaching being “one body and one Spirit, just as you were called to the one hope” (Eph. 4:2–4) of the grace of our Lord and God. You should defer to each other with regard to the chief offices, and strive to triumph over each other and excel in those endeavors in which each nun yields the victory to her neighbor, in which each nun does not consider it important to show herself as greater than another, and in which each seeks the last place, although she is probably worthy to take a more important place. [p. 88]

127. If you conduct your lives thus in Christ, if you keep these commandments unaltered and unimpaired, you will destroy “every proud obstacle to the knowledge” (II Cor. 10:5) and obedience of Christ, and, in short, you will raze to the ground all “the strongholds” (II Cor. 10:4) of evil; you will make all wickedness retreat into nothingness, which it is by nature. You will wondrously erect a large and celebrated house of virtue, and will raise it up with great assurance until its completion, since in your construction you have placed the first principle and base of this building on golden and mighty foundations of obedience and humility, and “the greatest of these is love” (cf. I Cor. 13:13).

128. Thus you will do me the greatest favor. For you will clearly demonstrate that I did not sow the seeds of exhortation in barren and unfruitful earth, but rather in soil that is good and rich and fruitful, and capable, like that earth in the gospel, of yielding “thirty, sixty and a hundredfold” (Matt. 13:8) through the great and wise tillage of the Spirit. Furthermore [you will thus demonstrate] that I have spoken these words “into the ears of those that hear” (Matt. 13:9).

129. As for you, O finest and in every way most reverend mother of mine in God (for to you now, as superior, I address my final words), you will be truly blessed and many times blessed, even ten thousand times blessed, if you focus not only your ears on this *typikon*, but even more so your soul. You will not only hear it speaking and resounding externally, but you will also engrave all its [precepts] deeply in “the tablets of your heart” (II Cor. 3:3). Thus you will not only engrave these [precepts] indelibly, but you will also teach them, and will continuously transmit them and truly convey them to your charges. Moreover you will carry out these [precepts] eagerly, leading the others in their proper execution, and, through your good deeds, demonstrating [p. 89] these precepts as if they were living and efficacious and, like fire, eternally sharing the benefit without diminution both with those who see these things through deeds, and those who hear them through readings. For the Gospel of the Lord has said, “blessed is he who not only has taught, but has done, and then taught” (cf. Matt. 5:19); and again, in the words of Holy Scripture, “if you know these things, blessed are you if you do them” (John 13:17).

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130. I am confident that you, in accordance with this blessing of the Gospel, will carry out and teach the *typikon*, and will truly obey it more than anyone else, and will demonstrate now and in the future, by preserving unaltered all the precepts of the *typikon*, that you are truly their leader, inasmuch as you are the first to guard these [precepts], as you have been called [to do]. Furthermore your charges will truly heed you and obey you, if “from the” proverbial “beginning”⁶¹ they have a good example, and are schooled in humility and obedience by your humility and obedience. For teaching the pure and established word of truth is not as effective as carrying out the teachings in practice. “Good understanding is found in all those who act,” says [the Lord], “but not in those who only listen” (cf. Matt. 13:13).

131. Not only then these [nuns], but even perhaps wild beasts, out of respect for your virtue, will obey you in a similar fashion, and entrust themselves entirely to your holy hands, when they see distinct in you the features of the ancient submission and obedience which our foremother had in paradise towards God before her grievous transgression and consequent disastrous fall. Even the mighty and boastful demons will submit to the weakest and humble nature, and will fear you, and will be crushed into dust beneath your evangelical and “beautiful feet as you preach the gospel of peace” and every “good thing” (cf. Rom. 10:15), with the strength and support of the heavenly grace and power. [p. 90]

132. These are great [challenges], full of wonder and amazement, but capable of being accomplished in the present time, if only we would be willing to act rightly, if only we would emulate to the best of our ability the virtue of the saintly women who preceded us, who mocked at and crushed the satanic forces and ranks as easily as pitiable sparrows. The heroic conduct and wondrous lives of these holy women are preserved in writing for the benefit of their successors in the discourses of wise men and sacred books.

133. Now on account of the great virtue which you will attain without question through the precise observance of this *typikon*, you will be celebrated and well-known to everyone, and almost all men who see and hear your actions will sing you countless eulogies, and devise lengthy praises for you, and frequently bless you. Again, in the world to come, you will accompany the wise virgins into the pure and celebrated bridal chambers to rule together and be glorified together with your greatly beloved Bridegroom. You will stand on his right and hear his desirable and blessed voice. You will stand and listen together with these your spiritual daughters, and then you will say with great confidence to your Lord and Savior, “O Lord, see the daughters whom you gave me.” May all of you, mother and daughters alike, be deemed worthy of this through the grace of the One who called you to his heavenly and eternal kingdom because of his love for mankind, through the grace and love of the eternal and blessed life-giving and effective and immortal and consubstantial Trinity, the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, now and for ever and for everlasting generations, Amen. [p. 91]

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[Appendix on the commemorations to be celebrated for the foundress' relatives]

134. Since I have already written sufficient instructions concerning the convent, I will now set down instructions about my deceased parents, and my brothers and sisters in the flesh, and those who have yet to die. With regard to my blessed and holy parents and my own commemoration and that of my dearly beloved daughter and my cherished sons, let them take place as I have already ordained without any change or omission, except in the case of great necessity. Concerning my blood brothers and sisters and relatives and certain others who are expressly listed below, it is my wish that their commemorations take place at the indicated times and days without any alteration.

135. On February 11th should be commemorated my beloved daughter-in-law, I mean the wife of my dearest son lord John Palaiologos, the *megas konostaulos*, lady Thomais Komnene Doukaina Laskarina Kantakouzene Palaiologina, who took the monastic name of Xene.⁶² The illumination should be more lavish than usual, and there should be four liturgies for her soul. For she donated the vineyard at Kanikleion of ___ *modioi*. Refreshment should also be served in the nuns' refectory.

136. On the 23rd of July should be commemorated my beloved granddaughter, the daughter of my beloved son, lord Theodore Doukas the *protostrator*, lady Theodora Komnene Doukaina Raoulaina Palaiologina, who took the monastic name of Theodosia.⁶³ There should be four liturgies on her behalf, and more lavish illumination. For even though she made no donation to the convent, still her father, my beloved son the *protostrator*, has already made abundant contributions, and will make further donations in the future, since he is alive and well by the grace of God. Therefore her commemorations should not be overlooked. [p. 92]

137. On the 6th of June should be commemorated my beloved brother, lord Michael Komnenos Branas Palaiologos, who took the monastic name of Makarios. There should be two candelabra,⁶⁴ and seven liturgies on behalf of his soul, and in the refectory of the nuns refreshment should be provided and served, since for the sake of his commemoration he donated to the monastery a decorated icon of the archangel Michael of gilt bronze, two silver lamps and 300 *hyperpyra*.

138. In like manner my other brother, lord Andronikos Komnenos Branas Doukas Angelos Palaiologos, who took the monastic name of Arsenios, offered to the convent on behalf of his spiritual salvation an oil vessel of pure gold which is called *malagma*, [adorned] with a jasper lid and the nine ranks of the heavenly powers, and 100 *hyperpyra*. He should be commemorated on the 28th of June. The illumination should be more lavish than customary, and there should be four liturgies.

139. On September 16 should be commemorated my beloved sister, lady Maria Komnene Branaina Laskarina Doukaina Tornikina Palaiologina, who took the monastic name of Mariamne. There should be seven liturgies for her soul, with two candelabra.

140. On the 8th of January should be commemorated her husband, lord Isaac Komnenos Doukas

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Tornikes, who took the monastic name of Joasaph; likewise seven liturgies should be celebrated for his soul, with two candelabra. For the couple contributed to the convent, on behalf of their commemorations, 1000 *hyperpyra* and an icon of the bust of my all-holy Mother of God, decorated with three red precious stones and pearls. They likewise gave [p. 93] 72 *hyperpyra* for the cost of the wine-press at Pera. Therefore it is my command that their commemorations be celebrated in an incomparable manner, and that there be refreshment in the refectory for the nuns.

141. On July 3 should be commemorated my beloved nephew, their son lord Andronikos Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos Tornikes,⁶⁵ the *parakoimomenos*, who took the monastic name of Antony, also with two candelabra. There should be six liturgies on behalf of his soul, and refreshment provided in the refectory for the nuns. For he gave the convent, for the sake of his commemoration, 500 *hyperpyra* and a silver lamp weighing five *litrai*.

142. On the 8th of August should be commemorated my beloved nephew, lord John Komnenos Doukas Angelos Branas Palaiologos, son of the most eminent *despoina* of the Bulgars, who took the monastic name of Joasaph. Seven liturgies should be celebrated with two candelabra for the sake of his salvation. In addition, on one day of each week of the year, I mean Thursday, one offering of consecrated bread should be made as a sacrifice for him. Once a year four measures of wine should be distributed to the needy at the gate, since he was generous at the time of his death, and made large donations to the convent. For he gave a gold icon of the all-holy Mother of God, all [decorated] with pearls, and with eight precious stones, four red, the other four light blue, together with a veil all [covered with] pearls, what they call *symmatinon*, bearing an image of my all-holy Mother of God. He also had generously decorated another icon of the Dormition of my all-holy Mother of God. In addition he had made a gold-embroidered *podea*, decorated with the four feasts of the all-holy Mother of God, and in the middle a circle (?)⁶⁶ of pearls. He also donated a vineyard very near the property of the Kosmidion, of ___ *modioi*, and a house in the vicinity of the Kaligaria, [p. 94] for the sake of the lighting of the lamp at his tomb.⁶⁷ Further there should be refreshment in the refectory for the nuns, and they should eat more lavishly.

143. On December 24th should be celebrated the commemorations of my most noble *sympentheros*, I mean the father-in-law of my beloved son the *protostrator*, lord Theodore Doukas Mouzakios, the *epi stratou*, who took the monastic name of Theodoretos. It should be celebrated in proportion to the capability and prosperity of the convent. For he gave to the convent for the sake of his burial a decorated icon of St. Onouphrios and 100 *hyperpyra*. And since my beloved daughter-in-law, his daughter, gave 200 *hyperpyra* to repair the cells of the convent for the sake of her father's commemoration, his commemorations of necessity should be celebrated as I have ordained without any alteration.

144. I also pray to my totally immaculate and pure Mother of God to support and advance our monastery in perpetuity in the discipline of a holy way of life, and in its affairs, so that God, the Lord of all, may be hymned more ardently with all zeal, and the immaculate name of his holy Mother to be honored and magnified, and the commemorations of the aforementioned departed

ones be celebrated as I have instructed with all zeal and diligence. Thus may the Lord look mercifully and graciously on the souls of those who are commemorated and give them rest in a bright place, and may he forgive them for any sins they may have committed inasmuch as they were human, and present you with the worthy reward of love. But if ever, God forbid, it should occur that the convent should fall into poverty and lack of necessities in critical times,⁶⁸ [p. 636] I supplicate and entreat you, my beloved, not on any account to dispense with the annual commemorative services for the aforementioned individuals, but you should provide them at that time, to the extent that you have the resources and capability, mindful of my love and instructions. For if the commemorative services should be decreased because of the monastery's poverty and financial difficulties, and not because of contempt and neglect, God will not be angry, and I will be most deeply grateful to you, my beloved. So much for this.

Since in accordance with ecclesiastical tradition, it is customary for commemorative services to be celebrated together on the Saturdays of Meatfare and Pentecost,⁶⁹ I also ordain that on these days the so-called bread offerings⁷⁰ should be brought to the sanctuary on behalf of each one of the aforementioned individuals, one apiece that is, as a sacrifice on behalf of their⁷¹ salvation and in propitiation of their sins. For you will not only benefit from them enormously, but also you who act in this way will reap not a little benefit in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom is owed all glory, honor, and veneration now and forever unto everlasting generations. Amen. [p. 95]

The delimitation of our convent of the surpassingly holy Mother of God, the Sure Hope (*Bebaia Elpis*) of Christians, are as follows:

145. The boundary wall begins at the great gate to the east, which is situated opposite the large houses of my dearly beloved sons, and passes by the bakery and past the entire house of the virtuous Eunouchos. Then it bends to the west and follows the boundary land which is between the two gardens of my dearly beloved son, lord John the *megas konostaulos*, and the convent. It goes as far as the public road which divides the monastery of the Mosele⁷² on the right. From there it bends towards the enclosure wall of the [monastery] of my surpassingly pure Mother of God *Gorgoepekoos*,⁷³ follows the same public road, and passes by the garden of Gymnos, keeping on its right the wall of the monastery of the *Gorgoepekoos*. It continues as far as the boundary land which separates our convent from the convent of my lady and sister, the *protostratorissa* Glabaina. It then continues as far as my apartments, which were built by my dearly beloved son, the *protostrator*. Then it passes by my garden, keeping on the right the vineyard of my lady and sister the *protostratorissa*, and reaches the public road in front of the monastery called *Kyriotissa*. It then bends to the east along the same public road and stretches as far as the other road which is near St. Onouphrios, where there is a vineyard, which I purchased from Kaligas as ordinary land for 400 *hyperpyra*, and then planted it so that it has turned into the vineyard which is seen now. Then it bends to the north and passes by the rental houses of the boundary land, where the winnowers live, as far as the church of St. Akakios,⁷⁴ including the church itself without the *katechoumena*. It extends as far as the great gate of this church. Then it goes as far as [p. 96] the great gate of our convent, keeping on its right the house of Aborates and the tailor Andrew, and from [the house] of Solatos extending as far as the great gate of the convent, where it began.

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Second *typikon*, which was drafted by the foundress of the convent, lady Euphrosyne Palaiologina, after the death of her celebrated mother.

146. When my holy lady and mother established this convent of ours on account of the love and ardent passion which she had for God, and her affection for me, in accordance with the instructions she recorded in her *typikon*, she ordered that the nuns be thirty in number. Thus she honored and venerated the number of the Trinity, and at the same time took precautions lest too large a number be a cause for confusion and disorder. For if, as she said, good order is only maintained with difficulty among a few nuns, how could it be preserved where there is an assemblage of many opinions, and a combination of different ways of life and types of education and ages? But while she was still alive, inasmuch as she was of a loving and compassionate disposition, she yielded to the entreaties of certain people and allowed the number to be increased to fifty. This was the number of nuns when she left the world behind and departed to the Lord, leaving me as her heir and successor. I then, as her daughter and successor, respecting and honoring all her [actions], confirm the same number of fifty, since I do not wish the number of nuns to increase beyond this figure. For just as she honored three multiples of ten on account of the Holy Trinity, so I hold in honor and ratify the figure of seven multiples of seven on account of the number of gifts of the Holy Spirit. It is my wish, and I order you, my beloved sisters, to keep the number of nuns assembled in our venerable convent at this figure. [p. 97] For we have gathered together so that through God's mercy we may share in the gifts of the Spirit. If it were not [for this purpose], but without cause that we thus gathered together, our assemblage would be truly foolish and pitiful.

Chapter I. That the number of nuns should not exceed fifty.

147. Therefore, as has been said, in honor of the number seven, which multiplied seven times makes fifty, lacking one day, which important day [i.e., Pentecost] we call holy on account of the descent of the Holy Spirit, and because it is a model of the future, I command you, my most honored sisters, never to allow your numbers to exceed fifty throughout all time, but to limit your size to this figure.

Chapter II. That lay children should not come to the convent for their education.

148. I absolutely forbid the admission of lay children for the sake of being educated and learning their letters or anything else. For I find that it is a pernicious influence on the morals and habits of the nuns. For anyone who has renounced the world once and for all, and then comes into contact again with lay people and assumes responsibilities incongruous with our vows, and thus causes confusion within himself and obscures the light of understanding, and violates the commandments of the holy Fathers, and follows his own desires and wishes, [p. 98] should not have entered a monastery nor donned monastic habit in the first place. "It is better that you should not vow than that you should vow and not pay" (Eccl. 5:5). But if certain girls should wish to be enrolled among the nuns, but want first to be educated, and learn lessons which contribute to the monastic rule, with the intention of being tonsured years later and numbered among the nuns, I fully approve and consent.

Chapter III. How the commemorations for each single one of the nuns should take place.

149. When my holy lady and mother set down instructions about the commemorations of my holy lords and ancestors, of my holy father, who was a founder, and herself, and of my dearest masters and brothers and other members of our family, she left no instructions at all about the commemorations for all of you, my dearly beloved sisters and mothers. I did not think it right not to celebrate your commemorations, too, in the customary manner. But since you have left behind worldly matter and confusion for the sake of God and his holy and immaculate Mother, and you brought and consecrated yourselves to him and to the immaculate Mother of God, and you endure every labor in your service in obedience to Christ, and you do not have your own dwellings and idiorhythmic occupations, but all follow a common regimen at the convent, I decided that your commemorations should be celebrated as I ordain. Whenever any of you departs to the Lord, I order that one liturgy be celebrated daily for her soul for forty days, and forthwith her portion of food [p. 99] should be distributed daily to the needy at the gate [of the convent], and afterwards the [deceased] nun should be commemorated once a year on the anniversary of her death in perpetuity.

Chapter IV. When there should be general commemorations for the nuns.

150. Since it is customary in monasteries to celebrate the commemorations of the founders annually after the feast day of the patron saint of the monastery, and the commemorations of our founders take place here after the feast of the Dormition of the completely pure Mother of God, it is my wish that there also be a general commemoration service for all my mothers and sisters. But since it is not possible for the commemorations for the founders and for you nuns to take place in the same [location], I order that, since our cemetery bears the name of St. Nicholas, the miracle-worker, commemorations for all our holy sisters be celebrated there after the feast day of the saint. But if you prefer, let the holy [commemorations] for the holy [sisters] be celebrated on the day after the feast of the Mother of God. The illumination should be more lavish than usual with two candelabra, and there should be refreshment for the nuns in the refectory, and three liturgies on their behalf, and a distribution to the poor at the gate of one *annonikos modios* of bread and one measure of wine.

Chapter V. How offerings should be made at the altar for all the deceased nuns.

151. On Saturday of Meatfare and Pentecost, when general commemorations are customarily celebrated on behalf of all orthodox [p. 100] Christians, I command that on these days the so-called offerings of [consecrated bread] be offered at the altar for each of our departed sisters, one for each that is, as a sacrifice on behalf of their souls.

Chapter VI. Exhortation to the nuns that they omit none of the instructions on their behalf.

152. This is my “whole-hearted”⁷⁵ wish for you, my dearest sisters, and thus I set forth and command out of extraordinary desire for your salvation. Just as I approve everything ordained by my holy mother and lady, and have confirmed them, and have ordered that they remain unchanged, so

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it is necessary for you to maintain my instructions, which are for your benefit, and to carry them out forthwith, both for the good of love, and especially for your own benefit. For if I performed a deed of kindness by zealously setting forth these instructions on your behalf, how much more should you strive to carry out the instructions for the sake of your salvation?

Chapter VII. Request to the nuns concerning her own commemoration.

153. Whenever God should ordain that I die, as he knows best, do not perform the commemoration of your humble servant carelessly and indifferently and superficially. For this is not kind. But as I will order at the time of my death, so I ask of you to do, with compunction, that is, and contrition of heart and all zeal, offering supplications to God on my behalf, as well as everything else I command. [p. 101]

Chapter VIII. Brief hortatory admonition to the nuns.

154. My most honorable mothers and sisters, “rejoice in the Lord always” (Phil. 4:4), and may you be preserved, and may you preserve the fine trust which I have bequeathed to you, I mean with regard to the observance of the church office and discipline in the refectory, and tranquility and diligence in the cells. Above all and with all “be at peace among yourselves” (I Thess. 5:13) and everyone [else], in accordance with the commandment of the apostle, knowing well that the Holy Spirit would never dwell in a turbulent soul . . .⁷⁶ [I request] of my beloved sisters that the annual commemorations for the above-mentioned not be neglected in any way, but that you will act mindful of my love and my instructions, to the extent of your financial resources and your capabilities. For if the commemorations should be diminished, not because of contempt and neglect, but because of poverty and dearth of monastic revenues, God will not be angry, and we will avow the highest gratitude to your love. So much for this.

But when in accordance with ecclesiastical tradition the general commemorations are supposed to take place, on the Saturdays of Meatfare and Pentecost, I give you this order, that on these days the so-called offerings [of consecrated bread] be made at the altar for each of the aforementioned, one apiece, as a sacrifice for the sake of their salvation and as atonement for their sins. For by doing this, you will not only benefit them greatly, but not a little benefit will also accrue to you, in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom is due every glory, honor, and reverence, now and forever and for all ages, Amen.

[Commemorations for the Bishops of Ephesos and Mytilene]

155. . . .⁷⁷ receiving from God reward for your labor and suffering and humility, which [p. 102] you endure for his sake. For it is his voice that says, “Where I am, there shall my servant be also” (John 12:26). If then that Lord and God of ours is on the right hand of glory of his own Father, it is clear that all those who have suffered for his sake will find repose there where he is, enjoying his pure and eternal blessings through the grace of the consubstantial and blessed Trinity, to which is due all glory, honor, and reverence forever, Amen.

156. But inasmuch as the *hypertimos* metropolitan of Ephesos was a special friend of my parents, and was also my spiritual father, as my sponsor at the holy baptismal font, and gave our convent 400 *nomismata*, a commemoration should also be celebrated for him as best you can, as my mother celebrated it while she was still alive. Also celebrate the commemoration of the metropolitan of Mytilene on the anniversary of his death, as best you can. For he donated to the convent a solid gold icon, decorated with precious stones and pearls, of my exceedingly holy and invincible Mother of God, and [liturgical] stoles and cuffs, also with pearls. For this reason nothing should interfere with the celebration of his commemoration. For while my holy lady and mother was still alive, she was eager that his commemoration be celebrated.

[Commemorations for lord John Theophilos and his wife lady Maria Asanina]

157. When the late lord John Theophilos⁷⁸ died, for the sake of his own spiritual commemoration and for that of his wife lady Maria Asanina, he left 300 *hyperpyra* so that an estate might be purchased and added to the venerable convent of my surpassingly holy Mistress, the Mother of God, that of the *protovestiaría*, and so that they might perform two commemorations on the anniversaries of their deaths. When our mighty and holy lady and empress⁷⁹ received this [money] at the request of Theophilos, as the guardian and heir of his property, she first gave 100 *nomismata* to the monastery, and in exchange for them the garden at Blanga was handed over and registered in the name of Theophilos. But then the nuns asked for the remaining 200 *nomismata* because of the necessity and distress they were suffering from the siege of the infidel [Turks]⁸⁰ which has reduced Constantinople to great poverty. Now, [p. 103] as a result of the general request and petition of the nuns to our lady and holy empress, the remaining 200 [*nomismata*] were handed over to the convent with the agreement and promise to celebrate their commemorations on the anniversaries of their deaths, that is, for Asanina on November 24, and Theophilos on December 9. The nuns were to have at vespers four trays⁸¹ of *kollyba*, four candelabra, two priests from the convent, a distribution of wax tapers to all the nuns of the convent, and, if the circumstances permit, a distribution of bread⁸² and wine. On the next day, they should have food to be distributed to the nuns and the usual liturgy by two priests. In making this agreement, they promised to do this continually, as long as the convent stands, with the aid of God, [with the proceeds] from the revenue on the aforementioned garden and from the annual income of the convent. Thus the 300 *hyperpyra* were entrusted to the nuns, the first part in exchange for the garden as has been explained, and now the second part through my hands, by divine decree of our mighty and holy lady and empress. For future security and the explanation of these events, they were recorded by my hand, the great sacristan of the most holy Great Church of God [Hagia Sophia], the deacon Demetrios Balsamon, on the 11th day of the month of February, fifth indiction of the year 6905 [= 1397 A.D.].

[Commemorations for lady Xene Philanthropene and her daughter lady Eugenia Kantakouzene]

158. Good and holy were the words of the divine David, prophet and king: “Lord, I love the habitation of thy house, and the place where thy glory dwells” (Ps. 25 [26]:8). For those who, like him, have a God-loving soul display continual concern for the care of all things divine and the maintenance of holy monasteries. As a result of that most prophetic text, good zeal enters into

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those who possess a noble spirit, and through worthy concern for the divine they obtain that blessed [p. 104] and everlasting life. Our holy lady Xene Philanthropene,⁸³ most honorable among nuns, constantly desired [this everlasting life], and therefore she restored at her own expense our venerable convent, which was threatening to collapse in several places. She arranged for its restoration in the year 6900, the fifteenth indiction [= 1392 A.D.]. When she died, her daughter, the most honorable among nuns and our holy lady, Eugenia Kantakouzene,⁸⁴ completely cleared the courtyard of her sister, the late lady Anna Kantakouzene, at her own cost and expense, and turned it into a wheat-field, whose value was set at 300 *hyperpyra* by the man who sought to purchase it. She gave it to our convent so that in exchange her holy mother might have the customary annual commemoration, which all the founders have, on the anniversary of her death, that is, on February 13 of the second indiction [= 1394 A.D.]. She also made a donation of gold in the year 6906 of the sixth indiction [= 1398 A.D.]. Furthermore, in the month of September of the ninth indiction [= 1400 A.D.] she sold the house of Marachas for 70 *hyperpyra*, which she requested and received from our mighty and holy lord and emperor Lord Manuel [II] Palaiologos, and with this money and another 130 *hyperpyra*, which makes all together 200 *hyperpyra*, she paid for the restoration and repair of the holy church and bell tower, which were in danger of collapsing. These *hyperpyra* were spent on tiles, nails, plaster, skilled labor and other appropriate expenses. Wherefore we who at present live in this convent and our successors ought to pray that their commemoration be continued in perpetuity, and that they may attain the right hand of Christ the Savior with all the saints and righteous people who have pleased God through the ages, Amen.

[Patronage of lady Eugenia Kantakouzene Philanthropene]

159. The aforementioned most honorable nun, our celebrated foundress, lady Eugenia Kantakouzene Philanthropene, [p. 105] as a true [great] granddaughter and heir of her celebrated forebears, our founders, generously demonstrated the same zeal and enthusiasm and concern for this holy and venerable convent of ours until her dying breath. For she was tonsured at a youthful age, and spent all her fortune on this holy convent. It was her dying wish to bequeath 100 *hyperpyra* so that the garden of the holy great martyr George might be planted and restored as a vineyard, and joined with the large vineyard of our convent for the sake of her spiritual salvation. Thus our convent and the nuns who dwell in it from now on and in the future ought to celebrate a commemoration annually for the sake of her soul on the anniversary of her departure to God, which is February 11 of the year 6910 [= 1402 A.D.]. For this is the day of her death, when we should customarily celebrate a commemoration, just as for our other celebrated founders, her forebears, since she displayed the same zeal and ardor and concern for her ancestral convent, in her longing to attain the heavenly bridal chamber and in her desire for the kingdom of Christ our God. May she be granted these [wishes] through the intercessions of our all-holy, immaculate, and exceedingly praised Lady, the Mother of God *Bebaia Elpis*, and all the saints, Amen.

Written in the month of March, tenth indiction, of the year 6910 [= 1402 A.D.].

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of our translator, Alice-Mary Talbot, is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document. She has offered a number of amended readings of the text (ed.) based on an independent examination of the manuscript (ms.)

1. John Chrysostom, *Liturgia*, ed. F. E. Brightman (London, 1896), p. 369, lines 27–29; p. 384, lines 27–28.
2. Cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *Orationes* 28.13 and 21.1, *PG* 36, col. 44A; *PG* 35, col. 1084B.
3. Constantine Komnenos Palaiologos Doukas Angelos; see also [113], [116] below. He is illustrated in the ms. of the *typikon*, fol. 1r.
4. Michael VIII Palaiologos.
5. Irene Branaina Komnene Laskarina Kantakouzene Palaiologina; see also [113], [116] below, and Donald Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100–1460* (Washington, D.C., 1968), no. 11, pp. 10–11. She is illustrated in the ms. of the *typikon*, fol. 1r.
6. John Angelos Doukas Synadenos, Hannick and Schmalzbauer, “Die Synadenoi,” no. 22; see also [116] below. He is illustrated in the ms. of the *typikon*, fols. 2r and 7r; see Cutler and Magdalino, “Precisions,” p. 185, fig. 1 and (as the monk Joachim) 186, fig. 6.
7. Read *houtos, hos kai ho pater ho emos*; ed. omits *houtos, hos kai*.
8. Read *me’ akribeias eidotes ho ti polles . . .*
9. Euphrosyne Palaiologina, author of the second *typikon*; see [118], [146] below. She is illustrated in the ms. of the *typikon*, fols. 7r, 11r, and 12; see Cutler and Magdalino, “Precisions,” p. 186, fig. 6 and 187, fig. 7.
10. Theodore Doukas Synadenos the *protostrator* and John Palaiologos Synadenos the great constable, Hannick and Schmalzbauer, “Die Synadenoi,” nos. 24 and 23; see also [19], [119], and [121] below. Theodore is illustrated in the ms. of the *typikon*, fol. 8r; see Cutler and Magdalino, “Precisions,” p. 182, and 185, fig. 2. John is illustrated in fol. 3r; see Cutler and Magdalino, “Precisions,” p. 185, fig. 4.
11. Ed. omits *hos echthros kai*.
12. Lit: “any of those who live according to the flesh or those who live according to the spirit . . .”
13. See (22) *Evergetis* [13] and related documents.
14. Cf. Ammonius, *In Porphyrii Isagogen*, ed. A. Busse, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, vol. 4, pt. 3 (Berlin, 1891), p. 6, line 27.
15. Read *heauten* for ed. *auten*.
16. John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Psalmos* 5.1, *PG* 55, col. 63.15.
17. Cf. Basil, *Ep.* 2.3, *PG* 32, cols. 228B, 229A.
18. Cf. (37) *Auxentios* [3].
19. Galen, *Ars medica*, ed. C. G. Kuhn, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1821–33), p. 381.
20. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi* 4, *PG* 88, col. 720D.
21. Cf. John Chrysostom, *Hom.* 30.2 in *II Cor.* (*PG* 61, col. 607).
22. Read *ousai* for ed. *ousan*.
23. Cf. the language of (22) *Evergetis* [37] and related documents.
24. *enkanonos*: not in the dictionaries.
25. Cf. the language of (39) *Lips* [28].
26. Ms. *taxai* for ed. *taxan*.
27. Cf. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi* 4, *PG* 88, col. 713D.
28. *heautas*; ed. omits.
29. Ms. *houto* for ed. *houtoi*.
30. E. Leutsch and F. Schneidewin, *Corpus paroemiographorum graecorum*, vol. 1 (Göttingen, 1839–51; repr. Hildesheim, 1958), p. 359, line 21.
31. The liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 1–508.

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32. Cf. Numbers 20:17 and Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones asceticae* 4.2, PG 31, col. 1349B.
33. Cf. the language of (56) *Kellibara II* [3].
34. *kellio*; ed. omits.
35. Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Corpus paroemiographorum graecorum*, vol. 1, p. 320.
36. Cf. the similar language employed in (22) *Evergetis* [9], ed. lines 355–57.
37. Ms. *argia esti kakon* for ed. *ergasia esti*.
38. Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae brevius tractatae* 142 ([SR 142]), PG 31, col. 1177B.
39. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 40.7, PG 36, col. 365B.
40. John Klimakos, *Scala paradisi* 4, PG 88, col. 681B.
41. John Klimakos, *Scala paradisi* 4, PG 88, col. 705C.
42. Read *hemeis* for ed. *hekeis*.
43. Ms. *polytelestera* for ed. *polyelestera*.
44. Identified below in [116]; see also [6], [7] above.
45. Lacuna in ms.; *soterias* “salvation” has been supplied by the translator.
46. The founder’s husband; see also [9] above.
47. See also [6], [7], and [113] above.
48. *manoualia*.
49. See also [8], [9] above and [146] below.
50. See also [8] above and [121] below.
51. Ms. *touto hos ephen to hemisy to de heteron hemisy*; ed. omits *hemisy to de heteron*.
52. Ms. *apokopenta* for ed. *apokopentas*.
53. This and subsequent figures are left blank in the ms.
54. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 286–89.
55. *adelphata*; for which see E. Herman, “Die Regelung der Armut in den byzantinischen Klöstern,” *OCP* 7 (1941), 406–60, and P. Magdalino, “Adelphaton,” *ODB*, p. 19.
56. Thomais Komnene Doukaina Laskarina Kantakouzene Palaiologina, wife of John Palaiologos Synadenos; see [135] below.
57. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 293, and [145] below.
58. Cf. the language of (55) *Athanasios I* [9].
59. Basil of Caesarea, *Sermo asceticus* I, PG 31, col. 888BC.
60. Ms. *didaskalon* for ed. *didaskalou*.
61. Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Corpus paroemiographorum graecorum*, vol. 1, p. 14, line 40.
62. See also [122] above.
63. Hannick and Schmalzbauer, “Die Synadenoi,” no. 28.
64. *manoualia*.
65. For this individual, see Cutler and Magdalino, “Precisions,” p. 181.
66. *phengion* (lit. “halo”) *margaritaria*. On *syrmatinon* (embroidered with gold thread), see Koukoules, *Laographika*, vol. 1, p. 437.
67. Ms. *tapho* for ms. *tao*.
68. Translation continued here from Baur, “Typikon,” pp. 635–36, which fills the lacuna indicated in the Delehayé edition, p. 94.
69. The so-called *psychosabbata* (Saturdays of All Souls).
70. *prosporai*.
71. Read *auton* for *autes*.
72. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 358–59.
73. For this foundation, see V. Laurent, “Une fondation monastique de Nicéphore Choumnos, *He en KP mone Theotokou tes Gorgoepekoou*,” *REB* 12 (1954), 32–44.
74. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 14–15.
75. Cf. Athanasios, *Vita S. Antonii* 77, PG 26, col. 952A.
76. Lacuna of at least one folio.

77. Lacuna of at least one folio.
78. There is no entry in Trapp, *PLP*, for John Theophilos. His wife, Maria Asanina, known only from this *typikon*, is listed as the “wife of John.” See *PLP*, no. 1532.
79. Empress Helena, daughter of the Serbian prince of Serres Constantine Dragaš and wife of Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425).
80. Siege of 1394–1402 by Bayazid. For the beginning and duration of this siege of Constantinople, see J. W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969), Appendix X, pp. 479–81.
81. *chottea*; not in the dictionaries. This term may also denote a kind of basket. (28) *Pantokrator* [8] refers to “baskets (*kaniskia*) of *kollyba*.”
82. *koulikion*; the reference may be to unleavened bread (cf. Lampe, *PGL*, s.v. *koulikion*) or, as is more likely, to bread rolls in the shape of a ring like modern Greek *koulouria*. See Koukoules, *BBP*, vol. 5, p. 24.
83. Xene was most probably the monastic name of Anna Kantakouzene Philanthropene, a granddaughter of Theodora Synadene, the foundress of the convent. See D. M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100–1460* (Washington, D.C., 1968), nos. 40 and 56.
84. Eugenia was Xene’s daughter and therefore a great granddaughter of the original foundress. See Nicol, *Kantakouzenos*, no. 55.

Document Notes

1. First *Typikon* of Theodora Synadene

Introduction. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene*, Prologue.

The first thirteen chapters discuss the founder’s personal history, the background to the foundation, and the purpose of the *typikon*. Summary titles are listed here to facilitate reference.

- [1] Building religious foundations is the best way to show love for God.
 [2] Such activity fulfills God’s greatest commandments.
 [3] Scriptural and patristic support.
 [4] Foundation history.
 [5] Foundation is an offering of thanksgiving.
 [6] Praise of the founder’s father and [7] mother.
 [8] Founder’s autobiography.
 [9] Dedication of the founder’s daughter.
 [10] Recruitment of other nuns.
 [11] Dedication to the Mother of God.
 [12] Reason for the present *typikon*.
 [13] The Mother of God to be the guardian of the *typikon*.

I. Independence of the foundation. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [1] and (39) *Lips* [1], [2].

- [14] Declaration of freedom and autonomy. For other assertions of institutional independence in Palaiologan times, see (37) *Auxentios* [2], (38) *Kellibara I* [15], (39) *Lips* [1], (40) *Anargyroi* [3], (58) *Menoikeion* [3], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C18].
- [15] Subordination or concession not allowed. See also similar provisions in (38) *Kellibara I* [15], (39) *Lips* [1], and (40) *Anargyroi* [3].
- [16] Restriction of patriarchal rights. See also [26] below; for the treatment of these rights elsewhere in Palaiologan times, see (38) *Kellibara I* [15], (39) *Lips* [1], (50) *Gerasimos* [4], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C12].
- [17] Curses on violators. See also [123] below; for the use of such curses in other Palaiologan documents, see (37) *Auxentios* [2]; (49) *Geromeri* [16]; (50) *Gerasimos* [5]; (51) *Koutloumoussi* [A15], [B20]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [24]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [B22].

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II. Guardianship of the convent. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [3] and (39) *Lips* [3].

[18] Frail nature of women requires a male protectorate. (39) *Lips* [3] entrusts the protectorate of its convent to the emperor.

[19] Appointment of the first ephor; qualifications for office. See also (27) *Kecharitomene* [3], (32) *Mamas* [3], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [3], (34) *Machairas* [147], (37) *Auxentios* [16], (38) *Kellibara I* [16], (39) *Lips* [3], (45) *Neophytos* [7], (50) *Gerasimos* [4], and (58) *Menoikeion* [21].

[20] Duties of the ephor. See other treatments in (27) *Kecharitomene* [3], (32) *Mamas* [3], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [3], (34) *Machairas* [147], (37) *Auxentios* [16], (38) *Kellibara I* [16], (39) *Lips* [3], (45) *Neophytos* [7], and (58) *Menoikeion* [21].

III. Number of nuns; qualifications for the office of superior and election procedures. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [5], [11], and (39) *Lips* [4], [5].

[21] Purpose of this chapter. Anticipates [22] and [23] below.

[22] Problems of having too many or too few nuns. See also the viewpoints discussed in (22) *Evergetis* [23] and (45) *Neophytos* [9], [C16].

[23] Number of nuns fixed at 30; provision for appointment of officials. See [146] below for the subsequent increase in the number of nuns. For detailed provisions for the steward and the storekeeper, see [54], [55] and [68] below.

[24] Qualifications for the office of superior. See also [26] below.

[25] The new superior to be selected internally. (39) *Lips* [5] also envisions internal selection, while (27) *Kecharitomene* [11] permits the election of outside candidates.

[26] Election procedures; qualifications for office; patriarchal investiture with the pastoral staff. See also provisions for elections in other convents in (27) *Kecharitomene* [11], (39) *Lips* [5], (40) *Anargyroi* [5], and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [18]. For qualifications, see also [24] above. For patriarchal installation elsewhere, see (30) *Phoberos* [33], (32) *Mamas* [1], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1].

IV. Admonitory discourse to the superior.

These ten chapters constitute another self-contained discourse; summary titles are listed here to facilitate reference.

[27] Exhortation to emulate a manly temperament.

[28] Superior to fight against demons.

[29] Required personal qualities.

[30] Endorsement of the value of studying female hagiography.

[31] A dignified way of life is the perfect archetype.

[32] Authority for correction of nuns' faults.

[33] Need for dispassionate correction.

[34] Contrast of exterior and interior deportment.

[35] Need to honor the useful but show love for all.

[36] Reason for foreshortening the discourse.

V. Hortatory address to the nuns on obedience.

These eleven chapters constitute another self-contained discourse; summary titles are listed here to facilitate reference.

[37] Unhesitating obedience to the superior.

[38] Nature of the obedience required.

[39] Benefits of obedience.

[40] Scriptural and patristic justification.

[41] Obedience an atonement for the sin of the foremother Eve.

[42] No pietistic observances without the superior's permission.

[43] Obedience requires divorce from all worldly desires.

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[44] Nothing the superior orders can be challenged.

[45] Appropriate behavior of nuns towards one another.

[46] No contentiousness, private property or private friendships. [47] Convent to be a model of life in the hereafter.

VI. The ecclesiarchissa. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [20] and (39) *Lips* [24].

[48] Community analogous to the head and body parts. For the notion of the monastery as a mystical body, see the Pseudo-Basilian *Constitutiones asceticae*, PG 31, cols. 1381B, 1396B, 1417BD, and 1421A.

[49] Rank of the ecclesiarchissa and the steward. In (39) *Lips* [24], cf. [21] the ecclesiarchissa ranks below the sacristan.

[50] Personal and professional qualifications. See also the guidelines for performance of services in (54) *Neilos Damilas* [12].

[51] Responsibilities as choir director; [52] for decoration of the church; [53] other duties. See also (27) *Kecharitomene* [20], (32) *Mamas* [8], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [8], (34) *Machairas* [93], (39) *Lips* [24], and (58) *Menoikeion* [4].

VII. The steward. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [14] and (39) *Lips* [25].

[54] Selection and qualifications. The appointment is foreseen in [23] above. See also other provisions for this official in convents in (27) *Kecharitomene* [14], (39) *Lips* [25], (40) *Anargyroi* [5], and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [18].

[55] Responsibilities. See cross-references in [54] above.

VIII. Choir sisters and their responsibilities.

For the division of monastic communities into choir and household monks, see also (35) *Skoteine* [14], (37) *Auxentios* [6], (38) *Kellibara I* [17], (39) *Lips* [4], (40) *Anargyroi* [6], and (45) *Neophytos* [9]. For their duties elsewhere, see (39) *Lips* [28] and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [10] ff. Summary titles of the following four chapters are listed to facilitate reference.

[56] Performance of church services their sole duty.

[57] Scriptural exhortations.

[58] Evil consequences of distraction.

[59] Offices must be performed conscientiously to be efficacious.

IX. Duties of the household nuns.

For related discussions in other documents, see (22) *Evergetis* [33] and related documents; (32) *Mamas* [21], [35]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [21], [34]; (34) *Machairas* [49]; (39) *Lips* [27]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [17]. Summary titles of the following five chapters are listed to facilitate reference.

[60] Should season their work with prayers.

[61] Should attend offices whenever they have free time.

[62] Appropriate deportment at services; no handiwork allowed.

[63] Justification for the prohibition on handiwork.

[64] Conditions for sharing in blessings of the choir sisters.

X. Punishment of negligent nuns.

[65] Faults that must be corrected and their appropriate punishments. See also [32], [33] above.

[66] Appropriate activities in the cells; no idle conversations or private handicrafts. For the ban on private handicrafts, see also (47) *Philanthropos* [2], but cf. (54) *Neilos Damilas* [7].

[67] Qualifications and duties of the disciplinary official. See also the provisions for this official in (27) *Kecharitomene* [26].

XI. Keeper and supervisor of the storeroom.

[68] Qualifications and duties. The appointment is foreseen in [23] above; see also the provisions for similar officials in (27) *Kecharitomene* [28].

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XII. The cellarer, refectorian, and other kitchen assistants.

- [69] Qualifications and duties of the cellarer and refectorian. For the cellarer, see the provisions for the wine stewardess and the provisioner in (27) *Kecharitomene* [22], [23]; (32) *Mamas* [11], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [11], and (34) *Machairas* [96] also discuss the provisioner. For the refectorian, see also (27) *Kecharitomene* [25].
- [70] Other kitchen assistants. For bakers and cooks in other documents, see (23) *Pakourianos* [6]; (28) *Pantokrator* [19], [43], [52]; (32) *Mamas* [11], [48] (signature); (38) *Kellibara I* [17]; (39) *Lips* [51]; (56) *Kellibara II* [2]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [6].
- [71] Kitchen staff to behave as if serving Christ himself.

XIII. The gatekeeper. Equivalent to (27) *Kecharitomene* [17], [29].

- [72] Qualifications and duties; procedures for access to the convent. See also (27) *Kecharitomene* [17], [29]; (32) *Mamas* [12]; (33) *Heliou Bomon* [12]; (34) *Machairas* [116]; (39) *Lips* [9], [15], [16]; (40) *Anargyroi* [5]; (52) *Choumnos* [A14]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [16]; (58) *Menoikeion* [7]; and (59) *Manuel II* [5].

XIV. Election of the aforementioned officials.

- [73] Use of a common election and vote to choose officials. A unique provision; for the selection of officials in other convents, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [25] and (39) *Lips* [10], [21].
- [74] Procedures for elections. Cf. the procedures for electing the superior in [26] above.

XV. Visitation privileges.

- [75] Nuns can pray for relatives but not become emotionally involved. See also (54) *Neilos Damilas* [7].
- [76] Procedure for visits to the convent. See also provisions for other convents in (27) *Kecharitomene* [17], [29], [80]; (39) *Lips* [16]; and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [16].
- [77] Visitation of relatives at home. See also provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [17] and (39) *Lips* [15].

XVI. Observance of the liturgical *typikon* of Jerusalem.

- [78] Endorsement of the Jerusalem *typikon*. For other endorsements of this document in Palaiologan times, see (37) *Auxentios* [8], [10]; (39) *Lips* [29], [30], [31], [32], [33]; (56) *Kellibara II* [1]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [4], [16].
- [79] Authoritative for liturgical services; a priest will celebrate the liturgy four times a week; his qualifications and duties. For frequency of the liturgy in other Palaiologan institutions, see (39) *Lips* [30], (40) *Anargyroi* [5], (54) *Neilos Damilas* [9], (58) *Menoikeion* [16], and (60) *Charsianeites* [A11]. For the employment of priests in other convents, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [15], (39) *Lips* [6], (40) *Anargyroi* [5], and (554) *Neilos Damilas* [9], [14].
- [80] Authoritative for the dietary regime. So also (37) *Auxentios* [10]; (39) *Lips* [29], [32], [33]; (56) *Kellibara II* [1]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [16].
- [81] Governs consumption of olive oil and wine, performance of genuflections. So also (39) *Lips* [32] and (58) *Menoikeion* [16].
- [82] Governs diet during fasts. So also, implicitly, (39) *Lips* [29].

XVII. Common diet.

- [83] Same food and drink for all; equal portions, same quality; one time and place for communal meals. See also (22) *Evergetis* [26] and related documents, especially (27) *Kecharitomene* [56], (37) *Auxentios* [7], (52) *Choumnos* [B20], (53) *Meteora* [3], (55) *Athanasios I* [4], (58) *Menoikeion* [106], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C3].
- [84] No secret eating or drinking in cells; procedures for sharing gifts of food from relatives. See also (22) *Evergetis* [9], [22] and related documents, (27) *Kecharitomene* [49], (39) *Lips* [29], (52) *Choumnos* [B20], (56) *Kellibara II* [3], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C3].
- [85] Mealtime scriptural reading; the superior only may speak. See also (22) *Evergetis* [9] and related documents, especially (27) *Kecharitomene* [40], (39) *Lips* [29], (58) *Menoikeion* [8], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C10].

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- [86] Nuns not to observe what others eat and how; overeating to be avoided. See also (56) *Kellibara II* [4].
- [87] Eating not to be pleasurable, only a means of survival. See also the argument in [102] below for the purpose of clothing.
- [88] Frequency of purchases of food outside the convent. For a food purchaser in another convent, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [21]; cf. (37) *Auxentios* [7].
- [89] Daily distribution of leftovers at the gate. See also similar provisions in (28) *Pantokrator* [11], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [6], (32) *Mamas* [13], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [13], and (58) *Menoikeion* [7].

XVIII. Care for sick nuns.

- [90] Doctor should be summoned and his recommendations followed. See also provisions for other convents in (27) *Kecharitomene* [57] and (39) *Lips* [35].
- [91] Costs of treatment to be borne by the convent. So also, by implication, (39) *Lips* [33], but cf. (60) *Charsianeites* [B13].
- [92] Nuns not to begrudge special treatment accorded the sick. See related discussions in (32) *Mamas* [33] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [34].
- [93] Similar concessions to noble women. See also the provisions in (27) *Kecharitomene* [4] and (39) *Lips* [40], [41].
- [94] Servants permitted to noble women. So also (27) *Kecharitomene* [4] and (39) *Lips* [40], [41].

XIX. Handicrafts.

- [95] Justification of manual labor. See also the argumentation of (45) *Neophytos* [C6] and (52) *Choumnos* [B18].
- [96] Procedures for work; no production for private use. For the former, see also (37) *Auxentios* [6], [7] and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [10]; for the latter, see also (34) *Machairas* [120], (45) *Neophytos* [C13], and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [7], cf. [6] and (53) *Meteora* [4].
- [97] Nuns will be supplied with garments they make for themselves. For the manufacture of clothing, see (54) *Neilos Damilas* [8]; for the communal supply of clothing in other convents, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [28], cf. [56] and (39) *Lips* [36].
- [98] Items of clothing distributed annually. See also similar provisions for other Palaiologan monasteries in (37) *Auxentios* [7], (39) *Lips* [36], and (56) *Kellibara II* [8].
- [99] Items of clothing distributed every three years. See also similar provisions for other Palaiologan monasteries in (37) *Auxentios* [7], (39) *Lips* [36], and (56) *Kellibara II* [8].
- [100] Nitre for washing clothes. See also (28) *Pantokrator* [52] which provides a weekly allowance to laundresses to pay for soap to wash the clothes of hospital patients.
- [101] Linseed oil for lamps; bathing allowed four times a year. For another allotment of linseed oil, see (28) *Pantokrator* [50]. For bathing in other Palaiologan monasteries, see (39) *Lips* [34], (56) *Kellibara II* [5], and (58) *Menoikeion* [15]; for bathing the sick, see [90] above.
- [102] Purpose of clothing. See also the argument in [87] above for the purpose of eating.
- [103] Nuns to imitate John the Baptist and the holy women of old.
- [104] Clothes to be inexpensive but dignified.

XX. Obligatory daily confession.

- For related discussions in other documents, see (22) *Evergetis* [7], [15] and related documents, (27) *Kecharitomene* [16], (39) *Lips* [11], (52) *Choumnos* [B10], (54) *Neilos Damilas* [9], (58) *Menoikeion* [13], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C6]. Summary titles of the following seven chapters are listed to facilitate reference.
- [105] Importance of confession.
- [106] Confession a powerful, salvific drug.
- [107] Scriptural and patristic testimony to its importance.
- [108] Shame as an impediment to confession.
- [109] Frequent confession better than facing the Last Judgment.

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- [110] Impossibility of salvation without confession.
- [111] Importance of choosing a skilled spiritual father.

XXI. Feast Day of the Mother of God.

- [112] Prescriptions for services, church decoration, the feast, and the charitable distribution at the gate. See also other provisions for this feast in (22) *Evergetis* [11]; (23) *Pakourianos* [11]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [59]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [10], [29], [65]; (34) *Machairas* [29]; and (39) *Lips* [38].

XXII. Commemorations for the founder, her parents, and family.

For similar provisions in other Palaiologan documents, see (37) *Auxentios* [13], (39) *Lips* [30], (46) *Akropolites* [6], (48) *Prodrornos* [9], and (58) *Menoikeion* [16]. Summary titles of the following seven chapters are listed to facilitate reference.

- [113] Commemoration of the founder's parents.
- [114] Prescriptions for the liturgy and feast.
- [115] Charitable distribution at the gate.
- [116] Commemoration of the founder's husband.
- [117] Founder's commemoration.
- [118] No commemoration of the founder's daughter.
- [119] Commemoration of the founder's sons.

XXIII. Inventory of consecrated properties.

- [120] Monthly reading of the *typikon*. For similar provisions, see also (22) *Evergetis* [43], (37) *Auxentios* [13], (39) *Lips* [8], (55) *Athanasios I* [8], (58) *Menoikeion* [9], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C10].
- [121] Principal endowed properties; [122] Properties endowed by others. For the distinction, see also (28) *Pantokrator* [65] and (39) *Lips* [48].
- [123] Donation of two vineyards; curses on transgressors. For a separate donation of a vineyard, see also (49) *Geromeri* [13]. For similar curses, see [17] above, with cross-references.
- [124] Identification and use of reserved properties; founder's daughter is the convent's heir. For non-consecrated properties in other documents, see (19) *Attaleiates* [17] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [79]. For the forthright identification of a founder's child as a monastery's heir, see also (19) *Attaleiates* [10].

XXIV. Hortatory epilogue.

These nine chapters constitute another self-contained discourse; summary titles are listed here to facilitate reference.

- [125] Need for enthusiastic acceptance of the *typikon*.
- [126] Nuns must be obedient even when the superior bids a relaxation in discipline.
- [127] Obedience and humility are the moral base of the foundation. Cf. (54) *Neilos Damilas* [3].
- [128] Nuns to demonstrate that the founder has not "sown the seeds of exhortation in barren earth."
- [129] Superior to teach and transmit the principles of the *typikon*. Cf. (55) *Athanasios I* [8].
- [130] Superior's preservation of the *typikon* demonstrates true leadership.
- [131] Even wild beasts will obey the superior out of respect for her virtue.
- [132] Second endorsement of the value of hagiography. Cf. [30] above.
- [133] Rewards for precise observance of the *typikon*.

Appendix: Additional commemorations for the founder's relatives.

For similar provisions in other Palaiologan documents, see cross-references in XXII above. Summary titles of the following eleven chapters are listed to facilitate reference.

- [134] Commemoration of the founder's parents, daughter, and sons.
- [135] Commemoration of the founder's daughter-in-law Thomais Komnene Doukaina Laskarina Kantakouzene.
- [136] Commemoration of the founder's granddaughter Theodora Komnene Doukanina Raoulaina.
- [137] Commemoration of the founder's brother Michael Komnenos Branias.

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- [138] Commemoration of the founder's brother Andronikos Komnenos Branias Doukas Angelos.
- [139] Commemoration of the founder's sister Maria Komnene Branaina Laskarina Doukaina Tornikina.
- [140] Commemoration of the founder's sister's husband Isaac Komnenos Doukas Tornikes.
- [141] Commemoration of the founder's nephew Andronikos Komnenos Doukas Tornikes.
- [142] Commemoration of the founder's nephew John Komnenos Doukas Angelos Branias.
- [143] Commemoration of Theodore Doukas Mouzakios, father-in-law of the founder's son; her daughter's donation for repair of cells.
- [144] Permission to decrease expenses; bread offerings on Meatfare and Pentecost Saturdays. See also [151] and [154] below.

Boundaries of the convent.

- [145] Description of neighboring institutions and landmarks. See similar property delineations in (27) *Kecharitomene*, Delineation of the convent.

2. Second *typikon* of Euphrosyne Palaeologina

Introduction.

- [146] Number of nuns increased to fifty. For the original number of nuns, see [23] above; for rationale, see [147] below.

I. Number of nuns not to exceed fifty.

- [147] Rationalization.

II. No education of lay children.

- [148] No education of lay children except for girls who want to be nuns. For a similar ban, see also (53) *Meteora* [6], but for education of future monks, see (23) *Pakourianos* [31], (34) *Machairas* [115], and (36) *Blenmydes* [9].

III. Commemorations for individual nuns.

- [149] Prescriptions.

IV. General commemorations for the nuns.

- [150] Prescriptions.

V. Offerings for deceased nuns.

- [151] Consecrated bread be offered for departed nuns on Saturdays of Meatfare and Pentecost. See also [144] above and [154] below.

VI. Faithful observance of these instructions.

- [152] Discussion of the obligation.

VII. Euphrosyne's own commemoration.

- [153] To be performed as she will order at time of her death.

VIII. Brief hortatory admonition.

- [154] Preservation of cenobitic life; performance of commemorations; general commemoration on Meatfare and Pentecost Saturdays. See also [149], [150], [151], and [153] above.

Commemorations for the bishops of Ephesos and Mytilene.

- [155] Scriptural quotation.

- [156] Donations made by the bishops.

Commemoration for lord John Theophilos and his wife Maria Asanina.

- [157] Discussion of contractual issues.

Commemoration for lady Xene Philanthropene and her daughter Eugenia Kantakouzene.

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[158] Benefactions of Xene Philanthropene; her commemoration.

Patronage of Eugenia Kantakouzene Philanthropene.

[159] Bequests of Eugenia Kantakouzene Philanthropene; her commemoration.

58. *Menoikeion: Typikon* of Joachim, Metropolitan of Zichna, for the Monastery of St. John the Forerunner on Mount Menoikeion near Serres

Date: 1332¹

Translator: Timothy Miller

Edition: André Guillou, *Les archives de saint-Jean-Prodrôme sur le mont Ménécée* (Paris, 1955), pp. 161–76, with text at 163–76.

Manuscript: Codex Atheniensis 2587 (late 18th c.)²

Other translations: None

Institutional History

*A. Foundation of the Monastery*³

The monastery of St. John the Baptist the Forerunner, located on Mount Menoikeion northeast of Serres in northeastern Greece, owes its foundation to Ioannikios, a former Athonite monk who settled [1] here circa 1275. The original foundation was likely quite modest. He was joined by his nephew Joachim, an orphan and author of the *typikon* translated below, whom Ioannikios introduced to monastic life. Circa 1287–88, Joachim was chosen bishop of Zichna, a fortified town southeast of the monastery. In 1290, his uncle Ioannikios was also honored with the episcopal see of Ezivai (Ezova), a village some distance to the south of Menoikeion, which prompted him to leave the monastery under the direction of Ioannikios Kaloudes. Upon the founder Ioannikios' death, circa 1300, his nephew Joachim inherited [1] the monastery.

*B. Joachim of Zichna's Patronage of the Monastery*⁴

Joachim of Zichna, though he apparently never himself served as superior of the monastery, was primarily responsible for making it an important institution. He built the still-existing *katholikon*⁵ and a refectory. He also continued a successful tradition, begun by his uncle, of obtaining imperial patronage for the monastery. In 1304, the monastery came under the protection of Simonis, daughter of Andronikos II and wife of Stefan Uroš II Milutin of Serbia.⁶ Though damaged by the depredations of the infamous Catalan Company in 1307–1308, the monastery survived and continued to prosper.

In 1324, Joachim issued his first *typikon* for Menoikeion. Confirmations issued subsequently by Andronikos II and Patriarch Isaias survive,⁷ but not the document itself. During the civil war between the old emperor Andronikos II and his grandson Andronikos III, Joachim was a supporter of the latter, so the monastery benefited when he secured the throne in 1328. In 1332, Joachim resigned his position as bishop of Zichna and retired to Menoikeion, where he drew up the second version of the monastery's *typikon* that is preserved and translated below. A ratification of this document by Andronikos III recognizes the monastery's independence from both ecclesiastical

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and civil authorities.⁸ At about this same time the monastery came under the patronage of the *mezas domestikos* and future emperor John Kantakouzenos. According to tradition, Joachim died in December 1333.

C. The Monastery under Serbian and Turkish Rule⁹

In the 1340s, the Serbian ruler Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (1331–55) took advantage of the civil war between John V Palaiologos (1341–91) and John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–54) to conquer nearly all of northern Greece, including the vicinity of Serres where Menoikeion was located. In 1345, he issued a chrysobull for the monastery that confirmed its possessions and awarded it new donations of landed property.¹⁰ The monastery fared less well once the Ottoman Turks became established in this area, losing much of its property. Firmans issued by sultans Murad I (1372) and Mehmet I (1413) exempted the monastery's surviving properties and the monks themselves from fiscal obligations. Gennadios II Scholarios, the first patriarch of Constantinople chosen after the fall of the city to the Turks, chose to retire to Menoikeion in 1465, and died there circa 1472.

The monastery was in a state of decline throughout the sixteenth century. An arrangement circa 1650 under which four prominent residents of Serres agreed to serve as the monastery's guardians did not suffice to prevent Menoikeion from being deprived of its last properties in the course of the eighteenth century. The monastery was abandoned in 1729, then repopulated by the end of the century by a group of idiorhythmic monks, whose new constitutional organization Patriarch Gerasimos recognized in 1795.

The early nineteenth century brought a partial revival of the monastery's fortunes, but also saw a devastating fire sweep the foundation in 1830. Its superior Damaskenos played a role in the Greek War for Independence. A succession of superiors in the late nineteenth century kept the monastery in existence through a gradual accumulation of additional properties for its endowment.

D. The Monastery in Modern Times

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the superior Christophoros composed a history of the foundation that is still important because he had access to some documents, including three imperial chrysobulls, the originals of which have since disappeared.¹¹ In 1955, Guillou published a painstaking reconstruction, based on nineteenth-century copies, of the two cartularies of the monastery. Cartulary A, called by Christophoros the "Founder's Codex," which was copied between 1345 and 1352, contained the text of the second *typikon* of 1332. Cartulary B, evidently begun in the fourteenth century, contained documents from 1356 down to 1819.¹² Both of these documents were among the manuscripts stolen in June 1917 in the course of the First World War and removed to Bulgaria. They have since disappeared without a trace. Yet the monastery itself has survived down to the present day, at which time it operates as a nunnery.

Analysis

This document, which is textually linked to the increasingly remote Evergetian monastic reform tradition, principally illustrates how most of the important elements of that tradition had been abandoned or altered beyond recognition over the course of nearly three centuries since the com-

position of (22) *Evergetis*. The foundation for which this document was written, though nominally “independent” [3], has clearly had this independence compromised by the imposition of a powerful lay protectorate that is explicitly declared [21] to be the equivalent of private ownership (*ktetoreia*).

A. Model Typikon

Of the document’s twenty-two chapters, only nine (Group A) have no obvious textual dependency on earlier documents in our collection.¹³ The remaining thirteen chapters (Group B) are clearly linked to earlier documents in the Evergetian tradition.¹⁴ Of these, two (Subgroup B.1) are shared only with (32) *Mamas*,¹⁵ one (Subgroup B.2) is shared with both (32) *Mamas* and (22) *Evergetis*,¹⁶ while four (Subgroup B.3) are shared with both (32) *Mamas* and (27) *Kecharitomene*,¹⁷ and six chapters (Subgroup B.4) are shared with (32) *Mamas*, (27) *Kecharitomene*, and (22) *Evergetis* itself.¹⁸ There is no evidence for direct borrowing from (22) *Evergetis* nor from either (27) *Kecharitomene* or even its presumed twin, the lost twelfth-century *typikon* of the *Philanthropos* monastery.

This document therefore is a genuine if also decidedly hard-to-recognize member of the Evergetian tradition, through the mediation of (32) *Mamas*, over 275 years after the foundation of *Evergetis* in the mid-eleventh century. As with earlier textually dependent documents in our collection, the borrowings are layered reflections of the contributions of various generations of participants in the monastic reform movement. The chapters of Subgroup B.1 reflect the Maman interests in bolstering the authoritativeness of the *typikon* and in allowing for outside confessors. The single chapter in Subgroup B.2 reflects the practice of manual labor outside the monastery that was for practical reasons not a part of (27) *Kecharitomene*. The chapters of Subgroup B.3 represent the administrative and anti-kelliotic contributions of the second generation of the monastic reform (for which see Chapter Six). The chapters of Subgroup B.4 represent the bedrock of the surviving Evergetian tradition preserved through nearly three centuries of revision and adaptation and incorporated into the present document.

Since (32) *Mamas* apparently served as the conduit for all of these materials, a discussion of the present document’s relationship to that text is in order. An understanding of the document’s structure and claim to originality is a necessary preliminary. Among the chapters of Group A, our author’s original stamp is indisputable in his foundation history [1], his explanation of the reasons for drawing up the *typikon* [2], and his defense of the monastery’s independence [3]. The Evergetian borrowings occur exclusively in the middle of the *typikon*, in the large section between [4] and [20], yet even in the textually dependent chapters there are substantial abridgements (cf. [16] and (32) *Mamas* [32]), extensive editorial interpolations (e.g., [20]), and supplements (e.g. [5]) of the texts of the corresponding chapters of (32) *Mamas*. One chapter [7] combines text from two separate Maman chapters. The reference in (32) *Mamas* [46] to the Evergetian liturgical *typikon*, which had been losing favor with founders as early as the 1160s (see (33) *Heliou Bomon* [8]), is deleted in [20]. There is an announced compositional break after [20], followed by more indisputably original (but badly organized) material in [21] and [22] which set up the protectorate, the foundation’s administrative board, and provide the author’s idiosyncratic disciplinary regulations. A chapter listed in the document’s table of contents has disappeared in the author’s consolidation of three of

the announced chapters ([21] through [23]) into two [21], [22]. The shift in tone to a more personal style here is as noticeable as and even more abrupt than those that accompany the transitions in (29) *Kosmosoteira*.

Aside from those chapters of Group A mentioned in the preceding discussion, there remain four that could represent additional independent work of our author. Of these, [12], [14], [15], along with a substantial portion of the Maman-dependent [16], may indeed be original to our author. However, the discussion [6] of the duties of the cellarer and refectorian is a thoroughly unoriginal, boilerplate chapter even though it is textually independent of its Maman counterpart, (32) *Mamas* [11], and cannot be traced to any other surviving document. This chapter is easier to explain as a derivation from a lost intermediary document composed sometime during the 174 years that lie between (32) *Mamas* and (58) *Menoikeion*. An Evergetian usage, the option of allowing a deposed official to remain in the monastery (cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14]) that is found in the concluding non-Maman portion of [5], is another part of the case for an intermediary other than (32) *Mamas*, as is the aforementioned combination of two Maman chapters in [7], an unusual editorial practice for an author working directly from one of our extant documents. Moreover, the extensive textual interpolations found in [20] are atypical; generally our authors lifted passages from their models in large sections into which they then introduced only the minimum number of necessary changes, showing a remarkable reverence for the wording of the models even if a contrary meaning was to be introduced (cf. (30) *Phoberos* [28]). Where this is not the case, as in (11) *Ath. Rule*'s adaption of the two versions of (4) *Studios*, a complex source tradition is documented or (as here) is to be suspected.

All things considered, it is not surprising that our author, like his thirteenth-century counterpart the author of (34) *Machairas*, utilized an exemplar of the Maman tradition for his model rather than (22) *Evergetis* itself, not only because documents descended from (32) *Mamas* were likely to be more ideologically congenial to him but also because (22) *Evergetis*, like its companion liturgical *typikon*, may well have fallen out of circulation after the twelfth century. Since it is unlikely that our author is copying directly from (32) *Mamas*, however, it cannot be determined with certainty whether the subsequent divergences from that text are his work or that of some earlier unidentifiable intermediary. In any event, these differences are consonant with the general trend away from the precepts of the Evergetian monastic reform with the partial exception here of the core teaching of the primacy of cenobiticism.

B. Relationship of the Document to the First Typikon of 1324

This document was evidently hastily re-edited from the text of the first *typikon* of 1324 prepared some eight years earlier. The present document's table of contents does not form a perfect match with the actual contents of our *typikon*. In the interval between the first and second *typika*, Andronikos III (1328–41) successfully concluded his revolt against his grandfather Andronikos II (1282–1328). Both rulers had bid for Menoikeion's support, and the present document, by referring to both emperors and later to only one, reflects [1] the changed political circumstances of this troubled era. Finally, there is an apparent transitional statement at the end of [20], which serves to introduce materials apparently not in the first *typikon*, including the identification of the protector John Kantakouzenos and a discussion of his role. Earlier, Menoikeion's patron, the Serbian queen

Simonis, may have fulfilled this role. Significantly, this is also the section of the document in which the table of contents fails to match the actual content.

C. *Lives of the Monks*

1. Number of Monks

There is no discussion of a limit on the number of monks at the foundation. Boys and youths under the age of twenty were not eligible [14] for admission even though the author indicates [1] that he was himself tonsured at an age when he was “able to grasp nothing of his [uncle’s] angelic way of life and conduct.” The author follows [11] the monastic reform tradition (see (32) *Mamas* [26]) in rejecting imposed guests (*katapemptoi*) as being incompatible with his foundation’s status as an independent monastery.

2. Liturgical Duties

Like most foundations in this era, this monastery adopts [16], cf. [4] the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas as its model for liturgical services. As in (32) *Mamas* [8], the ecclesiarch, with the support of an assistant ecclesiarch, was to be in charge of the services. In addition to the customary performance of the canonical hours, the holy liturgy was to be performed [16] four times a week (every non-fast day), with the Tuesday service being held in honor of the patron saint, the Thursday service for the monastery’s founders, the Saturday service for the departed, and the Sunday service for the emperors.

3. Manual Labor

The author mentions manual labor in two passages from this document’s Maman model, in one of which he urges [10] monks to welcome assignments to responsibilities outside the church (cf. (32) *Mamas* [23]) and in the other he provides [17] for the disciplining of monks guilty of using inappropriate language during their work (cf. (32) *Mamas* [35]). Elsewhere, vineyard workers, bakers and cooks are mentioned [12] in passing in connection with laborers to whom the superior might grant extra clothes.

4. Sacramental Life

In a passage that in effect adopts and abridges (32) *Mamas* [32], the author provides [16] for a restricted reception of the eucharist, once a week (on Sundays) for virtuous monks, but only three or four times a year or so for others, at the discretion of a communicant’s spiritual father. Thus he adopts the principle of adjusting frequency to the communicant’s moral probity first found in these documents in (22) *Evergetis* [5], and follows the long-term trend to restrict access to the sacrament (cf. (32) *Mamas* [32], which allows the “less virtuous” to receive once every month or two).

The monks were also to have their confessions heard [13] by spiritual fathers (not necessarily by the superior). This follows the more permissive attitude towards allowing the monks to select their own confessors found in (32) *Mamas* [29], one of the important divergences of that document from the original Evergetian tradition.

5. Cenobitic Life

The document’s relatively old ideological ancestry shows in the author’s prohibition [11] of kelliotic

monks, a provision derived ultimately from the twelfth-century reform tradition (cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [53] and (32) *Mamas* [26]). Even monks of exalted status, who otherwise enjoyed a privileged status in this monastery, were obliged to observe the cenobitic rule. On the other hand, the document is also like its somewhat less than rigorously cenobitic model in permitting [11] these monks to have servants (cf. (32) *Mamas* [26]) and in granting [12] all the monks annual cash allowances (*eulogia*), rejected earlier in (56) *Kellibara II* [9], perhaps for the purchase of items of clothing in addition to the shoes and boots that were provided to them directly (cf. (32) *Mamas* [28]).

6. Diet

Like some of his contemporaries (e.g., the authors of (39) *Lips* [29], [32] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis*) who generally recommended the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas as authoritative for the regulation of diet, our author here supplements [8] this recommendation with his own rules for “free (non-fast) days,” fast days, and the Lenten and other traditional fasts. He allows the superior discretion to make dietary ameliorations on dominical and other major feasts. Refectory procedures are an abridgement of the Evergetian prescriptions found in (32) *Mamas* [17].

7. Bathing

The monks were permitted [15] to bathe four times a year in facilities set aside for this purpose in the monastery itself. The frequency is considerably less than the monthly baths permitted in (32) *Mamas* [28], of which this chapter is textually independent, but identical to the frequency set for contemporary nuns in (39) *Lips* [34] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [101].

D. Constitutional Matters

1. Free and Independent Status

The monastery’s independence had been confirmed [3], [11] by a constitution (*prostagma*) of Emperor Andronikos III (1328–41). The traditional list of condemnations of possible violators of this independence appears [22] at the end of the *typikon*. The author was particularly concerned that someone might attempt to take control of the monastery by imperial decree, perhaps under the pretext of assisting the foundation financially.

Throughout the Palaiologan era, allegiance to the traditional Evergetian notion of institutional independence seems to weaken among the authors of the documents in our collection, and this *typikon* is no exception. The role of the foundation’s lay protector is equivalent [21] in authority and prestige to that of a traditional private founder. The requirement that the monks dispatch [22] their newly elected superior to the emperor to receive his staff of office, or else notify him and receive it (later) “by imperial order,” indicates that the foundation was also under some sort of imperial patronage (cf. (39) *Lips* [7]), though, unlike the arrangement in (37) *Auxentios* [3], the emperor plays no role here in the election itself. Then there is the claim [3], said to be acknowledged in imperial chrysobulls, that the monastery was “patriarchal.” This probably means that like (49) *Geromeri*, it held a patriarchal *stauropegion* which exempted it from the control of the local ecclesiastical hierarchy. As in (39) *Lips* [1], the declaration of institutional independence is here just part of an overall strategy designed to protect private property interests from interference

by the public authorities while not foreclosing the possibility of obtaining lucrative patronal benefits from these same officials.

2. Dependencies

Subordinated to the main monastery was [1] another monastery, also dedicated to St. John the Forerunner, that the author had restored in the city of Serres and united administratively to the principal foundation. The monks at the dependency were also to be governed by the rules of this *typikon*. There appears to have been another dependency, the monastery of Koulas, whose superintendent was responsible [22] for a charitable distribution of bread to the poor. At the conclusion of the present document, the author announces [22] his intention to establish a church of the Annunciation in the fortress of the main monastery. This was to be staffed by an old priest and an assistant and supported by specially-earmarked revenues.

3. The Protectorate

Like his contemporaries the authors of (39) *Lips* [3] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [18], our author did not consider the imposition of a protectorate on his foundation to be incompatible with its independent constitutional status. He designates [21] John Kantakouzenos as the monastery's protector (*ephoros*) for the foundation's "maintenance" and "improvement." These purposes recall the contemporary patriarchal program for the management of needy religious institutions, here duplicated in a private arrangement. The monks were to obey [21] Kantakouzenos as if he were the monastery's founder (*ktetor*) since, as the author declares, "He replaces me." The author anticipates that the protector will favor [21] the monastery with benefactions, assist [22] the superior and his most important officers in spiritual matters and with physical necessities, and oversee [21] "all aspects of monastic discipline and physical needs of daily regimen and victuals."

Unlike the relatively restricted protectors of the sort found in (32) *Mamas* [3] and some other twelfth-century monasteries in the reform tradition, our author here envisions a strong protector who enjoyed important rights in this monastery similar to those once held by patrons in traditional private religious foundations.

4. Role of the Superior

The author acknowledges [3] the right of the superior "together with the rest of the community" to govern the monastery, guided by the provisions of the *typikon*. He provides [22] for the election of the superior "by the whole community," although if the superior was to resign, his four chief officers were to choose a successor among themselves. A venerable Evergetian passage that has come down to our author through the effective mediation of (32) *Mamas* [45] provides [18] guidance for conducting the election of the superior in an "uncontentious" manner. The author does not adopt two references to the protector found in (32) *Mamas*, which suggests he did not envision a role for Menoikeion's own protector in the election. As noted above, the superior was to receive [22] his staff of office from the emperor himself.

5. Collaborative Government

The author asserts [22] "It is not in the natural order for the superior to do anything right unless he has other assistants under him." To institutionalize this position, he obliges the superior to govern

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in collaboration with “four brothers,” both for spiritual and temporal affairs. The brothers were to have the authority to “examine and judge” all the monastery’s officials. The author does not indicate if the incumbents of certain offices were ex-officio members of this group, but he does order that (joined by the superior) their number should be maintained at five, on the analogy of the “five senses,” evidently through co-option of replacement members drawn from the community at large.

6. Other Officers of the Monastery

The other officers of the monastery mentioned in the document include the ecclesiarch and the assistant ecclesiarch [4], the sacristan [5], the cellarer [6], the refectorian [6], the precentor [8], and the gatekeeper [7], but not a steward. The superior “with the common consent of those with him” (i.e., the “four brothers”) was to appoint [6] the cellarer, the refectorian, and likely the other officials as well (cf. [22]). Since the specific reference in (32) *Mamas* [17] to the steward substituting for the superior at meals is deleted in [8] in favor of a vague reference to “the man who exercises his authority,” there may not have been a steward in this foundation.

7. Authoritarian Rule

Although the superior was obliged to govern [22] collaboratively with the institution’s panel of “four brothers,” the author prescribes a stern, authoritarian style of rule for the superior when dealing with ordinary monks. He shows himself willing to resort [5], [18], [19] to expulsion to deal with recalcitrant monks, and he introduces [22] a series of supplementary disciplinary regulations designed to restrict unnecessary conversations and visitations of one another’s cells among the monks. On the other hand, the author follows an established trend to allow the superior discretionary authority to ameliorate certain dietary requirements [8] and to grant extra supplies of clothing [12] to those monks whose official duties required them.

8. Patronal Privileges

The incidental treatment of patronal privileges in this document reflects the diverse patronage of the foundation for which it was written. The author became the foundation’s owner by virtue of his relationship to his uncle, who bequeathed [1], [21] it to him as “a kind of inheritance.” As the monastery’s founders, both of these family members were entitled [16] the prayers offered on Thursday liturgies. The emperor, thanks no doubt to previous patronal generosity (cf. [1], [2], [21]), was the beneficiary of prayers for his long life, salvation, and success in war [1], [16] and (as mentioned above) the right to grant [22] a new superior his staff of office. Also, as noted, the protector John Kantakouzenos was to inherit [21] the author’s rights of ownership to the foundation.

9. Reading of the *Typikon*

The author provides [9] for the reading of the *typikon* three times a year, at Christmas, Easter, and on the patronal feast day. He adds that the monks should consider the provisions of the *typikon* not only as “divine laws” (as in (32) *Mamas* [16]) but also as “canons.” His claim to have observed the requirements of canon law in the framing of his *typikon* reflects the increasing sensitivity of many of his contemporaries on this subject.

E. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

Little is said in the *typikon* about the financial administration of the monastery. The implication is that the superior and the “four brothers” were jointly responsible for “administration and improvement” of the monastery. They and the superior are permitted [22] to set aside the usual tenure of office conceded to the monastery’s officials should their mismanagement lead to a short-fall in revenues. In a chapter ultimately derived from (32) *Mamas* [9] on the duties of the sacristan, the author introduces [5] the twelfth-century practice of assuring this officer’s probity by providing for drawing up an inventory of the valuables entrusted to him and obliging him to account for them on leaving office. There is a specific provision for his removal from office for carelessness or wrongdoing.

The reticence of the *typikon* on matters of financial administration is certainly curious in light of the reasons our author cites [2] for drawing up a *typikon* in the first place, namely to have an authoritative document that could be cited to a magistrate or used in a court of law, and to have a record of the foundation’s immovable properties and “the rights pertaining to these” as a safeguard against seizures.

2. Use of Entrance Gifts

There is no prohibition of mandatory entrance gifts as in (32) *Mamas* [22] or in (22) *Evergetis* [37]. In declaring that “whatever the postulant contributes for the good of the community will of course go to meeting the needs of the monastery,” the author appears to rule out [11] the utilization of such gifts (here called *adelphata*) to provide exclusive personal livings for the postulants. This was in line with the author’s unwillingness to tolerate kelliotic monasticism. He orders there should be no exception to the obligation to observe the cenobitic rule even if a single postulant should offer more movable and immovable property than the entire foundation owned collectively in exchange for an exemption from this requirement.

3. Other Sources of Income

Aside from a possibly heavy dependence on entrance gifts from postulants, this foundation also benefited from substantial imperial patronage [1], [2], [21] and looked forward to routine financial support from the new protector [21]. As we have seen, the author was prepared to share his own patronal prerogatives with these external benefactors in exchange for these gifts.

F. Overall Philosophy

1. Attitude towards Privileges

Like the author of (32) *Mamas* [26], our author here was willing to provide a servant to a monk “from an exalted station in life.” Furthermore, he was willing to offer such a monk “some sort of lighter regimen” (cf. (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [93]), presumably in exchange for a substantial entrance donation, but not, as we have seen, for a complete exemption from observance of the cenobitic rule. The preservation through the mediation of (32) *Mamas* [45] of the traditional Evergetian

injunction that “nobility or dignity or offering of possessions or monies” by particular candidates should not be considered [18] as qualifications for the superiorship suggests some degree of subscription to reform values, however, even at this late date.

2. Exclusion of Women, Youths, and Boys

The author bans [14] women from access to the foundation, making an exception only for the empress herself and her retinue to visit to venerate the patronal saint, but apparently this ban did not exclude women from the charitable distribution at the gate as in most earlier Evergetian institutions and later in (53) *Meteora* [7]. Boys and youths under twenty years of age were not to be lodged at the monastery either, even if they happened to be friends and relatives of the superior and the monks. They should not be admitted either for theoretical or practical instruction since this would “contribute to many scandals and to spiritual injury.”

G. External Relations

1. Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

Like the authors of (10) *Eleousa*, (31) *Areia*, and (34) *Machairas*, our author was himself a bishop. His elevation to the episcopacy of Zichna was viewed critically by his uncle Ioannikios, Menoikeion’s founder, who feared [1] that as bishop his nephew, having “gone over to the other side” so to speak, would neglect his responsibilities to the monastery. Ironically, the uncle himself later became bishop of Ezivai (Ezova). The author’s own career as a prelate and his claim [9] of the canonicity of his *typikon* notwithstanding, this document is hardly generous in its recognitions of the rights of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The metropolitan of Serres is assured [3] only commemoration (*anaphora*) in the liturgy and the episcopal tax (*kanonikon*)¹⁹ as described in the imperial chrysobulls that recognized [1] this foundation’s status as a patriarchal monastery. The prelate is specifically disallowed any rights to alter the *typikon*, to appoint its superior, to appoint or expel monks, to demand financial accountings, or, in general, to “exercise authority over anything in the monastery.”

In only one area does the ecclesiastical hierarchy seem to have been successful in getting its rights recognized, namely its ability to insist that only priests could hear confessions. The author tells us [1] that his uncle became a priest specifically “so he could hear men’s confessions,” and given their intense desire to privatize all aspects of monasticism, it is possible that founders like our author and his uncle sought to become bishops at least in part to circumvent this one seemingly incontestable external control over their foundations. However, evidently anticipating that the next superior of the monastery might not himself be ordained, our author provides for spiritual fathers [13], [16] to hear confessions in the future.

2. Institutional Philanthropy

Influenced by the Maman tradition (cf. (32) *Mamas* [12]) of providing a substantial charitable distribution to all comers at the gate, our author orders [7] the gatekeeper to “take bread from the endowment and give it without hesitation or grumbling” to beggars. As in (32) *Mamas* [13], mendicant monks (and here priests also) were to be given wine also; leftover food was to be distributed to all beggars. Apparently the grain brought to a mill owned by the monastery was earmarked

[22] for processing and baking into bread for the charitable distribution, which was to take place some distance from the gate itself “so that confusion and disorder do not occur (there).”

Notes on the Introduction

1. The traditional dating is based on a confirmatory chrysobull of Andronikos III, itself dated to March 1332, ed. Guillou, *Archives*, no. 26, pp. 91–95.
2. For details, see Guillou, *Archives*, pp. 161–63.
3. See Guillou, *Archives*, pp. 7–8.
4. See Guillou, *Archives*, pp. 8–11.
5. For the *katholikon*, see Talbot and Cutler, “Menoikeion,” p. 1340, and Xyngopoulos, *Toichographiai*.
6. Chrysobulls of Andronikos II, ed. Guillou, *Archives*, nos. 9 and 10 (1321), pp. 53–59; for Simonis, see Jelisaveta Allen, “Simonis,” *ODB*, p. 1901.
7. *Sigillon* of Patriarch Isaias (1324), ed. Guillou, *Archives*, no. 14, pp. 64–65, and *Prostagma* of Andronikos II (1325), ed. Guillou, *Archives*, no. 15, pp. 66–67.
8. Chrysobull of Andronikos III (1332), ed. Guillou, *Archives*, no. 26, pp. 106–8.
9. See Guillou, *Archives*, pp. 11–14, and Zachariadou, “Ottoman Documents.”
10. Chrysobull of Stefan Dušan (1345), ed. Guillou, *Archives*, no. 39, pp. 124–30.
11. Christophoros, *Proskynetarion*.
12. For a full discussion of the cartularies and their reconstruction, see Guillou, *Archives*, pp. 18–36.
13. Group A: Chapters (9) new to (58) *Menoikeion*: [1], [2], [3], [6], [12], [14], [15], [21], [22].
14. Group B: Chapters (13) shared with other documents: [4], [5], [7], [8], [9], [10], [11], [13], [16], [17], [18], [19], [20].
15. Subgroup B.1: Chapters (2) shared only with (32) *Mamas*: [9] = (32) *Mamas* [16], and [13] = (32) *Mamas* [29], cf. [30].
16. Subgroup B.2: Chapter shared with (32) *Mamas* and (22) *Evergetis*: [17] = (32) *Mamas* [35]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [21].
17. Subgroup B.3: Chapters (4) shared with (32) *Mamas* and (27) *Kecharitomene*: [4] = (32) *Mamas* [8], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [20]; [5] = (32) *Mamas* [9], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [19]; [7] = (32) *Mamas* [12], [13], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [29]; [11] = (32) *Mamas* [26], cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [53].
18. Subgroup B.4: Chapters (6) shared with (32) *Mamas*, (27) *Kecharitomene*, and (22) *Evergetis*: [8] = (32) *Mamas* [17], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [40], [46]; [10] = (32) *Mamas* [23], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [33] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [25]; [16], part = (32) *Mamas* [32], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [5] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [33]; [18] = (32) *Mamas* [45], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14], [17] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]; [19] = (32) *Mamas* [42], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [17] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [12]; [20] = (32) *Mamas* [46], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [42] and [27] *Kecharitomene* [78].
19. Cf. A. Papadakis, “Kanonikon,” *ODB*, pp. 1102–1103.

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Translation

Key: As noted above, this document shares, most likely through many intermediaries, substantial portions of the texts of (22) *Evergetis*, (27) *Kecharitomene*, and (32) *Mamas*. In our translation, the borrowings are indicated in boldface type.

What follows is in the book of the *typikon* composed by me, the humble metropolitan of Zichna and founder of the august monastery of [St. John], the holy Forerunner and Baptist, located on the mountain of Menoikeion. I composed it with the general approval of the brotherhood under our authority in the Lord.

The chapters of the present *typikon*.¹

1. Introduction to the Rule
2. Concerning the reasons on account of which the present Rule has been set forth
3. Concerning the monastery’s independent and free status
4. Concerning the ecclesiarch
5. Concerning the sacristan

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6. Concerning the cellarer
7. Concerning the gatekeeper
8. Concerning the prescribed diet of the monks in the refectory on the days free from fasting and during the holy fasts
9. Concerning the reading of the present *typikon* for all to hear
10. Exhortation concerning the fact that those who serve are to apply themselves thoroughly to their services
11. How there are not to be *kelliotai* or imposed guests in the monastery
12. Concerning allowance to the brothers
13. Concerning confession
14. How women are not to enter the monastery
15. Concerning the bath
16. Concerning the liturgical *typikon*
17. Concerning the fact that those who come together in manual labor are not to talk idly
18. Exhortation to the brothers concerning the selection of a superior
19. Exhortation to the superior: how he ought to be disposed toward the brotherhood
20. More detailed exhortation to the brothers
21. Disposition concerning the superior and the four brothers; how they ought to manage the monastery²
22. Concerning the *ephoros* and the founder³
23. Further disposition concerning the spiritual constitution and concerning the four brothers who shall together with the superior deliberate and manage the monastery⁴

1. Introduction to the present Rule.

The pledge of God's love for us and the strongest proof of his care has been that man has been honored by his speech more than by all God's other gifts to us. Thus, by the living word of those who are expert one can correct a life diverted from the straight path—for, he says, "Let those that fear you turn to me" (Ps. 118 [119]:79)—and by the written word, one can teach both thought and action as well as the well-ordered habits of life. For he says that all this has been written for your instruction (cf. I Cor. 10:11). In addition, through writing we can revive those things which the flow of many years has destroyed, just as we can with painting, and can reflect these things as present realities. We can draw pictures of the old in discourse and present that which passes by, ever-flowing, as though it stands still. Thus, it is necessary for me to begin by explaining how, why, and in what inexpressible ways God's governance brought this revered monastery together.

My paternal uncle, also a father to me, bore the name Ioannikios. While still of a young age, he wandered from his native country on account of his fervent love for God and arrived at the holy mountain of Athos. Here he received the tonsure and thereafter ran tirelessly his own course to excise his will. [p. 164] He possessed an unaffected character and manner and was graced by moderation in all things. After he had spent a considerable time on Athos, God's providence, governing all for the better and weaving strands one across the other, caused him to return home whence he had come. Because he was a man who delighted in tranquility, he had no affection for the world at all, nor did he desire to be engrossed with the things of the world, nor to cloud the

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ruling faculty of the soul with the world's troubles and enslave its indomitable quality to vanities. Therefore, he sought to find some small cell so that he could settle there alone and speak purely with God in his solitude. Traversing the rough and more deserted places about the mountain of Menoikeion, he happened upon a very small *kellion*, completely neglected and unadorned, only an oratory named after the holy *Anargyroi*, Kosmas and Damian. Settling in this small monastery⁵ and setting to work, he was totally absorbed in offering to God every service of the monastic profession. He also labored to restore and take care of the cells, nor did he cease his zealous work and activity until with God's blessing he had completed this dwelling house for ascetic men. Thereupon, he handed over this *kellion* to a certain old man who followed God's way and shared the highest ascetic lifestyle. He himself withdrew to other regions of the mountain, taking with him as usual his virtuous disciple.

When he reached the very rough and trackless regions of the mountain, he happened upon a harsh cave, which was even difficult to enter. Fixing his residence in the cave, he remained there for some time. When his health had suffered considerably as a result of the constant moisture in the cave, he left there and came among the spurs of the mountain—this was, however, totally in accord with the divine plan as I know. This place he carefully investigated where today our holy monastery can be seen, since this entire region was narrow and close, a country of precipices, difficult to enter or leave. In a word, it was almost completely impassable, totally veiled with all kinds of wild plants and briars. It had but one church crumbling with age and roofless, a home only for wild animals and creeping things.⁶ Elated by the pristine nature of the place, its tranquility, and its freedom from the confusion and turmoil of worldly intercourse, he decided to live there.

His most pressing task was to clear all the area of the surrounding underbrush and to prepare a roof for the church. He cared for it in every way and restored it to a more fitting state so that those staying in it could enthusiastically offer up their prayers to God. There each day, he added effort to effort and pain to pain and gave “neither sleep to his eyes nor rest” to his temples (Ps. 131 [132]:4) until, with God's assistance won through the intercession of the revered prophet, [St. John] the Forerunner and Baptist, he had built cells for the monks and monks had chosen to live with him; he made it a residence for men who pursued the same moral excellence. He himself was the superior of the monks and took every possible thought for their own salvation and assumed total responsibility for managing their food, clothing, and the necessities of life—becoming in every way their harbor of refreshment and salvation.

Although, while pursuing such an ascetic way of life and living in Christ in this manner, he desired to remain hidden, the Lord did not allow him to escape notice to the end, just as the Holy Scripture says that a city upon a mountain cannot be hidden (cf. Matt. 5:14). Thus, he was entrusted with the sacred duty of spiritual service by the man who at that time steered the tillers of the church so that he [Ioannikios] could hear men's confessions and carefully administer the remedies which suited each of them according to the system of medical practice. But more of this later.

For my part, I was begotten of pious parents, but orphaned at an unseasonable age. My uncle and father, the man of whom we have been speaking, took me in with him although I had not yet reached the age of two. He met every physical need and nourished me with care. Then, vesting me

with the monastic habit, he ordered me to live continuously with him and be trained in the monastic discipline although I myself was able to grasp nothing of his angelic way of life and conduct. Therefore, I settled down with him in his cell and was educated and trained by him. I was introduced to Holy Scriptures and to the right ordering of habits and the rest of the monk's way of life.

Then, I was promoted to the order of the priesthood, a promotion which was not appropriate both because the duty of this service was so lofty, scarcely fitting the saints, and also because my own life was neglected in its moral dimension and not worthy. Thereafter, when God deemed it fitting for me to be elected to the episcopal throne [of Zichna], my uncle and father, whom we have been discussing, would not endure it nor did he wish it, but he vigorously [p. 165] opposed [the decision] unyieldingly, for he feared that my concern for the episcopacy would render useless and impractical my resolution to be always thoughtful of and concerned about the monastery. What follows will make clear that the old man's opposition desired this [concern]. He did not abandon his opposition or yield to the desire of those who were pressuring me to serve before he took from me a written promise that while he lived and after his death, I would not ignore the monastery but would in all things take thought of it as was fitting. When the written promise had been completed, he straightway gave his consent and yielded to those who were pressuring me.

By judgments known to him "whose judgments are like the great deep" (Ps. 35 [36]:6), I was entrusted with the throne of Zichna, while the old man was proclaimed bishop of Ezivai. But, he still clung to that same moderation and that zeal for the good and totally supported the monastery. Moreover, he had me toiling and working with him to meet the more pressing business of the monastery and the needs of the monks.

Since, however, it was absolutely necessary for him, being a man and subject to human ailments, to put aside the dust and to cross over from here to [eternal] life, it was possible to see him lying in bed, imprisoned by old age and fierce disease, but healthy in soul and superior to all bodily suffering. Then, breathing his last and just about to hand over his soul to God, he again entrusted the care and renovation of the monastery to me, a totally lazy and careless person, and he added to this the monastery's spiritual direction. What did he not say or do of those things sufficient to compel me to this [service]? Therefore, I accepted the job, and once I had accepted it, how many and what kind of problems I met, problems arising from the trouble and difficulty of the times, God who knows all and I who suffered them alone know. But, through the intercession of the revered prophet, [St. John] the Forerunner and Baptist, the God of my father is my helper for all to see, illuminating "in the fiery pillar" (cf. Exod. 13:21) of his gifts, leading forth and guiding [me] to the day of refreshment, and, moreover, he will rescue me from the punishment I should expect, a punishment worthy of my deeds.

First, I restored the holy church itself from its foundations, beautifying it according to the means at my disposal. We also made it brilliant with icons and with the presence of sacred vessels and the addition of various other ornaments. With God's help we also built the refectory so that the brothers assembled for the glory of God might take bread in it. Moreover, through the mercy of the most generous masters and emperors⁷ I could allot to the monastery certain revenues of such a quantity and kind as I reckoned would meet the need of those who had chosen the simple, monastic life. Who will be able to count how many the benefactions, how many the aids I received from their God-guarded and God-crowned rule, those in words, those in deed, those in gifts and

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contributions? The holy, revered chrysobulls⁸ which have come from their sacred majesty to this monastery clearly testify that the philanthropic and holy masters and emperors of mine have provided great benefactions and gifts to our monastery. I pray that the Lord God, the king of the ages and giver of all good things, will bless them with every blessing and will guard them under the roof of his goodness in peace, justice, and courage. May the Lord strengthen their arm and place beneath their feet all the barbarous nations desiring to war against them. May he grant them length of days and deem them worthy of both his material and his ineffable goods in this life and of his heavenly kingdom.

Inside the city of Serres, I also restored another monastery and its church from their foundations and dedicated it in the name of [St. John] the Forerunner and Baptist. In a similar fashion I built a refectory for it and all the other useful and necessary things for a monastery, and before all else I encircled it with a wall and made every effort that, with God's blessing and the intercession of [St. John] the Forerunner, I would be able to restore a dwelling place of holy men, consecrated to God and embracing the cenobitic way of life for themselves. I wish this monastery always to be subject to and united with the original monastery, the principal one, and the monks to consider themselves one body of the united totality of these two monasteries. They are to be subject to one head, that is, the superior of the principal monastery. From him they receive the rules of the monastic way of life and are directed to the better. They ought to conform to his law and rule.

But, who am I, Lord, my Lord, or [what is] the house of my father (cf. 1 Chronicles 17:16) that you have poured out your mercy on me, an unworthy man, and that through me—useless, of no account, pitiable though I am—these two monasteries have been built? Master, this is your work, yours from your generous, enriching right hand which is open in charity, so that your favor fills up every living creature (cf. Ps. 144 [145]:16). [p. 166] May you preserve this work undiminished and uninjured in its substance, and from above may you guard these [monasteries] from those who in any way whatsoever attempt to trample upon them or raise a destructive hand against them. Nevertheless, so that such things might not befall the monasteries hereafter and so that what has been established might not fade and be obscured in the abyss of forgetfulness, I knew that I should write down all these matters in a document. Having organized these monasteries and united them, I offer them to you, O God the Creator, giver of good things, for the glory of your name and that of the herald of truth, [St. John] the Forerunner and Baptist, and for the atonement of our sins. Therefore, O *Logos* of God the Father—accept this small offering which I, your servant, present to you. Lavish upon my emperor⁹ the superabundance of your mercies and grant to me and to the whole world salvation and the remission of sins through the entreaties of our immaculate lady, the Mother of God, who gave you birth in the flesh—by [the power of the divine] word transcending human reason—and of [St. John] the holy Forerunner and Baptist and of all your saints, Amen.

2. Concerning the reasons on account of which the present Rule has been set forth.

Our monastery did not possess a *typikon* which could be produced at any time before an official or magistrate or in any kind of court where legal arguments regarding matters of the law and lawsuits take place. Nor did our monastery have an authoritative document in which all sorts of sacred matters are written down as well as other things such as the immovable property belonging to the monastery and the rights pertaining to these properties so that these remain stable and

are safeguarded against seizures. On account of this lack, I have proceeded to this task, I mean to the composition and organization of a *typikon* and inventory since by the favor of God won through the entreaties of the great herald of truth and through the prayers of my holy father,¹⁰ I have been able with the help of the generous and enriching right hand of my God-crowned, holy emperors to organize these monasteries in this way and to add all sorts of properties to them. Therefore, I wish that everything which has been prescribed for them and committed to writing be subject to no change or diminishment. Through the entreaties of [St. John] the sacred Forerunner and Baptist may the triune God also preserve what has been prescribed and written down inviolate and undiminished to the fulfillment of all ages, so that in this way the flock of Christ might be called light in accordance with the Gospel (cf. Matt.: 5:14), and others might be drawn all the more by it to edification. May the triune God also grant that it be a flock truly chosen, obedient to the voice of him who calls to life and, by the example it sets, be able to restore the souls of many men when they gaze upon the best archetype—the scrupulous way of life it upholds. Whosoever is tempted to proceed toward abolishing any single letter of the present Rule, he will give an account before the just Judge on the fearful day of judgment—an account as to why he wished to disturb this Rule of ours or overturn it either totally or in part—a Rule which I set forth for the benefit of the brothers in order to form these monasteries of [St. John] the sacred Forerunner and to protect both their movable and immovable and animate property belonging to them.

3. Concerning the monastery's independent and free status.

The monastery ought to be free and independent because through a *prostagma*¹¹ of the most august, Christ-loving, holy master and sovereign emperor, Lord Andronikos [III] Palaiologos (1328–1341) who now reigns in God, it obtained complete freedom, and from that time to the present it has so remained and has been preserved by Christ's grace. Moreover, this monastery and its property had [their right to remain] unbroken and undisturbed, through the recent, benevolent chrysobulls which his holy, imperial majesty has granted out of kindness toward this very monastery. It should be free of every hand and from every higher authority, nor should any of these authorities exercise any right or privilege over it. Rather, it should remain totally free to govern itself by itself and to manage its affairs according to what has been expressly set forth in the present *typikon*. The monastery has been entrusted and dedicated for ever to the sole authority of the philanthropic God and to the great herald of truth, [St. John] the Forerunner and Baptist, and is governed by whoever happens to be the superior at the time together with the rest of the community.

The metropolitan of Serres at any time is entitled only to the commemoration of his name in the liturgy and to the canonical right which belongs to him as the chrysobull documents of my holy emperors expressly state “I wish and decree” saying “this monastery to be patriarchal.” Therefore, beyond commemoration of his own name and likewise the *kanonikon*, as was stated, and beyond the honor due him from the superior and the brothers, the metropolitan of Serres shall have no right either to exercise authority over anything in the monastery or to corrupt or [p. 167] annul any of the clauses in the present *typikon*. Neither shall he have the right to appoint a different superior nor to appoint monks, nor to bring them in or expel them from the monastery, nor the right to ask for an account of the monastery's income and outlay. He shall not take anything at all from the monastery; rather he should love the monks as his own children and be peacefully and

lovingly disposed toward the brothers and their superior, especially if the metropolitan is the disciple of that gentle and peaceable One who enjoins the rule of peace and love upon all.

4. Concerning the ecclesiarch.

[= (32) *Mamas* [8]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [20]]: **The ecclesiarch moreover, being appointed by the superior, will be whoever seems to him fit and suitable for this office, receiving from the sacristan at the time of his appointment with an inventory everything that should be used in the church of the monastery, and at the proper time other things suitable for daily use or for use during the feasts. He will look after the customary decoration of the church and he will look after the orderly condition of the church during the singing of psalms as is customary for ecclesiarchs. The complete office of the entire church year will be established and sung in accordance with the monastery's *typikon* of the ecclesiastical office which follows the traditional form in the Jerusalem monastery of our holy, God-bearing father, the sanctified Sabas.¹² The ecclesiarch at the time ought always to have also an assistant ecclesiarch working with him and ministering and assisting in the office assigned to him.**

5. Concerning the sacristan.

[= (32) *Mamas* [9], ed. lines 16–32; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [19]]: **We wish there to be a sacristan in the monastery who must guard the sacred vessels, books and liturgical cloths, and think worthy of every kind of care the things that are turned over to him in a written, signed register. This signed inventory is then filed away in the archives. The sacristan himself must hand over to the ecclesiarch and the assistant ecclesiarchs for the service of the church both the things for daily use and the things used in the feasts, and when it is time, receive these back again from him and guard them; and the things surplus to requirements he must keep in the sacristy shut up and secured. When it is necessary that he be transferred out of this office, he must render an accounting according to the inventory of transfer made out for it. For it is within the power of the superior and those with him to remove and change those officials who hold office in the manner which will be described. For it is just to leave unchanged those who have been appointed for each of the offices while they are performing them carefully and conscientiously, but those who neglect or despise them, and perhaps even behave deceitfully in them, should be removed and others appointed. If one of these people happens to appropriate something, anything at all, and has not confessed the theft, I do not know how he shall make his defense to God.**

Such a person shall be removed without hesitation from his rank if he should appear careless toward the office entrusted to him or if he cunningly and secretly wrought some wrong while holding it. If he will return in good faith what he took by fraud, he will remain as a brother of the monastery, abiding in peace, obedient in all things [to the superior] and reproaching himself for his transgression. But if he becomes agitated and disturbs the superior and the brothers—which God forbid—he should be cut off like a festering limb which causes spiritual disease and cast out of the monastery.

6. Concerning the cellarer.

With the common consent of those with him, the superior will appoint a cellarer and a refectorian as well as other officials. In the fear of God and in a good frame of mind each one of these men should be eager above all to carry out the work of his ministry. Each one will receive his remuneration for his zeal and his labor on the day of judgment from the One who says, "I came not to be served, but to serve" (Matt. 20:28). Therefore, each day the cellarer must present the cook with the food prescribed for the brothers, as much as the cellarer has on hand and under his ministry. He will also thoughtfully and carefully exert himself in preparing the monks' table and in caring for it unfailingly in a cheerful manner and without giving offense, especially if he is concerned about finding the God of all well-disposed on the day of judgment. [p. 168]

7. Concerning the gatekeeper.

[= (32) *Mamas* [12], ed. lines 18–22; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [29]]: **The superior must appoint the one who is to hold the keys of the gate, who is usually called the gatekeeper, whose responsibility it will be that no one enters or leaves at all without the permission of the superior.** Let the person **appointed to this office** be elderly and of proven piety and spiritual disposition. He must take bread from the [daily] distribution and give it without hesitation or grumbling to those who beg so that he might not suffer judgment.

[= (32) *Mamas* [13]]: **If the beggar is a priest or a monk, let also wine be given to him. But also, after the brothers have taken their meal, let the leftover cooked food be given, also, by the aforesaid gatekeeper, to the poor who are found at the gate in order that, through your cheerful charity to our brothers, you, too, may receive in return cheerful and abundant mercy from God. For it is our preference that not even any beggar turn away from the gate with empty hands, and in the Holy Spirit we enjoin the gatekeeper at the time to observe this practice as most essential and dear to God.**

Moreover, the most honorable superior must value highly works of hospitality and mercy unless he himself wishes to fall under the condemnation issued on the behalf of poor Lazarus.

8. Concerning the prescribed diet of the monks in the refectory on the days free from fasting and during the holy fasts.

[= (32) *Mamas* [17] ed. lines 18–23; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9]]: **It should be the right time to mention the table and food and all the other things that supply nourishment to the body. For neither will the soul ever be well without the latter's suitable nourishments, I mean prayer and chanting and reading of the sacred scriptures, nor, indeed, will the body be sustained or render assistance to the [soul's] divine ministrations without the things that are of necessity useful to it.**

Therefore, after the superior and the brothers have seated themselves together in the refectory, they partake of the meal in the customary fashion while the precentor reads. During this time no one has permission to argue or shout or to be agitated at all and by such disorder and confusion to destroy the benefit to be derived from the reading. Rather, each is to remain humbly seated and

to partake of that which is offered with great piety and godly fear, giving unceasing thanks to God through prayer of the heart.

[= (32) *Mamas* [17] ed. p. 273, line 37–p. 274, line 5; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [9]]: **The superior only may speak sparingly if he wishes and perhaps the one asked by him may answer similarly in a few brief phrases, if possible. When, however, the superior is not present, prevented perhaps by weakness of the body or even some other reason, the man who exercises his authority shall fulfill the things that ought to be done.**

[= (32) *Mamas* [17], ed. p. 274, lines 8–11; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [46]]: **On a fast-free day let the brothers have their nourishment—on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays two dishes such as the season brings and the superior has ordered.** On Saturdays and Sundays the superior should provide for the partaking of fish on account of the difficult vigils. On Monday there should be one dish of boiled food with vinegar and wine should be offered with this. On two days a week, however—I mean Wednesday and Friday—only one dish should be offered in the refectory without olive oil or wine. Let only those afflicted with some illness partake of wine on account of their weak condition while those in good health should take none at all. Those who are familiar with the holy and apostolic canons know the severity of breaking the fast on these two days.

During the holy and great season of Lent, let the first week follow the rules set forth in the *synaxarion* of the *typikon*, for it is not fitting to abrogate the rules of the fathers all of which they arranged well as though from God. During the other five weeks, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, the brothers should eat dry food and drink only water. On Tuesdays and Thursdays, however, they may have two dishes either with honey or with vinegar and a measure of wine. On Saturdays and Sundays, two dishes should be offered in the refectory together with olive oil and wine. During the great and Holy Week, let there be only dry food and only the drinking of water on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday; on the great and Holy Thursday the brothers should have two dishes with honey to eat, for no one should partake of olive oil on that day since that would contravene the tradition of the sacred and apostolic canons. From that day, then, the brothers observe a continuous fast until the Holy and Great Saturday. At that time after the dismissal of the liturgy in church, we break the fast without a cooked meal.

During the other fasts, however, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, one dish of legumes or vegetables with vinegar should be served, but without wine; on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays, two dishes with olive oil should be served together with wine. During the holy fast of Christ's birth—from the feast of the holy and wonder-working Nicholas¹³ to the nativity of Christ according to the flesh [p. 169]—the brothers are to eat but once a day except for Saturdays and Sundays. On Tuesdays and Thursdays, however, let them have without failure the two dishes with olive oil and wine.

If, perhaps, on any of the feasts of the Lord or of the great saints the superior at his discretion should want to offer the brothers a refreshment on account of the work associated with the feast and the vigil, he should have this authority, mindful that he functions as a shepherd not a hireling. During the weeks marked out in the *synaxarion* of the *typikon*—I mean Easter Week, the week after Pentecost, the Twelve Days, the week before the Meatfare week and Cheesefare week, it is possible to eat twice a day, both of cheese and of fish on account of the traditional reasons—we

will not repeat these same things in order not to lengthen the treatise. Thus, when you do this, you, too, will not violate these rules. On two days only of Cheesefare week, however, you will partake of food once according to the rule of the *typikon*.

9. Concerning the reading of the present *typikon* in the refectory for all to hear.

[= (32) *Mamas* [16]]: **In addition to everything** I enjoin the superior and my beloved brothers in Christ that **this, too, must be observed no less than the other things, if not even more, as both the source and reason for the observance of the things that have been prescribed and utter strengthening of the monastery. Let this present *typikon* be read, therefore, so as to be listened to by all the** brothers on the feast of Christ's birth, similarly on the resurrection day of our God, the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ—I mean the holy and great Easter—and on the feast of the great herald of the truth, [St. John] the sacred Forerunner and Baptist,¹⁴ **in order that, by reading it, the things that have been prescribed may be more permanent and indelible.**

This, of course, you must observe most carefully, not as our legislations, but as divine laws and canons (since we have not set up anything outside these), **that are inviolable and unchangeable.** These regulations must be observed, **and not only,** O fathers, **must you not be disheartened or vexed** over these matters **but reasonably even rejoice and exult because, having been relieved from all concern** and free of the yoke of hard labor, **you will have one occupation, free of distraction or anxiety, [namely,] the concern and care of your souls.**

10. Exhortation concerning the fact that those who serve are to apply themselves thoroughly to their services.

[= (32) *Mamas* [23]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [33]]: **I entreat, therefore, all those who serve the monastery, from the first down to even the last, to apply yourselves joyfully to your offices with your whole heart and soul because God has given us the strength to serve our brothers in imitation of him. See what kind of work you are taking in hand; see whom you imitate—**that same One who says, "I came not to be served but to serve" (cf. Matt. 20:28). **You see that you are putting into practice the greatest of all good, love. Therefore be happy and rejoice because you yourselves are accomplishing each day by your work what could scarcely be achieved by those who devote themselves to prayer. You are blessed in that occupation and to be envied. For prayer is indeed a fine thing, a very fine thing, bringing us into contact with God and raising us from earth to heaven. But no less than this is love, the crown and consummation of virtue according to God. For joined to itself it has humility that exalts (cf. Matt. 23:12) and mercy and sympathy. On account of these God became man and through them man becomes like God.** Under these conditions, therefore, grow rich in this very virtue, my brothers, and run on without hesitation until you reach the harbor of rest in Christ Jesus, Our Lord.

11. How there are not to be *kelliotai* or imposed guests in the monastery.

[= (32) *Mamas* [26]; cf. (27) *Kecharitomene* [53]]: **I do not want there to be any *kelliotai* or any imposed guests at all within the monastery. I completely forbid this. If, however, anyone who is from a more exalted station in life shall wish to come to the monastery and to**

cast off his worldly hair in it or perhaps should enter as one who has already been tonsured and if from his more luxurious way of life he should perhaps have need of a servant or some sort of lighter regimen, **the superior will be permitted to make concessions to the one who enters [the monastery], if he should wish, and allow him the servant and** the lighter regimen. He may do this **especially if the one who enters it benefits the monastery.** Whatever the postulant contributes for the sake of “fellowships” will of course go to meeting the needs of the monastery.

They, too, however, ought to maintain the cenobitic way of life. For in no way whatsoever do I wish that the appellation of “kelliotēs” be used in the monastery. Therefore, it is not licit that anyone at all alter or change what we have outlined here, either in a straightforward manner or by trickery, **even if he should be of exalted station** [p. 170] **or should abound in much wealth and in consequence present a lavish offering or make a promise** [of one], even if he should possess more immovable and movable and animate property than we have owned. Rather what has been outlined in the *typikon* will remain unaltered and undiminished under every rule and authority (cf. Eph. 1:21).

Who would send an imposed guest to a monastery that is independent and is ruled by the mighty hand of the only God and by the hand of [St. John] the Forerunner, who is honored therein? May no one, O Christ the King, therefore, ever consider this. No one should think to dissolve the term of the independence of this monastery, which God led our holy, God-crowned emperor to decree, **unless he wishes altogether to render God, who is mighty in wars** (cf. Sir. 46:1), **openly hostile to himself**, and unless he should wish to give evidence against his own soul for his eternal condemnation on the day of judgment.

12. Concerning allowance to the brothers.

I certainly desire and approve and order that the allowance which is customarily prescribed and the grant of shoes and of any thing else to the brothers need be carried out in the following way. To each one of the brothers is given each year one [and] a half *hyperpera*, or nine *hexagia* [of silver], that is, eighteen large ducats.¹⁵ Shoes and boots are also given to all, depending on the monastery’s level of prosperity. Beyond this, however, the decision will rest with the superior regarding special treatment for those in special service. I mean for those in the vineyard, for the bakers, for the cook, and for those in similar work. Moreover, if the monastery is well-supplied with sheep, let the brothers have sheep’s wool each year for their headgear. If the superior is able to obtain further special treatment for the brothers, then thanks be to God. This, too, accords with my wishes.

13. Concerning confession.

[= (32) *Mamas* [29], ed. lines 22–27]: I also want there to be spiritual fathers in the monastery so that each monk can select one to whom he will reveal his own stripes according to the tradition of the sacred canons. Thus, they can receive suitable aid from the spiritual doctors, each one according to the injury he suffers. **For thoughts are wounds of the soul that are inflicted by the evil demon, who ensnares our life. A wound, however, when it is revealed immediately and receives the medical treatment that is suitable and appropriate, is easily healed;¹⁶ but, when it is kept concealed and becomes chronic, it causes putrefaction and generates a stench**

and becomes more difficult to heal. It is, therefore, especially helpful to have the physician close by.

14. How women are not to enter the monastery.

I command that the monastery be completely off limits to women. In the Holy Spirit I enjoin this. Only the Augusta at the time and the women in her retinue shall be allowed to enter in order to revere the saint; this is permitted no other women. Nor do we allow any young boys who are in their childhood years or any [youth] under twenty years of age to stay within the monastery, even if they should be the friends or relatives of the superior of the monastery himself or of one of its monks, not even under the pretext of performing some service or of receiving theoretical or practical instruction. I totally reject such an idea as contributing to many scandals and to spiritual injury.

15. Concerning the bath.

Since bathing facilities exist within the monastery on account of the weakness of the body, you shall take a bath four times a year: at holy Easter, during the days of the harvest season, during the twelve days [of Christmas],¹⁷ and during the week of Meatfare. This we establish as a model; whenever it seems proper to the superior, however, you will bathe yourselves.

16. Concerning the liturgical *typikon*.

You shall have no other liturgical *typikon* for all church services except the *typikon* proper to Palestine—that which is customarily called the *typikon* of Jerusalem since this one I have in my humility judged to be better than the others. This *typikon*, then, will always hold sway among you and you will do everything according to what it has established. Moreover, you shall observe the vigils of the whole year carefully and unhesitatingly according to the direction of the *typikon*. In addition, you shall perform the following: after the close of vespers every single day, the *synapte* is performed by the priest while all of you cry out fifty times in an audible voice the “*Kyrie eleison*.” [p. 171] You must also perform the sacred liturgy without hesitation and with care. I want it performed on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays. On Tuesdays celebrate it with *kollyba* in commemoration of [St. John] the sacred Forerunner. Together with the *kollyba* a treat [of an extra serving of wine] is given to the brothers in the refectory. On Thursdays celebrate it in honor of the founders, also with *kollyba* and a treat [of an extra serving of wine] in the refectory. On Saturdays the liturgy will be celebrated in the same way in memory of those who have fallen asleep. On Sundays, celebrate it in honor of Christ our God who rose on that day. A treat [of an extra serving of wine] should also be given to the brothers for the long life of our most august, powerful, holy, and sovereign emperors as well as for their happiness, their salvation, and their triumph over their enemies. This [invocation] should be intoned by the priest so that all can hear and should be sung slowly and melodiously by the choir leaders in the same fashion.

[= (32) *Mamas* [32], ed. lines 7–33]: **So, as has been said, during this sacred mystery, my brothers, you must pay strict attention, and chase from your hearts every thought that is impure and in every way you must purify yourselves. Then as many as allowed by the spiritual father must partake of the divine elements with great awe. For it will not be possible for any of you to partake freely and in a thoughtless manner, nor yet each day.**

This we would indeed wish, for to partake often of the divine elements is to share in life, as Christ himself says, “He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him” (John 6:56) and as the most gentle David says conversely “They that remove themselves far from thee shall perish” (Ps. 72 [73]: 27).

Therefore we would indeed wish this, as has been said, but because of human weakness and the danger of the action we do not allow it, for “Whoever eats the body and drinks the blood of the Lord unworthily eats and drinks his own condemnation” (I Cor. 11:27) says the divine apostle. The statement is frightening, my brothers, and causes not only sinners like me but also those who are very confident in themselves to fear partaking. For this reason our thoughts should be cleansed as much as possible from every contamination of the flesh and spirit and in this manner you should partake of the sacraments.

So then as many as are sure that they are pure and free from disgraceful thoughts and submission to them, from anger and grumbling, grief and denigration, deceit and disorderly laughter, furthermore, bearing of grudge and irritation, disgraceful talk and any other such passions, may partake each Sunday. Whereas those who fall prey to the aforementioned passions and hasten to a renunciation of them through confession and repentance should partake three or four times a year or more often, at the discretion of your spiritual father, for he should be in charge of such matters.

17. Concerning the fact that those who come together in manual labor are not to talk idly.

[= (32) *Mamas* [35]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [21]]: Together with the other matters, brothers, I make this demand of you. **If any of your number should gather on some manual task or other service and amuse yourselves with idle conversations—for this is usual at gatherings—and then turn to disgraceful talk, I enjoin you not to reject the admonition of your betters.** Furthermore, let the more devout one among those of you attending to the task venture a word of correction **in love and persuade** those who have repeated **topics which harm the soul** rather to sing psalms and to have on their lips the songs of David.

Moreover, those who **happen to be on a journey and are afflicted in the same way should be cured with the same medicine. Furthermore, they are not to resort to mutual rebuking or verbal sparring. For he who does such a thing** shall be punished by the superior and will be judged the instigator of insolence and violence. **If he does not repent and beg for forgiveness, he shall be punished** even more severely. **For we prefer that you should always be loving and peaceful towards one another and, instead of anything that provokes quarrels, learn to say “Bless and forgive [me], brother.”**

Furthermore, those who form idle gatherings and visit one another with no good reason, without any pressing cause, or the knowledge of the superior, especially after compline, when they are admonished and do not desist, they will be punished by the superior as instigators of disorder and leaders in evil. These people not only destroy themselves, but they also throw other souls into the pit of destruction. They shall be punished until they reject their vain and soul-corrupting foolishness and begin to love living properly as a friend of God.

18. Exhortation to the brothers concerning the selection of a superior.

[= (32) *Mamas* [45]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14]]: Now that I have spoken, **then, sufficiently concerning** necessary matters, **I entreat you, therefore, or rather, I instruct you and I** give you [St. John] the Forerunner and Baptist **as witness to this command and overseer of its carrying out, that when you are selecting and choosing the superiors there should be no strife, there should be no jealousy, there should be no pointless partiality and irrational favoritism, but correct judgment, an accurate aim and the strict yardstick of justice** [p. 172] **and truth should come together, and, as if he was observing you, he the eye itself “that beholds all things”** (Sir. 15:19) **and “searches hearts and reins”** (Ps. 7:9). **Your selection should take place in that way.**

For, if, suffering from some human failing, you were to produce a faulty judgment, consider how far the evil would spread and calculate how many harmful effects would follow and if the “righteous” (2 Tim. 4:8) **and unerring Judge were to require from you a just account for this, I do not know what defense you would make to secure your escape from condemnation. You, who have, alas, with evil and ruinous judgment selected the unworthy persons and brought such great harm not only on them but also on yourselves seeing that you have secured perdition for them as well as yourselves.**

So then you will not resort to quarreling and discord and disputes, with each man choosing a different person **but in unanimity and agreement**, with right and reasonable judgment, and after examination, **you should choose the persons elected**—I mean those who are most devout and have given witness of their virtuous character by leading fitting and virtuous lives.

[= (32) *Mamas* [45], cf. (22) *Evergetis* [17]]: **If you all live like that, there will be no one who will usurp this office rashly**, forming prejudices and becoming a cause of scandals for the brothers, and **perhaps making a display of his seniority or knowledge or sphere of work or noble birth or rank or offering of property or money.** The man who wants to behave like this, I shall penalize as a man rash, shameless, and alien to the humility of Christ, the gentle and peaceful one (cf. Rom. 12:1, 18). **But that man shall be preferred** for such an office who is well-suited for performing this ministry on account of his virtuous way of life and the rest of his spiritual condition just as I have explained above.

Moreover, if anyone of you shall disobey the superior or through carelessness shall perpetrate some misdeed which merits a dressing down or correction, do not expel the sinner from the monastery straightway at the first offense, but discipline him properly within the monastery. If, then, the sinner rejects his arrogant thoughts, returns to repentance, and seeks forgiveness from the superior, then all will be well, and we pray for this. If, on the other hand, he should happen to remain incorrigible and will not accept punishment from the superior—something which often happens to those with a careless and irreverent disposition—he shall be punished even more severely. If he grows more angry and obstinately rebels so that he troubles and disturbs the superior, it shall be possible for the superior, after seeking advice of those about him, to expel the sinner from the monastery with complete freedom. If he remains at the gate of the monastery for two or three days, the superior is to lead him in again and in every way to treat as a physician the disease

of his soul. If, however, he immediately departs from the monastery on the first day—which I pray shall not be—the superior shall not be guilty of his destruction.

19. Exhortation to the superior: how he ought to be disposed toward the brotherhood. [= (32) *Mamas* [42]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [17]]: **You, spiritual father and guide of this holy flock, be moderate and fair with the brothers, and in your concern maintain in everything a spiritual affection for them. Yes! I entreat you, care for them all, have concern for them all, forbear with them all, support them, instructing, advising, teaching, comforting, healing the sick, supporting the weak, encouraging the faint-hearted, restoring those who sin, forgiving those who repent “seventy times seven” (Matt. 18, 22) in accordance with the word of Our Lord. Proceed against the incurable and unrepentant with reason and straighten them out as a physician would so that the folly of one does not take hold of the healthy sheep. Also, to omit the rest, Saint Basil says “And the superior himself, as a father caring for true children, will watch over the needs of each one and will bring them suitable healing as far as he can, and will support with love and fatherly affection the member who is truly weak whether spiritually or physically.”**¹⁸

20. More detailed exhortation to the brothers.

[= (32) *Mamas* [46]; cf. (22) *Evergetis* [42]]: **So, then, all that I wish and that is acceptable to God—in my opinion at least—and to our fervent patron and helper, [St. John] the sacred Forerunner and Baptist, and greatly beneficial for your help has been sufficiently discussed; in the future it will always be your concern to maintain them unbroken and unchanged always. By this I mean to carry out completely in all the services the canonical procedure handed on to you, in accordance with the *synaxarion* which is in effect today with you, or according to the *typikon* of ecclesiastical service, to preserve loyalty and honor which is due to your superiors and likewise to the more devout among your brothers, to love one another (John 15:12) as [p. 173] the Lord commands, to be keen each of you to surpass each other and to excel in humility, moderation and in all the other virtues. Do not stir up quarrels, conflicts, or inappropriate arguments. Nor should one laugh at another, for this is alien to the calling of Christian, to say nothing of monks. Do not passionately delight in improper friendships; refrain from claiming the seat of honor and worldly preferments. But look to one thing only, that is each day strive to live and conduct yourselves virtuously so that you are acceptable and pleasing to God himself, the universal lord of all who will reward each man according to his deeds. On the other hand, as much as you are able, banish from you the source of all evils, the love of money, and the filching of the monastery’s possessions or theft. Such things are forbidden and are the ruinous death of the soul. Nor should you allow anything of the monastery to be destroyed as a result of carelessness or any other reason, since this would be a great sin and would require much treatment. You must root out familiarity as much as possible since it is like the summer heat or a wind which burns up the fruits of the spirit, and, that I may be brief, banish everything that does not lead to your salvation, but rather to the contrary, is conducive to your injury.**

So, my children and brothers, let us in no way prefer the things that harm, and pass by those that bring salvation. For nothing of what has been handed on to you is impossible or hard to accomplish. But if one of these [instructions] were to be thought of as such, yet let us

strive, let us persevere, let us endure, let us bear it nobly, “for we are not contending against flesh and blood,” as the sacred apostle says, “but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness” (Eph. 6:12). For we did not deny **the world for indulgence, honor, glory, or luxury, but for exertion and to strive as much as we could to gain the good things that were promised. Therefore let us force ourselves, let us force ourselves, as has been said, “For the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence, and men of violence take it by force”** (Matt. 11:12). **No one has ever gained a triumph by being careless, no one has triumphed over his enemy by sleeping and carelessness. Crowns and triumphs belong to those who run well, toil, strive, persevere in the labors of battles. Therefore, I beseech you all: “lead a life worthy of your calling”** (cf. Eph. 4:1), **“present your bodies holy to the Lord”** (cf. Rom. 12:1). **“Love one another”** (John 15:12) and be peacemakers, imitating Christ the mild and peaceful (cf. Rom. 12:18). Run well the race which lies before you (cf. Heb. 12:1). **Whatever is good, beloved of God, salvific, consider these things** (cf. Phil. 4:8). Moreover, **do not forget my insignificance and humility in your prayers, and the God of peace** (Heb. 13:20) **who has called us to this calling on account of his great and unspeakable compassion and goodness confirm and strengthen you in his holy will through his only-begotten Son, our Lord and God and Savior, Jesus Christ**, so that, aided by the divine power, we might be made worthy of those good things to come which have been prepared for the just in Christ Jesus, our Lord.

Now I add what follows for the better regimen of the brothers so that they will have this [food] for their two dishes without fail.¹⁹

21. Concerning the *ephoros* and the founder.

My fathers and brothers in Christ, I thus received this revered monastery from my holy father as a kind of inheritance, as I recounted more fully in discussing him in the introduction. I have taken care of it and toiled for it as much as I could, and God has been gracious through the intercession of the great herald of truth, and through the prayers of that blessed father of mine. In addition, through the rich gifts of my mighty, holy masters and emperors and through their sponsorship and supervision, this obscure and small monastery has been restored as a cenobitic monastery and the few brothers have been multiplied. This, however, was not our work, nor that accomplished by my care or my strength, but it is the work of the great power of God, which “opening the hand, fills every living thing with good will” (cf. Ps. 103 [104]:28) and changes all things for the better.

Up to this point, then, events have advanced in this way and what we have desired has reached its conclusion—for our desire sought only that the monastery be improved and made totally independent so that it could become the residence of God-loving men who pursued the best communal life and virtue. Now, I desire nothing else than this: to find a pious and Christ-loving man and to entrust all of you and the things of the monastery to him so that the monastery can be maintained and improved and through his care and concern can prosper and grow. Since I was in this frame of mind, I thought about the matter and beseeched God. Then, I found the much-beloved brother-in-law of my mighty, and holy master and emperor, my lord [John Kantakouzenos], the *me gas domestikos*.²⁰ He is not only a most Christian man and filled with every goodness, but he also issued forth from pious and faithful ancestors and parents just like a noble sprout from a good and noble root. [p. 174]

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Therefore, just as that blessed father of mine entrusted to me this great and revered monastery so that there was no other master in it, so I hand over and entrust you together with all belongings of the monastery to my lord, the *megas domestikos*, and I establish him as master through this present edict of mine. I also hand you over to him as though to your founder, as if he had established the two monasteries and maintained them. I do this not only because of his reverence, his love of Christ, and every other noble quality of judgment, but also because of the spiritual relationship and love toward his holy ancestors and fathers which I have had for a long time—people, I believe, who have been deemed worthy of the inheritance of the saved on account of their characteristic piety and virtue.

I, therefore, entertain high hopes concerning my lord, the *megas domestikos*, confident that of necessity the nobly born shoot resembles the root. As the Lord says that the tree is known by its fruits (cf. Matt. 12:33), I have no reservations now about him, but I am free from worry and care, taking courage in the great mercy of God and in the *megas domestikos*' Christian character. [I am confident] that the *megas domestikos* will take better care of you than I could and will not only look after your virtue and piety and after every other aspect of good monastic discipline, but also will see to your physical needs which pertain to your daily regimen and your own victuals.

But why is it necessary to say more? I surrender you and the affairs of the monastery over to him in such a way that he replaces me, and thus you ought to obey him as your lord and founder. Living in good order and spiritual peace, pray fervently for him so that on the day of judgment he will take his own reward, perfect and whole, from God who watches over all things. If, then, you shall continuously act in the way I am establishing for you, you shall profit greatly both in body and in soul. In addition, for my lord, the *megas domestikos* and your founder who watches over you and takes care of you to the limit of his strength, you shall procure for him eternal blessedness; of this he would be judged worthy through the grace of Christ our God and through the intercession of the great herald of truth, [St. John] the Forerunner and Baptist.

22. Further disposition concerning the spiritual constitution and concerning the four brothers who shall together with the superior deliberate and manage the monastery.

Whatever has been written down in the present *typikon*, this I have composed with God and the great herald of truth, [St. John] his venerable Forerunner, as witnesses. I have established these things, too, for the support, permanence, and security of this holy monastery and for the general assistance and governance of the community. Whatever I have established and set down in writing, this I wish to remain. Moreover, since I wish that the brothers persevere in making greater progress and advancement, that they be led upward to improve themselves morally and to grow in virtue, and that they in every way be fortified in the better things, I will run through these matters, treating them in summary fashion.

No one shall have permission to sit in the courtyard of the monastery and carry on a conversation after the dismissal of compline and after bowing to the superior and receiving his absolution. This was the rule legislated by the holy fathers themselves. In fact, such activity was totally forbidden. Just as they forbid such a practice as evil and conducive to spiritual harm, so I, too, forbid it. Therefore, those who wish to make progress as God [wishes], should each withdraw to his own cell after greeting the superior; each one should turn his attention quietly and peacefully

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to himself, and to God, and he should look to nothing else but to propitiating our universal judge and God for the sins, both conscious and unconscious, which he committed during the entire day.

In addition, I totally forbid this sinister and ruinous custom which on account of great carelessness and laziness of soul, as well as a contempt for the good, many have acquired: [that is, I forbid] any of you to meet with one another in the evening and to eat or drink together or to be disorderly;²¹ I forbid you to proceed from this to detraction of the superior and of the others, as those customarily do who live carelessly and indifferently. Therefore, let no one go to visit in another's cell in the evening neither to eat together nor for any other reason, for such behavior produces disorder and great harm. Only the officials are allowed to visit the superior if this should be necessary because of what the ministries require. If, however, necessity should require that anyone visit the cell of another, let this be done during the day.

To these I now add what follows as a kind of final seal to this testamentary rule. When aboard a ship in the middle of the sea waves a storm arises, and when the sea grows wild, stirring up on high the waves so that the boat is tossed about perilously, it is totally impossible for the helmsman alone to rescue the ship unharmed unless [p. 175] he should have the assistance and help of the sailors. Nor in the army is it possible for the general alone to defeat the enemies, but he must have his own officers working with him and helping him. So, too, our body is governed by the five senses. Now in the same manner, it is not in the natural order for the superior of the monastery to do anything right or to set affairs in order unless he has other assistants under him. Having, therefore, considered this and pondered it, I wish and decree that with God himself and [St. John] the reverend Forerunner keeping watch, that there be a superior in the monastery and that he be elected by the whole community and that he be established in this office as I previously ordered with regard to this.²² If the chance arises, he is to go to our mighty and holy master and emperor and receive from him the staff of office, or he can notify him and receive the staff by imperial order.

I decree that there be four brothers with this superior. These should be such as are completely free of any physical desire or wantonness and are of proven piety, wisdom, spiritual disposition, and virtue. Let these, then, be of one spirit with the superior, though in separate bodies; of one mind, one will, one desire, one goal. [They should not be] contentious or devious, or sinful, but should work together with love and spiritual conviction so that they toil and struggle in their care for the total well-being of the monastery and for its spiritual state as well as for its constant improvement and for the aid of the brothers. Together with the superior, these shall have the license, authority, and power to examine and judge all of the officials.

If these are serving well and as is dear to God and are free from any desire, they should allow the officials to serve. If, however, the officials are subject to some evil desire in the [performance of] their tasks and if the monastery suffers some injury due to this and the brothers fall short of what they need because the monastery's fortunes have been diminished, they are totally free to change such officials since these people are breaking up and harming the monastery. No one should hinder the four monks and the superior in doing this, but they should draft others whom they find to be both good and appropriate after they have examined them. They should not do this according to any attachment or fondness nor on account of any other human [motive], but only on account of the good, the help due to the brothers, and the greater improvement of the monastery. They should always have God himself before their eyes and the impartial scrutiny of the con-

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science, concerning which each will have to render an account on the day of judgment, if he has done anything, as far as he knows, outside of what is right and necessary.

In addition, the superior will make use of these advisors both with regard to all spiritual matters as well as with regard to the most important temporal affairs. With their advice, he will deal with these issues. They, likewise, will remind the superior if something arises which ought to be set straight. Thus, united with the superior, these aforementioned monks are to take thought of the monastery, are to toil and care for it as I order them; [they are to do this] in such a fashion, to say it succinctly, as though they and I were one and the same. With one accord, they should unite in administering and improving the monastery, not in a manner which focuses on the spiritual aspect and on the things pleasing to God, [but which looks also] to the physical realities. If the superior should become listless for any reason and desire to be excused from his office over the brothers, first all of these four will assemble together and promote one from their midst to the office of superior who, adorned with virtue, understanding, and piety, excels over the other three. Thus, let him feel free to take hold of the office. If the man [who resigned] so wishes, he may fill the place of the one who was just advanced to the office of superior. If he should be unwilling, then let these [four monks] together with the superior choose from the community a man of proven piety and spiritual disposition, and he shall fill the vacancy left by the [newly elected] superior.

So also in the case of the four: if anyone of these should wish not to be in this group, let it be managed in the same way. In this manner let the number of the five always be secure and undiminished. In this manner, too, let the whole monastery be harmoniously administered as I direct these men and give them authority so that both its souls and its affairs improve according to the will of God. They will drive far away from the monastery all disorder, indiscipline, and any other perversion of the monastic way of life. Whatever is well-ordered and disciplined, whatever is good and proper to virtue as well as dear to God—this they will lay claim to and introduce in order to rouse the brothers to keep all which has been ordained above.

Moreover, let the *ephoros* of the monastery²³ offer a helping hand to these four together with the superior, and let him work together with them regarding whatever they request of him, not only in spiritual matters as occasion demands, but also in physical necessities. Thus, in good order and in a spiritual disposition, the brothers can live peacefully and can pray fervently on his behalf so that on the day of judgment he will receive his own reward, whole and entire, from [p. 176] God who watches over all and will give his rewards corresponding to the earnings of the talents which each has received. (cf. Matt. 25:15–28) As for me, I have no other desire nor do I pray for anything other than that all the regulations laid down be preserved secure with no alterations or deletions and that the brothers be led to greater progress and gain through a spiritual way of life and constitution.

Therefore, I rouse you in the Holy Spirit toward preserving and maintaining in greater safety all that which has been previously written, and [I ordain] that no one shall have the right or authority, not only while I am still living, but even after I have died, to overturn, destroy, or alter what has been so composed and arranged for the benefit of the brothers. I have ordered that things be established in this way for the common benefit of the brothers' whole governance. All the more [I exhort] the superior and the four with him as well as all the officials and the other brothers, if they take thought of their own salvation, not only zealously to keep watch that this very monastic

constitution remain unaltered for the benefit and good governance of the brothers, but also that they zealously strive each day to advance the brothers toward what is better by means of a God-loving and virtuous way of life. They should look to the One who created heaven and earth, who gave himself as a ransom in exchange for us and revealed that it is greater and more exalted to serve than to be served (Matt. 20:28).

If, however, after I depart from life, either a bishop, a monk, or an official, or some other person from among the distinguished or the obscure—a person who is not numbered among the brothers nor lives with them, one who is unknown and unfamiliar [to the brothers] or even known to them, but not yet a member of their community—if, employing an unrighteous scheme, such a person has planned to take the monastery by means of an imperial decree and imperial authority, let him be cut off from the holy, consubstantial, life-giving, and indivisible Trinity and estranged from people of piety. [For, he would do this] not so that he would become a model of piety and virtue for all the brothers by practicing asceticism and virtue; nor [would he do it] to increase and improve the monastery's properties. Rather, as a grasping and pleasure-loving person, like the hireling—not the shepherd (John 10:12)—he will squander and consume these [resources] which have been consecrated to God and to [St. John] his venerable Forerunner for the maintenance and improvement of the monastery and for the proper governing and nourishing of the brothers. Such a person will be numbered with Satan and his demons on the day of judgment, and he will be tortured by eternal fire for ages without end.

In addition to these other matters [which are dealt with] in this testamentary rule, I exhort the superior of the monastery in the Holy Spirit to observe and fulfill whatever I shall order regarding the following. Therefore, I order that whoever is the official in charge of the monastery of Koulas²⁴ should take charge of the annual harvest of wheat from the mill close to the little gate of Our Lady, that he take this and make it into loaves of bread and break these into four portions and offer these as charity at the gate of the monastery. He will distribute this charity on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Accordingly he should divide up the grain for the entire month into four parts and hand this out as I previously said.

In the same way, he should take the mixed grain to the monastery, make it into loaves of bread and hand out these to the poor, just as I stated before concerning the wheat. He should hand out these loaves not at the gate of the monastery, but removed a distance so that confusion and disorder do not occur at the monastery's gate. So also, what they call the rent for the use²⁵ of the mill, which comes to twelve *hyperpera*, should be dispersed in the following way.

I wish to build a church in the tower which will be dedicated in the name of the all-holy lady and Mother of God, and I want the Annunciation²⁶ to be celebrated in it. In this building there should remain an old monk with an assistant. Let these two have their allowance from the rent of this mill. With this, let them get the oil and wax for the service of the church and of their liturgical offices. Whatever is left over should all be spent on the feast of the Annunciation for the honor and glory of the most holy Mother of God. For I desire and decree that this particular feast be celebrated in the church of the tower, and I entrust these matters to whoever happens to be the superior at the time so that he will be careful to see that this is done as I order. If anyone—either the superior or an official of the monastery—would want to feather his nest from such revenue which I have assigned to be counted as charity or should wish to confer it upon someone, or would

prevent its being used as I decree, he shall render an account before God on the day of judgment.

The end and glory be to God.

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of our translator, Timothy Miller [TM], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. Actually this is the table of contents for the first *typikon* of 1324; see above, Analysis, B.
2. A chapter with this title is not among those found in the text of the second *typikon* of 1332.
3. In the text of the second *typikon*, this is the title of [21].
4. In this document, this is the title of [22].
5. *monydrion*, for which cf. Kriaras, *Lexiko*, s.v.
6. For the wilderness *topos*, see also (6) *Rila*, (10) *Eleousa* [3], and (29) *Kosmosoteira* [74].
7. Andronikos II (1282–1328) and Andronikos III (1328–41).
8. Perhaps including the following chrysobulls of Andronikos II, ed. Guillou, *Archives*, no. 4 (1309), pp. 44–46; no. 6 (1313), pp. 48–49; no. 7 (1317), pp. 50–51; no. 8 (1318), pp. 52–53; no. 9 (1321), pp. 53–56; and a chrysobull of Andronikos III, ed. Guillou, no. 10 (1321), pp. 56–59. There are also various *prostigmata* and *horismoi* awarded by both emperors to Menoikeion.
9. Andronikos III.
10. Joachim's uncle, Ioannikios.
11. Evidently not preserved; cf. Andronikos III's chrysobulls, ed. Guillou, *Archives*, no. 24 (1329), pp. 86–89, and no. 26 (1332), pp. 91–95.
12. A reference to the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas, ed. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie*, vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 1–508.
13. Feast of St. Nicholas, December 6.
14. Feast of the the birth of St. John the Baptist, June 24.
15. One gold *hyperperon* equaled twelve silver ducats. The text as it stands, however, implies that one half-*hyperperon* equalled eighteen ducats which is not possible. It is therefore necessary to add *kai* to the text which then renders the passage intelligible. [TM]
16. cf. John Klimakos, *Scala Paradisi* 4, PG 88, col. 681B.
17. December 25 to the feast of the Epiphany, January 6.
18. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones asceticae* 28, PG 31, col. 1417C.
19. Likely transitional marker between the portion of the document borrowed from the first *typikon* and the materials that are original to this document; see above, Analysis, B.
20. The future emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–54), for whom see Nicol, *Kantakouzenos*, no. 20, pp. 27–30, and Talbot, “John VI Kantakouzenos,” pp. 1050–51. He is called here *gambros*, “brother-in-law,” of the emperor Andronikos III because his wife was Irene Asenina, a second cousin of the emperor. Irene's grandmother was Irene Palaiologina, a daughter of Michael VIII and sister of the late emperor Andronikos II. [TM]
21. (60) *Charsianeites* [B7] also forbids daytime visits.
22. In [18] above.
23. John Kantakouzenos.
24. This monastery was located northwest of Serres. See map in Guillou, *Archives*, pp. 6–7.
25. *empatikion*. For which, see Kriaras, *Lexiko*, s.v. *embatikiazō*.
26. The patronal feast, March 25.

Document Notes

- [1] Foundation history. A Group A chapter. Cf. contemporary foundation histories in (46) *Akropolites* [4] ff., (48) *Prodromos* [3], (49) *Geromeri* [13], (50) *Gerasimos* [2], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [4].
- [2] Why the *typikon* was composed. A Group A chapter. See similar discussions in (32) *Mamas* [41], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [40], (52) *Choumnos* [B1], and (60) *Charsianeites* [B1].
- [3] Independent status of the monastery. A Group A chapter. See other treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [12] and related documents, including (32) *Mamas* [4] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [4] as well as provisions for Palaiologan institutions in (37) *Auxentios* [2], (38) *Kellibara I* [15], (39) *Lips* [1], (40) *Anargyroi* [3], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [14], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C18].
- [4] Duties of the ecclesiarch. A Subgroup B.3 chapter, shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [20], (32) *Mamas* [8], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [8]. For treatments in Palaiologan documents, see (37) *Auxentios* [7], (39) *Lips* [24], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [49], [50], [51].
- [5] Duties of the sacristan. A Subgroup B.3 chapter, shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [19], (32) *Mamas* [8], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [8]; see also (39) *Lips* [23].
- [6] Duties of the cellarer and refectorian. A Group A chapter. For treatments in Palaiologan documents, see (37) *Auxentios* [7], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [69].
- [7] Duties of the gatekeeper; charity for poor monks and laymen. A Subgroup B.3 chapter, first part shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [29], (32) *Mamas* [12], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [12]; second part shared with (32) *Mamas* [13] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [13]. For treatments of the gatekeeper in Palaiologan documents, see (52) *Choumnos* [A14], (54) *Neilos Damilas* [16], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [72].
- [8] Dietary regulations: for days of fasting; for non-fast days. A Subgroup B.4 chapter, first part shared with (22) *Evergetis* [9] and related documents, including (27) *Kecharitomene* [40], (32) *Mamas* [17], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17]; second part shared with (27) *Kecharitomene* [46], (32) *Mamas* [17], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17]. See also the regulations in other Palaiologan documents: (37) *Auxentios* [10], (39) *Lips* [29], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [80] ff., and (60) *Charsianeites* [C17].
- [9] Reading of the *typikon*. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, shared only with (32) *Mamas* [16] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [16]. See different treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [43] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [65]. These Palaiologan documents also provide for the reading of the *typikon*: (37) *Auxentios* [13], (39) *Lips* [8], (55) *Athanasios I* [8], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [120], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C10].
- [10] Exhortation to the officials. A Subgroup B.4 chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [33] and related documents, including (27) *Kecharitomene* [25], (32) *Mamas* [23], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [23].
- [11] Ban on *kelliotai* and imposed guests. A Subgroup B.3 chapter, shared only with (27) *Kecharitomene* [53], (32) *Mamas* [26], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [26].
- [12] Allowance to the brothers. A Group A chapter. See different kinds of grants in (32) *Mamas* [28] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28]; they are rejected, however, in (37) *Auxentios* [7] and (56) *Kellibara II* [9].
- [13] Confession. A Subgroup B.1 chapter, shared only with (32) *Mamas* [29] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [29]. See also the treatments in (39) *Lips* [11], (52) *Choumnos* [B10], (54) *Neilos Damilas* [9], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [105] ff., and (60) *Charsianeites* [C6].
- [14] Women and youths banned. A Group A chapter. See different treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [39], (32) *Mamas* [27], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [27], (37) *Auxentios* [12], (53) *Meteora* [7], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C2].
- [15] Regulation of bathing. A Group A chapter. See different treatments in (22) *Evergetis* [28], (32) *Mamas* [28], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [28], (39) *Lips* [34], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [101].
- [16] Liturgical regulations. A Subgroup B.4 chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [5] and related documents, including (27) *Kecharitomene* [33], (32) *Mamas* [32], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [33]. See also the liturgical prescriptions in (37) *Auxentios* [6], [7], [8]; (39) *Lips* [30]; (56) *Kellibara II* [1]; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [78].

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- [17] No idle chatter during manual labor. A Subgroup B.2 chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [21] and related documents, including (32) *Mamas* [35], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [34].
- [18] No partiality in elections; hostility to privileges; punishment for disobedience. A Subgroup B.4 chapter, first two parts shared with (22) *Evergetis* [14], [17] and related documents, including (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], (32) *Mamas* [45], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [44]; the third part is original to this document.
- [19] Instructions to the superior. A Subgroup B.4 chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [17] and related documents, including (27) *Kecharitomene* [12], (32) *Mamas* [42], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [41].
- [20] Final exhortation. A Subgroup B.4 chapter, shared with (22) *Evergetis* [42] and related documents, including (27) *Kecharitomene* [78], (32) *Mamas* [46], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [45].
- [21] Designation of the protector. A Group A chapter. For *ephoroi* and other kinds of protectors in other Palaiologan documents, see (37) *Auxentios* [16], (38) *Kellibara I* [16], (39) *Lips* [3], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [18], [19].
- [22] Additional regulations. A Group A chapter. For disciplinary regulations, see also (55) *Athanasios I* [4], (56) *Kellibara II* [3], and (60) *Charsianeites* [B7]. For imperial investiture of the superior, see also (37) *Auxentios* [3] and (39) *Lips* [7]. For consultative government elsewhere, see (22) *Evergetis* [14] and related documents; in Palaiologan times, see (37) *Auxentios* [9], (38) *Kellibara I* [18], (39) *Lips* [27], (48) *Prodromos* [8], (50) *Gerasimos* [3], (52) *Choumnos* [A3], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [23], [55], [67], (59) *Manuel II* [6], and (60) *Charsianeites* [B9]. For removal of officials, see (22) *Evergetis* [32], [42] and related documents. For the *protector's* assistance, see also (32) *Mamas* [3], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [3], (37) *Auxentios* [16], (38) *Kellibara I* [16], (39) *Lips* [3], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [20], cf. (52) *Choumnos* [A26]. For the warning against violation of the foundation's independence, see also (37) *Auxentios* [2], (38) *Kellibara I* [15], (39) *Lips* [1], (40) *Anargyroi* [3], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [15].

59. *Manuel II: Typikon* of Manuel II Palaiologos for the Monasteries of Mount Athos

Date: June 1406

Translator: George Dennis

Edition employed: Denise Papachryssanthou, *Actes du Prôtaton* (= Archives de l' Athos 7) (Paris, 1975), pp. 254–61, with text at 257–61.

Manuscript: Autograph, Monastery of Iveron library (illustrated in Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, album, pls. 36–38)¹

Other translations: Russian, by Porfirii Uspensky, *Vostok kristianskii. Athon. Istoriia Athona*, vol. 3, pt. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1892), pp. 201–9.

Analysis

A. Historical Background

In this document Manuel II Palaiologos asserts his patronal prerogative to legislate for the monastic communities of Mount Athos, much as his imperial predecessors had done four centuries earlier in (12) *Tzimiskes* and (15) *Constantine IX*. Thessalonike, along with Mount Athos, was returned to Byzantine administration by a treaty in 1403 between this emperor and the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman I (1403–10). This document dates from this last period of Byzantine control over Mount Athos, which according to Oikonomides (“Conquête ottomane,” p. 10) lasted down to 1423/24, at which time the Athonites made their submission to Sultan Murad II (1421–44). In 1403, a delegation of Athonite monks arrived before the emperor in Constantinople to discuss various matters related to their properties and the taxes due on them.² According to a surviving *prostagma*, Manuel II sent Demetrios Boulotes on a mission to Athos in September 1404 to investigate disputes over properties in Macedonia between the Athonites and the Turks and between the monks and John VII Palaiologos, who was then administering Thessalonike for the emperor.³ There is also an allusion in this document to differences among the Athonites themselves on matters of common concern. Boulotes was to investigate, and if these issues could not be resolved, they were to be referred to the emperor for “the necessary correction.” This has been identified by Papachryssanthou (*Prôtaton*, p. 108) as the occasion for the issuance of the *typikon* translated below.

B. Model Typikon

This document has both an acknowledged and an unacknowledged source. The acknowledged source is the “*Rule of Athanasios*,” which our author refers to primarily on constitutional matters.⁴ Despite its title, it seems clear this is not the text of (11) *Ath. Rule* as we know it; though one of the four references may be to that document, the other three apparently are to (14) *Ath. Testament*. The

unacknowledged source, employed for the regulation of disciplinary matters, is (12) *Tzimiskes*, to which the author's own *typikon* has many analogues⁵ and from which he quotes (in the typical fashion for our authors, without attribution) in [10]. This shows how one Byzantine patron had the same respect for a prior regulatory *typikon* that patrons typically had for the memory of the "first founder" of a foundation they proposed to restore.⁶

Through the use of these documents, our author was attempting to impose a gradual reform in support of cenobitic monasticism, of which the monks' renunciation of personal property was the key element. Patronal piety aside, (12) *Tzimiskes* was hardly an ideal text on which to base such a reform since—typically for a document originating in the pre-reform tenth century—it is broadly tolerant of monks' ownership of private property. Yet the revolutionary changes in Byzantine monasticism since the tenth century were not without their impact on the present document. Our author's assertion [1], [12] of the inalienability and the sacral character of entrance donations and monastic property in general is an implicit acknowledgement of one of the essential conceptual contributions of the Evergetian reform movement. The administrative council, an institution of consultative government attributed [6] to the "*Rule of Athanasios*," actually represents a considerable expansion of the role designated for the electoral council in the comparable chapters of (14) *Ath. Testament* [12], [13]. Therefore the "*Rule of Athanasios*" as known to our author may have been a later, more ideologically and institutionally developed text than any of the Athanasian documents now preserved. The functions assigned to the "pre-eminent monks" in (22) *Evergetis* [14] may have prepared the way for the expanded role of their Palaiologan counterparts that can also be seen in (58) *Menoikeion* [22]. Yet the notion of collaborative government was never carried to such an extreme (i.e., decision-making by majority vote) in the rest of our documents as it is here. The increasing awareness of and respect for canon law has also had an impact in the sterner attitude shown [8] towards accepting monks from other monasteries.

C. *Lives of the Monks*

1. Personal Possessions

Among the many aspects of monastic life that our author claims have suffered neglect "because of the anomalies of the times" was the obligation of the Holy Mountain's monks to forswear personal possessions. Since the author considered it impossible to oblige the monks to "observe every one of the original regulations," he prefers to "approach the more important aspects of monastic life" by beginning with "the lesser ones." Here that means allowing [2] those monks who "hold as their own certain possessions which provide them with a modest income" to have a lifetime usufruct but to have these properties revert to their monasteries afterwards. He hoped that later the monks would be able to return to the original practice, referring to (11) *Ath. Rule* [34], of having no personal possessions.

2. Cenobitic Lifestyle

Despite the author's exhortation to the monks to fulfill their cenobitic ideals of renunciation (*apotage*) and obedience (*hypotage*), it seems clear that he also despaired [1] of being able to prevent them from either leaving their monasteries entirely on occasion or else remaining in the cells and "embracing the idiorhythmic life on the pretext of seeking solitude (*hesychia*)."

3. Servants Permitted

Those monks with the private means to pay them were allowed to have [2] personal servants, though not eunuchs and beardless youths [13]. Servants were to be [5] subject to the authority of the superior for such matters as permission to enter or leave the monastery.

4. Precautions against Sexual Misconduct

Like his distant imperial predecessors and Athanasios the Athonite,⁷ the author bans [13] eunuchs and beardless youths. The latter were also not to be allowed to accompany [15] building workers who might be engaged by the monks for particular projects (cf. (12) *Tzimiskes* [25]). The prohibition on eunuchs and youths is justified on the peculiar grounds that if it were not in force, a woman might be able to gain access to the Holy Mountain by disguising herself as a man. The author also endorses [14] the traditional Athonite prohibition⁸ on the use of female animals, “no matter how much help they provide in meeting needs.”

D. Constitutional Matters

1. Leadership

The author formalizes [6] the governing role of the “preeminent monks” seen in other foundations (especially (22) *Evergetis* [14] and its successors) into an administrative council of fifteen of the leading monks and the superior. He cites the “Rule of Athanasios” for the number of councillors, but neither the number nor indeed even the institution of a governing council is to be found in our present text of (11) *Ath. Rule*, though (58) *Menoikeion* [22] provides for collaborative government between its superior and a panel of four monks. Here, the superior and the councillors were to meet [7] every day or two to review the performance of the various officials of the monastery. They would also be responsible for selecting [3] new officials as well as the administrators of the dependencies of their monastery. The appointments to the dependencies were to be made [11] carefully to avoid the appearance of favoritism. The superior and the council were to resolve disputed issues by majority vote. The members of the council were to have their names inscribed [6] in the register of the monastery; deceased members were to be replaced by co-option.

2. Election of the Superior

The councillors were to serve [3], along with certain monks living outside the monastery (perhaps important *kelliotai*), as an electoral college for the selection of the superior. Again, the author cites the “Rule of Athanasios” as his authority. The citation is identifiable in our documents as (14) *Ath. Testament* [13], cf. (13) *Ath. Typikon* [18], in which Emperor Nikephoros Phokas allows the monks at Lavra generally to make their own choice of a new superior. The author provides that the installation ceremony should follow [3] that set down in the “Rule of Athanasios,” cf. (14) *Ath. Testament* [14].

E. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

The superior and his councillors were to be responsible [6], cf. [12] for managing the monastery’s financial administration as well as the rest of its affairs. A secretary, functioning like the treasurer

in other monasteries, was to keep [7] a record of income and expenditures, to be countersigned by some of the councillors.

2. Treatment of Entrance Offerings

Unlike the contemporary (60) *Charsianeites* [B16], entrance gifts brought to the monastery by postulants were welcomed. There is a special regulation governing their proper allocation. Gifts suitable for use in the church should be placed [12] there as consecrated offerings, while everything else was to be entrusted to the monastery's officials and apportioned out for the needs of the community with the knowledge of the superior and his councillors. As in the Evergetian tradition, taking personal possession of a donation of this sort was condemned as sacrilege. Also, as in (22) *Evergetis* [37], the donor of an entrance gift was not to be accorded [1] any special rights in the monastery because of it but would "receive from the monastery just what each of the brothers receives," i.e., he would not be allowed to retain a private income from his donation for his own use, as was also disallowed in (60) *Charsianeites* [B13]. If the donor decided later to leave the monastery or adopt an idiorhythmic life, he could not take with him any of the foundation's property or demand money from it, once again on the grounds that to do so would be sacrilegious.

F. Overall Philosophy

1. Respect for Canon Law

In a belated demonstration that another of the traditionally ignored principles of canon law was finally taking root,⁹ there is a provision that a monk coming to one monastery from another (i.e., a *xenokourites*) should be returned [8] to his home institution. He was to be admitted only if and when his current superior proved unwilling to take him back (cf. the more indulgent (12) *Tzimiskes* [4]). This is a striking contrast to the willingness of many previous foundations illustrated in our collection of documents to accept pious *xenokouritai*, even here on Mount Athos back in the tenth century (see (12) *Tzimiskes* [2]). Indeed these foundations were often dependent on such individuals for institutional reinvigoration and even, on occasion, for their leadership, despite fears that as superiors *xenokouritai* might compromise institutional independence or introduce foreign customs.¹⁰

G. External Relations

Just as Athanasios the Athonite had long ago banned adoptions and the formation of spiritual relationships in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [32], so here too our author prohibits [10] them, although he acknowledges that some of these relationships may already be in existence. The fear explicitly acknowledged here is that property-owning monks will bequeath assets to laymen that would otherwise (see [2]) revert to the ownership of their monastery. Our author seems to have been directly acquainted with (12) *Tzimiskes* [14], from which some of the text of [10] is borrowed.

Notes on the Introduction

1. See Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 254.
2. See Oikonomidès, "Haradj," pp. 681–88.

3. For the *prostagma*, see Arkadios Vatopedinos, “Hagioreitika analekta 15. Basilike diatage pros Demetriton ton Vouloten peri Hagiou Orous,” *Gregorios ho Palamas 2* (1918), 449–52.
4. The citations are: [2] monastic poverty, [3] election of the superior by the councillors, [3] installation of officials, and [6] number of councillors.
5. [8] reception of monks from other monasteries, cf. (12) *Tzimiskes* [5]; [10] no spiritual relationships with lay people, cf. (12) *Tzimiskes* [14]; [13] no eunuchs or beardless youths, cf. (12) *Tzimiskes* [16]; [14] no female animals, cf. (12) *Tzimiskes* [22], [23]; [15] building workers’ assistants, cf. (12) *Tzimiskes* [25].
6. Cf. (33) *Heliou Bomon* [51], (37) *Kellibara I* [12], and (40) *Anargyroi* [6].
7. (12) *Tzimiskes* [16], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [48], (15) *Constantine IX* [1], cf. [15].
8. (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31], cf. (12) *Tzimiskes* [22], [23], (15) *Constantine IX* [3]. For the underlying Studite custom, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [5].
9. See *C. Const. I et II*, c. 4 (R&P 2.658–59).
10. For the acceptability of *xenokouritai* as superiors, see (32) *Mamas* [1], (37) *Auxentios* [3], and (60) *Charsianeites* [B11]; for their career track, see (35) *Skoteine* [5], [8], [17]; for fear of changes introduced by them, see (32) *Mamas* [43], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1], and (37) *Auxentios* [3].

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Translation

[Prologue]

When a disease becomes very oppressive, causing serious harm to our bodies, and the affliction does not yield to treatment, the physicians, nonetheless, by skillfully making use of medicines and dietary improvements bit by bit overcome the illness and restore the patient to his former state of health. In like manner, the physicians of souls must constantly endeavor to see that the monks, who have chosen the narrow and rugged road, should live as God wants. If they should ever happen to turn off the straight way, then they must give sound advice, take them by the hand, and lead them back bit by bit to the life they have turned from. Then too, the instructors of serious students are often able to arouse them to greater effort, making use of speech as a goad to keep laziness from taking over, so their progress in acquiring the skill does not come to a stop. If this is so, how much more is it fitting in the monastic way of life, which is appropriately termed the art of arts,¹ that those who have been negligent in living virtuously and thrown themselves off the steep and narrow road should be carefully guided back to the point at which they turned off.

Now then, since so many aspects of the monastic way of life have suffered neglect in the

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revered monasteries on the holy mountain of Athos because of the anomalies of the time and the circumstances, my majesty realizes that some of those matters which have been neglected must be brought back to a better state, as many as the present situation permits. Otherwise, such gradual negligence will make a mockery of the whole monastic way of life. If we do not straightaway arouse the monks to observe every one of the original regulations, it does not mean that these things are being overlooked but that we must take care to correct the [transgressions] which remain [to be corrected] also. After all, wholesome foods are not disregarded because they do not destroy the disease immediately. Rather, we must choose them, for bit by bit they restore complete health. There seems to be no other way to approach the more important aspects of the monastic way of life than to begin somehow with the lesser ones.

1. First of all, to the best of their ability the monks must adhere to their renunciation. What constitutes the monastic way of life is not only whatever leads to the acquisition and practice of virtue and to progress in all other spiritual works which transform the soul into something better and more perfect (the holy scriptures make this clear to anyone interested), but it lies precisely in remembering and fulfilling the ideals of renunciation and obedience. The monks know exactly that just as God holds the recompense ready for those who have chosen to live as monks according to their promise (cf. Heb. 2:2), so there is the threat of judgment if they should be proven false in keeping the agreement they have made with him when they put on the holy habit. To the extent that such monks abandon observing their promises, by so much do they sin against God and transgress their profession to him.

The person entering the monastery and handing himself over completely to be a brother does so without demanding anything back or making any such agreement. He agrees, rather, to observe obedience to the superior and to live in peace with the brothers. Now, if he should wish to present something to the monastery as an offering or dedicatory gift, this may be given by him on the understanding that by making the offering he does not acquire any special right in the monastery because of the gift. The usage followed in the [p. 258] holy and great Lavra² is that absolutely no agreement is made between them because of what a man has brought in, but he is to receive from the monastery just what each of the brothers receives. But if he should become restive and move out of the monastery or remain in his cell without the consent of his own superior, embracing the idiorhythmic life on the pretext of seeking solitude, then he ought not take anything from the monastery nor should he demand any *hyperpera* from it. For if they were presented to the monastery as a dedicatory gift, then it is sacrilegious to try to take them back. Neither should he take anything from the monastery, in keeping with another custom in force in the holy Lavra, since he has not observed what he promised, nor is he willing to live as do the rest of the brothers. It is right, therefore, that he be deprived of what the other brothers receive from the monastery because of their perseverance and the peace and obedience which they show towards one another and towards the superior.

2. One who has elected to live as a monk should strive to have nothing as his own. But, mindful of the command and the threat just mentioned above in connection with renunciation, he should turn his back on all things present and, according to his promise, live a crucified life. This is the true

good. “No one who puts his hand to the plow,” it is said, “and turns back is fit to enter the kingdom of heaven” (Luke 9:62). By “back” is meant those things we have tossed aside as though they weighed us down on our journey to God. There are, however, at present instances of monks who hold as their own certain possessions which provide them with a modest income and for that reason cannot easily be taken away. In the case of these monks, then, let them retain the use and enjoy the fruits of these for the rest of their lives. Upon their death, though, these properties should be transmitted to their monasteries, in keeping with the practice observed in the Lavra up to the present. In the future, however, it is fitting that the monks should possess nothing as their own, according to the *Rule* of Saint Athanasios and their own promise.³ If the current situation presents a problem by not permitting them to make such a change for the better all at once, then let them hold on to those possessions until, with God’s help, the situation is again favorable, as is the custom throughout the holy mountain. From their movable property let them distribute what they wish to the servants subject to them as a recompense for their service, keeping in view what is fitting and blameless.

3. The superior should be appointed not only by the vote and election of the fifteen councillors inside the monastery according to the *Rule* of the Saint,⁴ but also by the agreement of preeminent brothers living outside the monastery who are to meet with them. The examination by the internal councillors and their agreement will certainly be sufficient for dealing with the affairs of the monastery. But for the election of the superior the presence of the outside monks is also necessary. For an event which happens only once it is not burdensome for the outside monks to come in once to the monastery. More important, though, it is necessary for everyone to come together and agree upon this man, inasmuch as they are electing a spiritual father whom they are to follow and imitate and to whom they are obliged once and for all to be subject. After the election they shall install him in accordance with the holy *Rule* of Saint Athanasios,⁵ who has put order into their way of doing things. It is the duty of the superior, then, in full agreement with the councillors to select the officials of the monastery, those who should be sent out to the dependencies,⁶ and those to whom the services of the monastery should be entrusted. In this way no one will gainsay them or suspect that they have appropriated the position themselves, since they were selected by the councillors.

4. All the brothers should have genuine love for the superior and should listen attentively to whatever he may say or propose. “He who hears you,” it is said, “hears me, and he who rejects you rejects me” (Luke 10:16). They should regard him as a father, indeed, as more than a father, for spiritual things are superior to those of the flesh. The superior in turn should look upon all as his brothers and fathers [p. 259] and in every way try to take care of them and guide them along the path of salvation. Our Lord and God was not ashamed to call those who followed him his fathers and brothers. For these, he said, “These are my mother and my brothers” (Matt. 12:49).

5. No one should enter or leave the monastery on his own accord, but only with the permission of the superior and after making their obeisance. Upon their return, they should be closely examined by him about what their soul or body encountered along the way. If necessary, he should give them norms to follow or he should dismiss them with forgiveness. The same will be expected of the

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servants of the old monks. If the old monks themselves require the permission of the superior to go out, all the more reason then for the servants to observe this rule. Otherwise, how will they look as disciples and servants of those whose way of life they do not imitate?

6. Everything affecting the monastery should be done with the council of the leading monks and the superior. Those cities which are prosperous are administered by the council of the best citizens, not by that of the majority or of anyone who happens along or even of the ruler alone. For the first is democracy, and the other is tyranny, both of which are quite out of place. It would be right to have nothing affecting the monastery determined without the counsel of the leading monks. Everything, in fact, should be done with the knowledge, intention and approval of them and of the superior. They should number fifteen, according to the *Rule* of the Saint,⁷ and their names should be inscribed in the register of the monastery. When one of them is called to perform his final duty, let those who remain deliberate and elect another to take that man's place, so that the number of councillors may be kept the same.

7. These councillors should come together for a meeting each day if possible, and definitely every two days. Together with the superior they should deliberate about what must be done; they should examine the services of the monastery and how they are provided by the appointed officials. The secretary of the monastery should keep a regular account of what goes out and what comes into the monastery, and this should be signed by some of the councillors to keep it above criticism. If there is any disagreement among them concerning what has to be done, the majority of votes should prevail.

8. A monk coming from one monastery to another should not be received immediately by its superior. At the same time, those monks should not be treated with disdain who abandon their own monastery or leave because of some fault, and thus run away from their spiritual enclosure. Every effort, rather, must be made to call them back to their monastery in imitation of our great God and Savior who, according to the parable, left the sheep that had not gone astray to go after the one that had gone astray (Matt. 18:12). A monk leaving one monastery and who wishes to come to this superior's monastery may then be received, according to the holy and divine canons, when the superior whom the monk left has been requested to pardon the brother for his sin, and he does not wish to do so. This is the manner in which they should act. They ought also to fear the penalties which the holy and divine canons⁸ of the first and second council [of Constantinople (861)] explicitly establish concerning monks who hop about from one enclosure to another and are received without the process noted above being observed.

9. The dough which is used to prepare the special bread for the divine offering should be more pure and not like that used for the needs of the monks. For if in times past when the sacrifice was being presented to God according to the old rite, the first and choicest fruits were offered to him, now when the bloodless sacrifice is being celebrated by the holy ministers, how much more appropriate is it that the dough from which the divine and spotless bread will be made should be pure and choice? Too much eucharistic bread should not be made from it, but only as much as shall

suffice for the service of the church. To make more than that amount and not to offer it up to God, but to allow the monks to eat the surplus, this is to sin before God. Those who dare to do this call down on themselves the same condemnation to which Eli and his sons were subjected. Before offering sacrifice to God they took the offerings, [p. 260] consumed them, and gave them to others. Eli did not stand up to them and forbid their impetuous act, and because of their sin they perished shamefully along with their father. Then too, the ark of God was handed over to foreigners, almost as if God could not bear having it remain among these lawbreakers (I Kings 2:12–4:18).

10. None of the monks of the Holy Mountain should go out and form spiritual relationships or adopted brotherhoods with lay people. This is quite improper for monks, for they have renounced children and parents and, in a word, all relationship by blood. Even if some have gone ahead and gotten involved in this sort of thing, they should still not go off to their houses, have dinner or supper with them, or do any drinking with them, or leave anything to them as their heirs.⁹

11. The dependencies should be given to those whom the superior and his councillors shall select. This should be a testimony before God, with their own conscience bearing witness, that they were not given these dependencies because of some relationship, close friendship, or in connection with some gift. For if it should not be handled properly, then the monks begin to grumble and whisper, and this will turn the monastery upside down and cause terrible destruction of souls. This leads to the tranquillity of the monks being overturned, as well as the whole monastic establishment and way of life. The Lord laid great stress on this. “Whoever scandalizes one of these little ones, it would be better for him to have a millstone fastened round his neck and to be drowned in the sea” (Matt. 18:6). How severe a judgment, then, will the man suffer who scandalizes so many and such good people? To such a person may be applied the saying: “It would have been better for that man if he had not been born” (Matt. 26:24). By his own actions he dismembers the body of the brotherhood, which is Christ himself, limb by limb with slander and grumbling (cf. I Cor. 12:27). It is clearly time to say: “Drive out such a person from among you,” so that “a little leaven” may not ruin “the whole lump” (I Cor. 5:6).

12. If anything should be brought into the monastery as an entrance gift, whether it be money, sacred vessels, oil, or anything else used for bodily needs, then the sacred things should be placed in the church as dedicated to God, while the other things should be entrusted to the officials, and with the knowledge of the councillors and the superior should be apportioned out for the unquestioned needs of the monastery. No one should take possession of any of them as his own; this would be sacrilegious and quite alien to the monastic way of life.

13. No eunuch or beardless youth should be received by the monks either for some service or to be clothed with the monastic habit.¹⁰ For in that way even a woman might escape notice if she dared to enter into the monastery disguising herself as a man and playing the role of a eunuch or beardless youth.

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14. Female animals of any kind whatsoever should never be found within the Holy Mountain, no matter how much help they provide in meeting needs.¹¹ This has been forbidden once and for all by those holy and virtuous men not out of simplicity or without reason, but to assure that the monks there would be pure in every respect and that not even their eyes would be soiled by the sight of a female.

15. Building workers may enter within the monastery and do work needed by the brothers, but they should not be accompanied by beardless boys on the pretext that they are assisting them.¹² In this case the reason is the same as was given a little bit earlier concerning eunuchs and beardless youths.

We consider it important that all the superiors and monks of the Holy Mountain should carefully observe every one of these regulations published by my majesty. By no means should anyone dare to take steps to overturn any one of the above chapters, being ever mindful, as it is said, of the threat and of the recompense. For at one time God bestows crowns and wreaths on those who carry out these regulations. At another time there is the threat of punishment and fire for those who pay no heed to them. If, therefore, anyone is discovered holding in contempt these regulations which have been issued for the protection and benefit of the monks on the Holy Mountain, let him recall the threats of the divine and holy canons, and let such a person be aware that he will experience no little unpleasantness on the part of my majesty, since he has trampled on his own conscience and been the instigator of scandal for [p. 261] most people.

Since in connection with some other particular topics the monks requested and called upon my majesty to set down regulations on how they should proceed, my majesty has issued a decree about them in a *prostagma*, in which they are all written down.¹³ This is also confirmed by the present chrysobull, so that the monks may fulfill everything written down in that *prostagma* just as what is written here. For this reason, now, the present chrysobull has been issued by my majesty to present the honorable monks on the holy Mountain of Athos with a *typikon* and a rule for the way of life they ought to be leading.

Issued in the month of June of the current fourteenth indiction, the year 6914 [= 1406 A.D.], and signed below by our pious and powerful majesty promoted by God.

Manuel [II] Palaiologos, in Christ our God faithful emperor and *autokrator* of the Romans.

Notes on the Translation

1. Cf. Ammonius, In *Porphyrii Isagogen*, ed. A. Busse, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, vol. 4, pt. 3 (Berlin, 1891), p. 6, line 27.
2. Cf. (13) *Ath. Typikon* [49].
3. (11) *Ath. Rule* [34].
4. (14) *Ath. Testament* [13].
5. (14) *Ath. Testament* [14].
6. See also [11] below.
7. (14) *Ath. Testament* [13].

8. *C. Const. I et II*, c. 4 (R&P 2.658–59).
9. Cf. the language of (12) *Tzimiskes* [14]. On *adelphopoiia*, see (3) *Theodore Studites* [8].
10. Cf. the language of (12) *Tzimiskes* [16]. For the so-called transvestite nuns—women who disguised themselves as eunuchs in order to enter a male monastery—and the reasons that prompted them to choose a male disguise, see E. Patlagean, “L’histoire de la femme déguisée en moine et l’évolution de la sainteté féminine à Byzance,” *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, 17 (1976), fasc. 2, pp. 597–623.
11. Cf. (12) *Tzimiskes* [22], [23].
12. Cf. the language of (12) *Tzimiskes* [25].
13. Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton*, p. 257, identifies this document as the *prostagma* of September 29, 1404. addressed to Demetrios Boulotes, ed. Arkadios Vatopedinos, “Hagioretika analekta”; see discussion above in Analysis.

Document Notes

- [1] Irrevocability of entrance gifts. See also [12] below, (22) *Evergetis* [37] and related documents. (13) *Ath. Typikon* [49] takes a different approach to the problem.
- [2] Lifetime rights of usufruct for monks with possessions; private payment for servants. For lifetime usufruct, see also (21) *Roidion* [A2], [B11], cf. [B15], [B17] and (42) *Sabas* [4]. For servants in other Palaiologan monasteries, see (39) *Lips* [40], [41]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [94]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [11].
- [3] Election of and installation of superiors; selection of officials. See also provisions in other Athonite documents in (13) *Ath. Typikon* [16], [17] and (14) *Ath. Testament* [13], [14]. For the regulation of these matters in other Palaiologan monasteries, see (37) *Auxentios* [3], [7]; (38) *Kellibara I* [18]; (39) *Lips* [5], [7], [21]; (48) *Prodromos* [18]; (50) *Gerasimos* [3]; (51) *Koutloumoussi* [A13], [B18], [C8]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [16], [18]; (55) *Athanasios I* [5]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [26], [73], [74]; (58) *Menoikeion* [18], [22]; and (60) *Charsianeites* [B11], [C18].
- [4] Proper relations between the superiors and their monks. Cf. the general discussions in (37) *Auxentios* [4], [5] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [27] ff. and [37] ff.
- [5] The superior to regulate all entrances and departures. For regulation of access in other Palaiologan monasteries, see (39) *Lips* [9], [15], [16]; (40) *Anargyroi* [5]; (52) *Choumnos* [A14]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [16]; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [55], [72], [75], [76].
- [6] Consultative government by the superior and councillors; deceased councillors to be replaced by co-option. For generally less structured examples of consultative government elsewhere in Palaiologan documents, see (37) *Auxentios* [9], (38) *Kellibara I* [18], (39) *Lips* [27], (48) *Prodromos* [8], (50) *Gerasimos* [3], (52) *Choumnos* [A3], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [23], [55], [67], (58) *Menoikeion* [22], and (60) *Charsianeites* [B9].
- [7] Regulations for the daily meetings of the councillors. See earlier provisions for financial record-keeping in (27) *Kecharitomene* [24], (32) *Mamas* [10], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [10], (34) *Machairas* [100], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [55].
- [8] Procedures for admission of monks from other monasteries. See also provisions in other Athonite documents in (12) *Tzimiskes* [4], [5], [8] and (15) *Constantine IX* [7].
- [9] Special dough for the eucharistic bread. See also (34) *Machairas* [40], (36) *Blemmydes* [4]; cf. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [85].
- [10] No spiritual relationships or adopted brotherhoods with lay people. Shared with (12) *Tzimiskes* [14]; cf. (3) *Theodore Studites* [8], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [30].
- [11] Dispassionate choice of administrators for dependencies. For appointments to dependencies, see also (44) *Karyes* [4], [5] and (48) *Prodromos* [4], [6], [12].
- [12] Proper handling of entrance gifts. See also [1] above, with crossreferences. For other contemporary approaches, see (52) *Choumnos* [B11] and (60) *Charsianeites* [B12], [B13], [B16].
- [13] Ban on eunuchs and beardless youths as servants or novices. See similar provisions in other Athonite documents in (12) *Tzimiskes* [16], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [48], and (15) *Constantine IX* [1], cf. [15], in (58)

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Menoikeion [14], and in the contemporary (60) *Charsianeites* [C2].

[14] Ban on female animals. See similar provisions in other Athonite documents in (12) *Tzimiskes* [22], [23]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31], [53]; and (15) *Constantine IX* [3], [4]. See also the contemporary (60) *Charsianeites* [C2].

[15] Building workers may enter, but no beardless youths. See similar provision in (12) *Tzimiskes* [25].

60. *Charsianeites: Testament of Patriarch Matthew I for the Monastery of Charsianeites Dedicated to the Mother of God Nea Peribleptos*

Date: September 1407

Translator: Alice-Mary Talbot

Edition employed: I. M. Konidares and K. A. Manaphes, “*Epiteleutios boulesis kai didaskalia tou oikoumenikou patriarchou Matthaïou A’ (1397–1410)*,” *EEBS* 45 (1981–82), 462–515, with text at 472–510.

Manuscripts: Codex Vindobonensis historicus graecus 55; Codex Parisinus Coislinianus graecus 243 (both 15th c.)¹

Other translations: German paraphrase of the *Rule* of Mark and Neilos [B] and the *Subsequent Chapters* [C] by Herbert Hunger, “Das Testament des Patriarchen Matthaïos I. (1397–1410),” *BZ* 51 (1958), 288–309, at 305–9.

Institutional History

A. Foundation by John Charsianeites

The history of this Constantinopolitan foundation is known primarily from the document translated below. The founder John Charsianeites, who is said [A6] to have believed that “wealth is a cause of spiritual destruction for those who do not divert it to needful purposes,” purchased the site for the monastery from a certain Ambar. Charsianeites endowed it with certain properties, including the village of Palatitzia that had been granted to him by Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–54). He was able to recruit [A7] Mark, then serving as superior of the monastery of Kosmidion, to direct his monastery, which was dedicated to the Mother of God *Peribleptos*.² After the return of John V Palaiologos (1341–1391) to Constantinople in 1354 and the abdication of John VI, Charsianeites, a supporter of the latter, was disgraced, and all his properties were confiscated [A7], including Palatitzia. It is not clear when Charsianeites himself became a monk under the monastic name Job, nor is it certain that he lived out the rest of his life at his own monastery, but his friend the ex-emperor John VI did take up [A8] residence for a time after 1354 and according to Nicol (*Kantakouzenos*, p. 94) may have composed his memoirs and other works there.

B. Association with the Patriarchate

Two of Mark’s eventual successors entered the Charsianeites monastery as his disciples during his superiorship; both went on to become patriarchs of Constantinople. The first was Neilos Kerameus, who became a monk at Charsianeites in 1354, and the second was our author Matthew, who entered the monastery at the age of fifteen, perhaps circa 1375.³ Neilos served as Mark’s immediate successor, shortly before his own elevation to the patriarchate in 1380. Neilos continued [A8]

the work of his predecessor in increasing the monastery's endowment, and evidently completed the testamentary *Rule* Mark had drawn up [A12] for Charsianeites. This work, called for convenience here the *Rule* of Mark and Neilos, was later incorporated by Matthew in his own *Testament* translated below (see [B]). This *Rule* probably dates from the late 1370s and the early 1380s.

Although Neilos continued to serve as superior of Charsianeites during his patriarchate (1380–88), he was unable [A9] to devote sufficient attention to its welfare, and its properties deteriorated. Neilos conveyed [A5] the monastery to our author in a testamentary disposition, probably circa 1388. Matthew then worked [A9] diligently to increase the monastery's endowment during the next few years, yet nearly all its properties were destroyed in the course of the Ottoman siege of Constantinople (1394–1402) by Beyazid I. Undeterred by this calamity, Matthew worked to restore [A12] the ruined properties up through the time he drew up this document. Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425) assisted [A11] with tax exemptions for a few of the foundation's properties. Meanwhile, our author was elected patriarch of Constantinople as Matthew I (1397–1402, 1403–10). He was the last of the great reform patriarchs of the Palaiologan era.⁴ Like Neilos Kerameus, he continued to serve as superior of the Charsianeites monastery during his patriarchate, but with more diligence than his predecessor. He issued the foundation's testamentary *typikon* translated below in 1407.

C. Subsequent History of the Foundation

In the first half of the fifteenth century, Makarios Makres, superior of the Pantokrator monastery for which (28) *Pantokrator* was written, was the author of a description of an icon of the Nativity located in the church of the Charsianeites monastery.⁵ The monastery was still in operation in the middle of the fifteenth century when ca. 1450–52 the future patriarch Gennadios II Scholarios began his monastic career there.⁶ According to George Sphrantzes, the superior in 1451 was a certain Neophytos. Earlier, Sphrantzes' younger brother had become a monk there in 1417. He studied under Joseph Bryennios, who was still living at the monastery at the time that Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos dictated his personal testament to Sphrantzes in 1425.⁷ Presumably the monastery remained active up to the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, but nothing is known of its fate thereafter. Although presumed to have been situated somewhere in Constantinople, the monastery's precise location is unknown.⁸

Analysis

This document, formally titled as “Final Will and Instructions,” is composed of three parts, an *Autobiography* [A] of the author, Patriarch Matthew I, the *Rule* of Mark and Neilos [B], the author's predecessors, and the *Subsequent Chapters* [C], a kind of supplementary *typikon*. The author's quotation of the earlier *Rule* [B] within the text of the present document is a novel way for a patron to incorporate the customs of his like-minded predecessors in his own legislation. More typically, patrons accomplished this more circuitously by freely incorporating unattributed quotations from a respected model *typikon*. Only Isaac Komnenos, in (29) *Kosmosoteira* [8], comes close to our author's willingness here to acknowledge his indebtedness to earlier legislation that had served to form his own notion of how a monastic community should be organized.

60. CHARSIANEITES

A. *Model Typikon*

Both Mark and Neilos' *Rule* and the author's own *Subsequent Chapters* are militantly pro-cenobitic documents. The *Rule* in particular is useful for illustrating the impact of the idiorhythmic challenge to cenobitic life that was one of the most salient features of Byzantine monasticism in the last centuries of the empire. Thus, while a contemporary document like (58) *Menoikeion* weakly claims a place in the Evergetian tradition based on its sharing the more moderate, late-reform phraseology of (32) *Mamas*, the referenced parts of the present document, like the surviving extracts of (40) *Philanthropos* and (56) *Kellibara II*, are aggressively neo-Evergetian by virtue of sharing a common ideological outlook as well as consistent customs and usages with (22) *Evergetis* itself. Typically, the *Rule* and the *Subsequent Chapters* echo some of the most significant content found in (22) *Evergetis* itself.⁹ They even advance more extreme positions on some subjects such as private friendships, relations with family members, the acceptability of entrance gifts, and the admissibility of monks without assets. Finally, since this long document, along with the very brief (5) *Euthymios* and (55) *Athanasios I*, are the only ones in our collection written by patriarchs, we gain from it our best insight into the thinking of the public officials of the Byzantine church at a critical time when the hierarchy was attempting, with some success, to redefine the rights and responsibilities of private patronage over ecclesiastical institutions.¹⁰

B. *Lives of the Monks*

1. Number of Monks

There is no specification of the number of monks at the foundation, but since the need to replace the monks as they are reduced by attrition is foreseen [B12], there was likely a fixed number of positions.

2. Liturgical Duties

There is no systematic discussion of liturgical duties, although there is a reference [C17] to an unidentified *typikon* in connection with the psalmody prescribed for Lent and other periods of fasting. There are special provisions for the celebration of the patronal feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God [C14], for the annual memorial service for the founder Neilos [C15], for the memorial services for departed monks [C13], and for a weekly liturgy for the emperor and his family [A11].

3. Manual Labor

Manual labor is one of several areas of monastic life that the *Rule* of Mark and Neilos prefers to leave [B20] to the discretion of the superior.

4. Length of the Novitiate

Laymen entering the monastery with the intent of becoming monks were to serve [C1], [B15] a novitiate of three years. Candidates had to be at least sixteen years old [C2] even though the author himself was no more than fifteen years old [A3] when Neilos received him into the monastery. The author categorically rejects [C18] imposition of candidates (i.e., as *katapemptoi*) upon the monastery by either the emperor or the patriarch.

5. Sacramental Life

The monks were to confess [C6] their sins to the superior rather than to an outside spiritual father. This is a return to the usage of (22) *Evergetis* [15] that contrasts with the more indulgent practices seen in (52) *Choumnos* [A17] and (58) *Menoikeion* [13]. The elaborate rationale for this requirement includes an argument that an outside confessor could not prescribe suitably for a monk in accordance with the rules of the latter's monastery.

6. Cenobitic Lifestyle

Although the *Rule* of Mark and Neilos [B2] presents an unusually open-minded discussion of the various forms of monastic life, the cenobitic lifestyle is to be preferred [B3]. The authors considered [A1] cenobiticism to be the ideal median between the solitary life and life in the secular world. This was an uncompromising form of cenobiticism, too, such as might have pleased the founders of *Evergetis*. All property was to be held [B5], [B21], [B22] in common; no monk was to have any private property; and cells were to be furnished with only the bare necessities from the common storeroom. Not only are personal quarrels condemned [B6] but personal friendships [B7] as well. Monks were not to fraternize [B7] privately with other monks, but content themselves with communal companionship instead. Even stricter than (58) *Menoikeion* [22], which banned nighttime visits to cells, this document bans [B7] daytime visits as well.

For his own part, our author condemns [C3] secret eating, but considers a monk's helping himself to his favorite foods as worse than secret gluttony. Therefore, the refectory was to place all food out on the table equally, except for the sick, who could request either sweet or salty foods but not both. As in (22) *Evergetis* [22], monks were not to be allowed to receive correspondence, which is here said to be a sign of idiorhythmism, and, as in (22) *Evergetis* [27], the superior was to inspect the monks' cells (here monthly) to enforce the prohibition against personal possessions.

Mark and Neilos' *Rule* condemns [B17] fellowships (*adelphata*) which are said to "divide godly communities into thousands of parts." Our author was likewise unwilling to accept [C2], cf. [C18] fellowship holders, either those living inside (*esomonitai*) or outside (*exomonitai*) the monastery, even in exchange for donations of money or property.

Likewise Mark and Neilos refuse [B18] admission to kelliotic monks desiring to practice an idiorhythmic life. Even those who might be considered "truly important and God-fearing" were nevertheless considered a harmful example for less perfect monks under obedience to the cenobitic rule. Current monks who were unable to live in common were to be expelled or allowed to withdraw [B8], cf. [B13] from the monastery to adopt a "self-regulating" (i.e., idiorhythmic) lifestyle on their own. Even hospitality was to be limited [B19] to two or three days as a precaution against visiting monks establishing themselves permanently as idiorhythmics.

7. Care of Sick Monks

Mark and Neilos urge [B4] the monks to care for both the physical and spiritual health of those of their number in need. Accordingly, they are instructed to "summon doctors skilled at curing such afflictions." Elsewhere, the prohibition of individual monks retaining part of their personal property as a provision for old age and illness suggests [B13] that monks were losing their willingness to rely upon their monastery to look after them in need.

60. CHARSIANEITES

8. Diet and Clothing

As with psalmody, the author discusses [C17] the monks' diet only during periods of fasting, in accordance with an unnamed liturgical *typikon*. Mark and Neilos were willing to leave [B20] both dietary regulation and the determination of suitable clothing to the superior's discretion.

9. Relations with Family

Mark and Neilos' *Rule* expects [B13] candidates for tonsure to renounce not only their money and property but also their family and social ties, accepting the monastic community as a substitute family. This was not simply a nominal renunciation, for the *Rule* prohibits [B14] visits to or from blood relatives, and for his part our author cites canon law in forbidding [C9] the monks to serve in such secular capacities as guardians of widows and orphans or (in a more surprising capacity) as advocates at law, even for supposedly needy individuals.

C. Constitutional Matters

1. Constitutional Status

At the conclusion of the *Testament*, the author provides [C18] for the maintenance of the monastery's freedom, which he claims has been honored by emperors and patriarchs since its foundation. The pious but unlucky founder Charsianeites, after choosing Mark as the foundation's first superior, removed [A6] himself from the foundation's "management and ownership, since it had been dedicated by him once and for all to God." Thus Charsianeites serves as a rare model of how the reformist ecclesiastical hierarchy would have liked all private benefactors to behave, and his foundation therefore appears to have been a genuinely independent monastery on the Evergetian model. Later, after the monastery fell on hard times [A7], it seems to have come under some form of patriarchal protection (see [A9]), perhaps just coincidentally since several of its superiors went on to become patriarchs later in their careers.

2. Leadership

The functions as well as the titles of a protector and a superior were combined at this foundation to create a strong leadership under the *prostates*. After Neilos' elevation to the patriarchate in 1379, the monastery is said [A9] to have been left without a protector, with debilitating consequences for the monks and their properties, until our author became actively involved upon Neilos' death in 1388. The superior was to be free to make [C18] his own choice of a successor as had been [B10] the tradition at this foundation; if no suitable candidate was available internally, an outsider (i.e., a *xenokourites*) was eligible [B11] for selection instead. There is no mention of any role played by the community as a whole in the selection of the superior. A blank space is left [C18] in the document where our author intended to insert the name of his chosen successor, whom he evidently expected would be an ordained monk.

Other officials are not mentioned in the document, though the heavenly patron the Mother of God is honored [C18] not only with the titles of "founder" and "protector" but also, curiously, as "superior" and "steward."

3. Style of Rule

Although it emphasizes [B8] the importance of the monks' obedience to the superior, Mark and

Neilos' *Rule* warns the latter that he should not govern [B9] the community as if his spiritual leadership were actually "some secular authority which came to him from a paternal inheritance." Our author adds [C4] that the superior should not entertain visitors in his cell or anywhere else except in the refectory and at regular mealtimes. Moreover, he was not to have [C1] a servant or retainer, nor fraternize with lay people on pretext of "management of the monastery." However, as in (22) *Evergetis* [18], the superior was not to be accountable [C16] to the monks for his administration of finances "as long as he abides by all the rules and regulations."

4. Patronal Privileges

The founder (*ktetor*) Charsianeites exercised [A7] his patronal right to choose Mark as the monastery's first superior. Eventually this was transformed [A5], [C18] into the right of the superior to choose his own successor. Usually, it was the Byzantine pietistic practice to honor a monastery's original founder even after the lapse of many centuries (e.g., as in (33) *Heliou Bomon* [51], (38) *Kellibara I* [12], and (40) *Anargyroi* [6]). Here, however, Charsianeites fails to receive even a founder's memorial, though the foundation did retain his name.

5. Reading of the *Typikon*

The author provides [C10] for the reading of the *Rule* of Neilos and Mark in the refectory at the beginning of each month. The *Ascetic Treatises* of Basil of Caesarea were to be read there daily, and the *Gerontika* also on occasion.

D. Financial Matters

1. Financial Administration

Consistent with his hostility to entanglements with the secular world, our author was unwilling to permit [C8] business transactions or loans engaged in with an expectation of financial gain. Instead, the monks were to rely on the income from the foundation's endowment, which had been painstakingly put together, destroyed, and then reconstituted twice already in the relatively short history of this monastery.

This document is unique among those in our collection for viewing [C8] the payment of taxes on its non-exempt properties as a fair civic responsibility. As our author in his extreme formulation of the issue declares, "they should hand over to the tax collectors with all truth and honesty everything owed them from all the revenues of the monastery, even if nothing else remains for the sustenance of the monks." In another position that puts him at variance with most of his fellow patrons, the author forbids [C7] his monks to go to court to defend their title to properties, declaring "I prefer that they be deprived of physical possessions without justice than for them to become involved in lawsuits." This same distaste for litigation was one of the reasons Mark and Neilos sought to ban [B18] kelliotic monks from the monastery, for fear that court suits would result if it was necessary to expel these monks (presumably without returning their entrance donations).

2. Entrance Fees Prohibited

Neilos and Mark's *Rule* forbids [B16] the exaction of entrance fees from postulants on the grounds that it is hypocritical to demand that they be paid while also teaching that money is unnecessary in the cenobitic life. The *Rule* goes so far as to prefer penniless monks for admission since they

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would already be propertyless, accustomed to a spare diet, and amenable to obedience and humility. Wealthy postulants should donate their possessions to the poor or to their relatives; the (no doubt traditional) counter-argument that the management of such a candidate's property should be entrusted to the foundation that would be looking after him henceforth is acknowledged but rejected: "you must absolutely avoid taking any fees from the postulant monks." This is certainly an extreme, and perhaps unprecedented, position on this controversial issue, exceeding in rigor even the classic reform solution to the problem proposed long ago in (22) *Evergetis* [37].

E. Overall Philosophy

1. Attitude towards Privilege

Before our author's own superiorship, the ex-emperor John VI Kantakouzenos resided at the monastery. Despite the fierce opposition noted above to kelliotic monasticism, this distinguished resident was given [A8] the residence of the superior "because there was no other cell suitable for his habitation and repose," where he carried out renovations to create a kind of apartment for himself. Apparently this was the exceptional case, since in every other respect this foundation exceeds even (22) *Evergetis* in its disdain for aristocratic privilege. We have noted the author's instruction to prefer [B16] penniless applicants and the prohibition against taking any entrance fees, even those offered voluntarily. In a passage that echoes (22) *Evergetis* [14], Mark and Neilos' *Rule* admonishes [B10] the monks that "leadership (i.e., the superiorship) is not the reward of friendship or noble birth or wealth, but of virtue." Also, our author instructs [C4] that visiting nobles are to get no special privileges not given other guests, but should eat with the monks at the regular midday meal.

2. Misogynist Tendency

Endorsing and indeed exceeding the Evergetian tradition, our author forbids [C2] women to enter the foundation "whether dead or, even worse, alive." For other restrictions on the burial of the opposite sex, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [70] and (37) *Auxentios* [13]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [86] discourages burial of either sex within the monastery. The ban on female animals is not an Evergetian prescription, but has old precedents in the Studite and Athonite traditions.¹¹ For good measure, the author also bans the admission of youths under sixteen because of "their tendency to loose behavior and the scandal produced therefrom by the devil."

F. External Relations

1. Relations with the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

Our author obliges [C12] the superior to visit the patriarch twice a year, before Lent and during Easter week, in order to demonstrate that he remained in communion with the leader of the church. Otherwise, neither the superior nor any of the monks were to attend services at the cathedral church of Hagia Sophia.

2. Institutional Philanthropy

This foundation provided the customary donations of bread and wine (and here cooked food also) at the gate to the poor on the patronal feast of the Dormition [C14] and on the respective feast days

for the founders Neilos and Mark [C15]. On other days, two “larger loaves” of bread were to be distributed. Our author proudly notes [A9] that his acquisitions for the monastery’s endowment made charitable donations possible for both the poor and for travelers.

Notes on the Introduction

1. See Hunger, “Testament,” pp. 288–89, and Konidares and Manaphes, “*Epiteleutios boulesis*,” pp. 467–69.
2. The dedication is known from notes in two manuscripts that once belonged to the monastery; see A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Hierosolymitike Bibliothek* (St. Petersburg, 1891–1915), vol. 2, p. 112, with Hunger, “Bildbeschreibung,” p. 137. Makarios Makres’ description of an icon in the monastery church (ed. Hunger, “Bildbeschreibung,” p. 126) also states that the church of the Mother of God *Nea Peribleptos* was located at what was popularly known as “the monastery of Charsianeites.”
3. For our author, see Talbot, “Matthew I,” p. 1316.
4. See the 228 documents in his patriarchal register for the years 1399–1402, in Darrouzès, *Regestes*, nos. 3059–286.
5. Ed. Hunger, “Bildbeschreibung,” pp. 126–27.
6. See Hunger, “Bildbeschreibung,” pp. 138–39.
7. George Sphrantzes, *Chronicon* 5.1, 15.2, 33.5, ed. Riccardo Maisano (Rome, 1990), pp. 12, 32, 120.
8. See Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 502.
9. Echoes of Evergetian usages include: [B10] no preference for aristocrats as leaders, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [14]; [B16] evils of entrance fees, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [37]; [C2] access to women forbidden, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [39]; [C3] inspection of cells, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [27], and ban on correspondence, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [22]; [C6] confession to the superior, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [15]; [C16] superior not financially accountable, cf. (22) *Evergetis* [18].
10. For which see E. Herman, “‘Chiese private’ e diritto di fondazione negli ultimi secoli dell’impero bizantina,” *OCP* 12 (1946), 302–21, and my own *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987), pp. 253–69.
11. Cf. (3) *Theodore Studites* [5], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31], and more recently (45) *Neophytos* [19], and (59) *Manuel II* [14].

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Translation

Final will and instructions of our most holy master, the ecumenical patriarch, to the monks in his charge, including his biography from beginning to end, and also including an exposition, divided into chapters, of the contents of the *Rule* previously written by his venerable master,¹ the most holy monk lord Mark.

Autobiography [A]²

[A] 1. Of the many features which characterize a godly life, one of the most important and most beneficial is for monks to live together in the same [place], brethren who have chosen the same life, lending each other a helping hand to accomplish and acquire virtue, and setting forth the achievements of each as common accomplishments. For such a way of life is like a compromise between the completely eremitical and, on the other hand, life in a worldly society, dividing [men] in appearance as far as their bodies are concerned, but in soul and heart uniting each other into one body, just as occurred once among the apostles. I believe that this is the shortest path and ascent to heaven, and free of every danger. As for those fathers who rivet their attention on this world below, and are all agape for earthly matters, it follows that they will be greatly concerned that their own children continually enjoy wealth and glory. But for spiritual fathers it is fitting rather to be concerned for appropriate and beneficial behavior which leads to the success and spiritual advancement of their spiritual children. This is a reminder of divine words, and explanation and precepts of the rules of the Fathers, whereby virtue is achieved.

Since my humble self has deemed this especially useful, I decided that I should set down in writing the responsibilities of the monastic vocation, and bequeath it to you with a prayer as a paternal inheritance and inalienable treasure. I have collected these [precepts] from the actions and teaching of my holy venerable masters, from whose guidance I profited by divine providence, even though on account of my indolence I lag far behind them in virtue.

I should first describe briefly my own career from the beginning—I think that it is all to the glory of God who disposes everything for the best—and then discuss the rest with as simple language as possible. [The story of] my life is as follows:

[A] 2. When I was very young and had not yet passed through my twelfth year, [p. 473] the idea and thought occurred to me to reject the vanity of the present world as the cause of all evils, and to withdraw to monastic life, which offers complete peace and tranquility and provides much gain and “spiritual profit”³ for the soul. Thus I became obsessed with this [idea], removing my mind from all present things, in which the tender nature of children makes them to take pleasure and delight. Above all I imagined in my mind and told stories with my tongue and marveled at the men who are dedicated to God and lead an angelic life upon earth. I prayed to God that I might live under the tutelage of such a guide and trainer, and that my soul be so ordered and that I might receive such a spiritual education as to enjoy the blessings and prayers of his virtue and not fail to achieve my salvation.

Therefore since such thoughts possessed my soul daily and burned it like fire, but it was not possible for me to achieve my desire easily by myself, I was forced to reveal my intentions to my

parents, and to share with them my wish to flee from the world and my desire for the monastic life, as a result of which I was clearly convinced that I would enjoy the pure and absolute blessing of solitude.⁴ I did not cease to join tears to my words, in my entreaties that they might help me, since my heart was irrevocably fixed on this desire, and, in any case, I had no intention of changing my mind, even if they objected. My parents were sorely distressed and grieved at my words, overcome by their natural affection, as a result of which they “left no stone unturned,”⁵ as the proverb says, in the hope that they might weaken somewhat the intensity of my desire and my stubborn resolution. They recounted the arduous life of monks, the mortification of the body, and the extreme hardship and ill-treatment, all of which were difficult and scarcely tolerable for immature adolescents like myself. But although they posed these objections, I managed to avoid being persuaded by them, or being affected with any of their timidity, to such an extent that I became even more eager, as if I had heard encouraging words. My soul was inflamed, and I desired even more to lead such a life, which has no easy or smooth stretches, but is rough and steep; it can, however, convey those who have chosen to live in this way to the truly blessed and eternal life, the true homeland which has no end.

[A] 3. Therefore after three years passed, during which my original desire and intention grew and did not slacken in any way, and it was obvious to my parents from my words and actions that I was even more sorely grieved [p. 474] by remaining in the world, I found them reluctantly yielding to my wishes, considering the passage of time a clear teacher of my future eagerness for my vocation, and praising me and joining with me in prayer for a fortunate outcome from God. I think it was the work of Divine Providence which provided for both [of us] equally, so that my action was rewarding for them, and for me it was a source of great pleasure to achieve my desired goal with their blessing and approval. So they brought me to the most holy monk lord Mark,⁶ whose virtue was so preeminent that no one at all who either saw or heard him did not marvel at him and deem him worthy of much remembrance; indeed he was even revered by the very emperors⁷ who wield all power, who heeded him as if he were their common father and teacher.

Thus they approached this man and explained to him my intention from early life, and entreated and begged him to accept me and enroll me in the band of monks who were his disciples. At first he appeared to hesitate about accepting me on account of my tender years. For usually [immature youths] flit from one thing to another, and tire easily of the intensity of virtuous discipline, and soon take their leave. But at last, through the providence of the Almighty, he agreed to their request and received me with prayers, after first giving me a great deal of instruction on these matters. In this way even further eagerness, so to speak, and spiritual strength entered into my soul through his holy tongue and the truthful charm of his words. For he encouraged me greatly in the labors of virtue, from the very start as they say, and instilled in my soul the greatest benefit with the healing remedies of his hortatory and paternal words.

[A] 4. Therefore from that time on I lived in his cenobitic monastery, acknowledging my great gratitude to God, and carrying out my assigned duties with pleasure and the greatest of zeal. For never through any hesitation or laziness did I fail to fulfill any of the requirements, nor did I appear to procrastinate or complain, even when I was engaged in particularly difficult and un-

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pleasant tasks, but I carried out my assignments gladly, as if I were receiving a favor rather than an order. For I was mindful of the divine voice of Our Lord, which said, “When you have done all that is commanded you, say, ‘We are unworthy servants; we have only done what was our duty’” (Luke 17:10). Therefore through the grace of God and the prayers of the father and venerable master who received me, I have maintained from beginning to end the same eagerness in everything; and to say nothing more, I did what he approved and desired. This was much more important and more valuable for me than thousands of treasures and every other honor and glory, to show every effort and eagerness on behalf of those things which were pleasing to him. [p. 475]

[A] 5. Furthermore, after his most blessed departure to God for whom he longed, I maintained pure and undiminished the affection of my soul for the most holy patriarch lord Neilos,⁸ who was left as successor and heir of his virtue and his monastery, since he clearly retained the virtuous features of the teacher and father; and I had no thought, either great or small, which I did not reveal to him as to “God who knows the hearts of men” (cf. Luke 16:15). At all times I enjoyed his even more paternal disposition and kindness, so that I was established in the same position as that of which he had been deemed worthy by the common father. [This held true] not only when we were living in the monastery, but even more so when he assumed the leadership of the ecumenical church,⁹ by the vote of God who could not bear for the great light of his virtue and teaching not to shine over the entire world. For then I did not spare myself in the least, but exerted the greatest and constant zeal for the sake of those things which pleased and refreshed him. My zeal was not worthy of his gifts to me, I mean both spiritual and physical; however, it was not inferior to his expectations, as he showed later when he was moved of his own accord to entrust to me the inheritance and leadership of the entire monastery in the same way in which he had received it from our common father [Mark], confirming my authority and rule over the monastery with testamentary letters which possessed complete validity. When I took over the monastery,¹⁰ in accordance with his wishes, I had to expend much care for both spiritual and physical matters, on account of the crisis caused, on the one hand, by the wickedness of some of the monks, on the other hand by the confusion and disorder of affairs, as will be recounted a little later in the appropriate section of the document.

[A] 6. Now it is necessary for me to speak briefly about this holy and divine monastery of mine, how and by whom it was originally established, and to what extent it has prospered, first under the leadership of the [two] holy venerable masters, and then up to the present time under the supervision of my humble self. The late and blessed lord John Charsianeites, who took the name of Job when he assumed the monastic habit, prospered during his life on earth, had good repute among emperors and officials, and enjoyed extraordinary honor and glory from everyone. But he realized that this glory in mortal affairs is truly precarious, shifting and rolling about sometimes like dice, and he also realized that wealth is a cause of spiritual destruction for those who do not divert it to needful purposes and a foundation of philosophy and virtue. [p. 476] For this reason, since he considered all worldly things of little account, and desire for them completely unworthy of a noble and magnanimous soul, he decided it was necessary to dedicate his entire life to God, its giver, and to exchange these ephemeral matters, which quickly fade away like spring flowers, for that eternal

and blessed glory. Therefore he found it in accordance with this divine purpose of his to construct a monastery for monks at his own expense, and to donate his fortune to it in the desire that the monks should continually preserve the blessing of virtue and solitude through not lacking in any necessities.

The late Ambaros owned at that time the property, where the monastery is now situated. Only a church was still standing there, and some dilapidated houses and old arcades; it was otherwise deserted and a place where robbers and murderers lurked—for often the corpses of murder victims were found there. The deserted and quiet character of the place, which naturally contributes to the working of virtue by men dedicated to God, led Charsianeites to purchase it. After he gained possession of it, he exerted the greatest possible zeal (for he knew how much profit he would gain for himself) first on the decoration of the divine church, and then he cleared everything else away to make the land tidy and serviceable. He built some small cells, which are still standing, as a residence for the future monks. He also donated the village called Palatitzia¹¹ (which had been granted to him with a divine and solemn chrysobull by the late and venerable emperor [John VI] Kantakouzenos, on behalf of which he also acquired a sealed patriarchal letter), and two vineyards outside the capital opposite the Golden Gate, another vineyard in the territory of the Saurai, as well as two houses, one near the Milion, the other one, with a courtyard, near the Beautiful Gate, and a vineyard within [the walls] at Kyparissia. After building this monastery, and donating to it the properties which I have described, he did not think it sufficient to stop at this point, nor did he seem careless and lazy in his pursuit of the good. Instead he carefully investigated and made inquiries like ardent money-lovers in the hope that he might chance upon some hidden treasure, I mean a man united with God through virtue, and hand the monastery over to him, thus removing himself totally from its management and ownership, since it had been dedicated by him once and for all to God.

[A] 7. He learned that the late lord Mark, my venerable master, who was greatly distinguished at that time for his virtue and knowledge of God, had moved to Constantinople [p. 477] from the *skete* because of the attacks of the infidels there, and that here he had been appointed superior of the great monastery of Kosmidion¹² at the request of the emperor.¹³ Therefore the above-mentioned founder approached him, and resorted to many entreaties and prayers, not only his own, but also those of many other worthy men; and after he disclosed to him his original desire and his pious intention, he persuaded him with difficulty to give up the demanding leadership of the monks [at Kosmidion], and to assume responsibility for this monastery, because he especially liked its tranquility and the way it was otherwise situated and constructed. These were the reasons that persuaded him, since he was a man who always held dear the contemplative life and was not accustomed to worldly pursuits and concerns.

Therefore after he was entrusted [with the monastery] in the aforesaid manner, he lived in it for the rest of his life. The founder made no additional contributions besides the above-mentioned; for although he wished to make further donations, since he possessed a considerable fortune, he was prevented by the tumultuous times from realizing a goal proportionate to his desires. For when the late and venerable emperor Lord John [V] Palaiologos entered the capital,¹⁴ the whole populace was in uproar, inasmuch as it tends to riot at such times of change and confusion.

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Nor did Charsianeites escape the frenzy of the mob because he was supposedly a partisan of the emperor [John VI] Kantakouzenos. For suddenly certain individuals attacked his house and completely plundered it, and did not deem him worthy of any consideration, in fact they even tried to bury him alive. But he sought sanctuary at the Great Church of God [Hagia Sophia], and thus was barely able to escape the danger that threatened him, and to emerge safe and sound, although he was stripped of all his property. Shortly afterward the emperor took away the village at Palatitzia, and donated it to the monastery of Stoudios.

[A] 8. All later additions to the monastic property were the fruits of the sweat and labor which my holy venerable masters laboriously expended. When the venerable emperor Kantakouzenos embraced monastic life at our monastery,¹⁵ and subjected himself to my holy venerable master as one who had amassed great experience in true philosophy, and was well trained in leading his disciples to the perfection of virtue, he was given the residence of the superior, since there was no other cell suitable for his habitation and repose. He constructed the sun porch and the small upper floor over it, and had the interior of the cells plastered and painted green, as he described in the letter written in his own hand. Nothing else whatsoever has been donated to this monastery by anyone else at all, neither emperor, nor noble. [p. 478] For it was my venerable masters who added the other vineyards, and constructed the tower which can now be seen. However, some other gardens were purchased, because previously there were some very small courtyards on either side of the monastery.

[A] 9. Shortly after my venerable master, lord Mark, was summoned from this world to the “eternal habitations” (Luke 16: 9), the most holy and venerable patriarch lord Neilos was elevated to the ecumenical throne,¹⁶ illuminating everyone like a sun with the rays of his words, and the monastery was left bereft of its protector. Little by little its properties began to show signs of deterioration, as did the monks, on the one hand because of the absence of their leader, on the other because of their neglect of higher things. Therefore when Neilos journeyed to the God for whom he longed, I returned to the monastery and engaged in much toil and labor in order to improve the monks as much as possible and to set them free from the sluggishness which afflicted them, and to concern myself with the condition of the estates which were completely neglected. Therefore I purchased fields and vineyards, and created others from scratch, and, as it were, I left nothing undone which could contribute to their well-being. These properties became established and prosperous so as to furnish sufficient provisions not only for the monks who lived in the monastery, but for many other poor people and strangers as well. This situation continued for some time.

When the general disaster befell [us], God permitting this for our chastisement, for ineffable reasons which he himself knows, and the infidels ravaged the environs [of the capital],¹⁷ these estates were totally destroyed along with the others, with only a few small roots remaining here and there, but neither trees nor anything else at all surviving. In the course of this disastrous state of affairs the patriarch lord Antony [IV] died.¹⁸ Immediately as his successor was ordained patriarch lord Kallistos [II],¹⁹ who lived only a short time and also departed to the blessed other world.

[A] 10. Therefore since the church was bereft [of a leader] and seeking a spiritual bridegroom, by vote of the entire synod and approval of the most divine emperor, my humble self was entrusted with this position by decisions which God knows.²⁰ Yet I kept putting off my decision in this matter and was extremely reluctant; and this was caused by considerations of my own inadequacy and the enormity of the task entrusted to me. However I referred my [concerns] to Divine Providence, and remained peacefully in possession of the patriarchal throne, by grace of God, as long as the most divine emperor stayed in the capital.

But when it was necessary for the holy emperor [Manuel II Palaiologos] to undertake his arduous journey for the sake of help for the Christians, to travel to Italy to unite the people there with us in alliance, he invited his own [p. 479] nephew, the emperor [John VII Palaiologos], to a reconciliation, and left him in charge of the city.²¹ For a while the affairs of the Church continued peacefully even under him. Then little by little trouble started as if from a spark, and [the flames] of wickedness rose high, kindled by certain men who wished to pursue their own desires. First they stirred up confusion in the church and rebellion against it. Then they set to work openly, as if they interpreted the mission of the holy emperor on behalf of the Christians as a lucky windfall. Led astray by their slanders against me, the incumbent ruler deposed me from the patriarchate.²² When these men were given free rein, just as they were dreaming, of their own accord they threw the entire church of Christ into confusion, and caused grievous harm for the souls of those who listened to them, as insults and unspeakable calumnies were hurled from all sides against the most revered name of Christians, and to the greatest extent possible they exposed the immaculate and pure church of Christ to derision and ridicule by all. Under these circumstances I was exceedingly grieved and sorely wounded in my heart.

I did not attach any importance to the mischief devised against myself, heeding the wise James, who wrote, “Count it all joy, my brethren, when you meet various trials, for you know that the testing of your faith produces steadfastness” (James 1:2), “and endurance produces character, and character produces hope, and hope does not disappoint us” (Rom. 5:4). The great Paul says, “No temptation has overtaken you that is not common to man” (I Cor. 10:13), that is temporary, just as the illuminator and teacher of the world, John Chrysostom, explained. It would take a long time to recount in detail all the passages of the holy [fathers] which have one and the same purpose. Wherefore I shall pass over any of their wicked machinations which clearly affected me alone, and forgive the perpetrators, whoever they may be, both during my lifetime and after my death, as the result of a pure disposition and heart; and I pray to my God that they will not be held liable for this, either in this ephemeral age, or at the future and awesome Last Judgment of Christ.

But to the extent that they have worked shamelessly to destroy and slander the church of Christ, with calumny and unjustly as He knows who watches over the hearts of men—for, as God is my witness, I speak the truth, with a clear conscience—I beg God that they may be granted an intelligent mind and true understanding, so that, as the result of a change of heart through repentance, they [p. 480] may find God kindly toward them, and that they become aware of how much destruction they have caused for themselves and the souls of men by exposing the church of Christ to derision and ridicule to the greatest extent possible. For it is no small or insignificant crime for someone to sin against God and to tear asunder into limbs and parts the body of the church which has been well joined by him.

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[A] 11. Thus I first prayed for them, when with God's permission that storm was still raging about the church, and now I am setting it down in writing for informational purposes, since the Church is prospering again,²³ through the grace of Christ, and has received the proper honor and glory from the holy emperor [Manuel II Palaiologos]. For he has striven magnificently on its behalf, so that there might be added to his many noble accomplishments this special achievement, that the Church of Christ which was grievously divided might be restored to harmony and enduring peace by his excellent and most imperial soul. Furthermore when peace was restored to earthly affairs, too, through the ineffable solicitude for us of God who crushed the spirit of the barbarian and delivered it to total destruction, and vouchsafed that the holy emperor returned from Italy to his own city and empire, and everyone began to restore their estates, I, too, set to work to care for and improve to the best of my ability our estates which were completely devastated by that lengthy siege. At great expense I restored these [properties] as best I could, as well as the tower which had been set on fire by the infidels and was in danger of imminent collapse, so that, with God's assistance, I was able to bring them to even greater prosperity and increase so as to furnish adequate provisions for the brethren in the monastery.

I also petitioned on their behalf the holy emperor, who with great kindness granted this concession, referring the favor to my Virgin, that the imperial treasury would collect only three *hyperpera* annually on every hundred-measure of wine produced at the dependency, and, of the two *zeugaria* of land which we own, that one *zeugarion* should be maintained in perpetuity completely exempt and not liable for the customary tithe of the crops harvested, and that absolutely all our land should be free of tax, just as we had it previously. For most of our fields consisting of no longer cultivated vineyards²⁴ outside [the city] were free of tax. Wherefore I enjoin and beg of you that each week the monks in this holy monastery celebrate a liturgy solely in honor of the holy emperor and his family. You should not be content with this, but whenever the liturgy is celebrated, you should commemorate the name of the holy emperor and his family.

[A] 12. Thus from the beginning, even while my holy venerable masters were still alive, as I have already explained, I showed great concern for this monastery, and even greater after their death. For I added [p. 481] to the properties left by them other lands both at the monastery itself and at the dependency, which I consider unnecessary to mention by name. And now again after the destruction from the siege, I restored and improved these properties as much as possible with great expense and labor to provide sufficient food and livelihood for the monks in this holy monastery. I also thought it necessary to provide for their spiritual and holy tasks, and to give them a written rule and regulation. If they live in accordance with this *typikon*, they will please God and will continually provide the necessities not only for themselves, but also for others, with the help of God.

It seemed to me then, in accordance with the desire and purpose of my heart, that worthy and sufficient was the *Rule* which my holy venerable master lord Mark had already issued. It was written by the most holy and venerable patriarch lord Neilos, and included in complete detail the [rules] appropriate for the holy monastic and cenobitic way of life. My humble self, satisfied with it, enjoins and exhorts all the monks, both those who now live in this holy monastery and their successors, and especially the superior, to cleave to this rule as if it were holy tablets and laws of

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God, and to endeavor to leave none of its commandments unfulfilled. The rule reads as follows:

Rule of Mark and Neilos [B]

[B1.] [Introduction]

It is appropriate both that the life of those who choose to live in accordance with God be a holy life, and that they abstain from those things which seem pleasant in this life, so as not to be greatly distressed at the harshness of the godly life, nor consider the working of virtue to be labor. In the belief that the promised bliss is ineffable and marvelous and fitting only for the One who awards the prizes, they should not only traverse the road that leads to it quickly and with great eagerness, but should also congratulate themselves and rejoice, because they happen to be among those who have chosen “the good portion, which shall not be taken away from them” (Luke 10:42), as the Gospel says.

Therefore all our marvelous fathers have made it their single business throughout life to regulate with deeds and words us, their successors. On the one hand, they provide the example of an irreproachable life and follow a very strict regime, spending their life in constant fasting, subduing the body with vigils and labors and preferring the better [course], through prayer and study and the care of the heart revealing themselves as a pure dwelling-place for God. They also advise us with words, either [p. 482] by offering their teaching orally and transmitting it to us like a paternal inheritance, so that the good may travel to everyone until the end, or by writing accounts of virtue, sometimes persuading us that it is a fine and honorable possession and necessary for us, sometimes inciting us to acquire it. Then again, they show us ways and methods through which we will hold fast to virtue and reject evil, exposing the treachery and wickedness of the insidious [enemies], and enduring lengthy and constant travails, and being everything, and leaving no stone unturned, so as to prepare us to choose and walk upon this true and narrow path, and not the broad path followed by the majority, which ends in distress and pain and sighing and, in short, destruction. For, like prophets, they knew that they would need little or no human teaching, since they had the Paraclete dwelling in them, teaching and reminding them of the whole truth, but that we, who in the last days will be among those whose great negligence and indolence is condemned by the great teacher of the Church, I mean Paul (cf. II Tim. 3:1–5), together with the other evils which he enumerates, that we would need much and continual teaching, in the hope that, after being stung by the number and severity of the rebukes, we might be able to rouse ourselves and dispel the thick and gloomy cloud of laziness.

The superiority of their virtue gave them confidence, and they proposed common laws for all the people of the earth, as if they were common teachers of salvation, using the power of the Spirit in them. This is evident: for they could easily subdue to themselves and humble those who did not obey them, for the most part treating them well and benefiting them in various ways, but sometimes using a light whip to tame the unruly. Just in this way the great Paul, for instance, delivered the sinner in Corinth to the devil “for the destruction of the flesh, that his spirit may be saved” (I Cor. 5:5), since when he was chastened with words, he was not willing to abstain from evil. Before him, Peter, the chief [of the apostles], delivered Ananias to an early death (cf. Acts 5:1–5), [though] I am not sure why, either engaging in such cruelty so that the life of Christians might not be

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infested with evil weeds straightaway from the beginning, or else judging that those who deceive the Holy Spirit must be so severely punished as to deserve death. I certainly incline to this latter explanation, since his every act and word and thought depended on the will of God, and whatever he wished, this Peter manifestly did and taught that band of believers [p. 483]. I will pass over the other fathers and teachers, not to mention the apostles, who manifestly lead on their disciples through both these [principles], as if showing that what pleases them, pleases God first, and it is necessary to receive them with gratitude and not act rashly.

They then acted in this way, and it is in no way remarkable, for they had the authority which they received from the Spirit. But I believe that it is not at all appropriate for me, who lacks their virtues to an extraordinary degree, to propose general precepts and a rule of life. On the other hand, it is possible for me to teach you who are in my charge (in the capacity not only of counselor but also of teacher), what I think is best, and, as it were, to set down laws and order you to abide by my precepts, or if you do not abide by them, to suffer the appropriate punishment. Yet I do not intend to devise some novel regime for you, nor things which no one has proposed or done until now, so as to incur the charge not only of innovation, but also of disobedience, because I neglected the [path] which was not only revealed by the holy fathers, but also previously traveled by them, which, as God himself is a trustworthy witness, is the right path, because not only after their departure from this world (for those things are neither perceptible to the mind, nor can they be spoken), but also while they were still alive, he enriched them with many spiritual blessings, and because I took another course, an untrodden path, so to speak, and not explored by the fathers, which is not possible to call new, but rather the contrary, which clearly ends in destruction, since [its] opposite has been shown by deeds themselves to end in eternal life.

[B2.] [Discussion of the forms of monastic life]

Therefore since [our] argument has rejected innovation, it remains for us, following in the footsteps of the holy fathers, to convince you to abide by the traditional and ancient regime of the pious ascetics, so that by “fighting the good fight” (cf. I Tim. 6:12 and II Tim. 4:7), and running the course of virtue, you may be deemed worthy by them of the same prizes. For there are many paths of piety for athletes, since our heavenly Father also has “many mansions” (cf. John 14:2), or rather since there are many paths, therefore there are many mansions. For we hear that this makes the difference between mansions, but all [paths] lead to heaven and stand before God and always receive one of those mansions. Therefore some men embrace the completely solitary and reclusive life, truly choosing the angelic life, having one goal, to be united with the most pure light, and to engage in its study and contemplation, with little or no attachment to earthly things. [They do] this so that, while still encased in this carnal and earthly body, they may be fortunate enough to experience their ascent from this world and their deification in the world to come, pledges of which they have already [p. 484] had on earth, being able to do whatever they wish, like gods. Other men live with each other and derive much consolation therefrom, but these men also live by themselves to the extent of each one’s desire or ability, possessing individually not only virtues and accomplishments, but also the very necessities of life, as if they were on a borderline between those who are completely solitary and those who on the other hand live a communal and cenobitic life, who have not only their possessions and bodies in common, but also one heart and soul. Now

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I must write a few words about them, since you have stripped for this course of asceticism.

[B3.] [Advantages of the cenobitic way of life]

To recount all the virtues inherent in such a way of life would take longer than the intent of my present discourse, and so to speak would require a separate treatise. But lest through ignorance of the treasure of virtues hidden therein, you be disheartened [and think] that you have chosen a humbler and even mundane lifestyle, I have selected a few of its blessings to recount to you, so as to show that it is a sister of the aforementioned [forms of monasticism], and leads to the same prize of the higher calling.

First then they maintain and preserve the main point of the Savior's incarnation, as best they can, for we are taught by the Holy Scripture that there is no other principal tenet than this, [namely] how to join us to him and to each other, and remove the separation and division which resulted from sin, uniting "all things" and "reconciling" (Col. 1:20) them to God the Father. Although they are gathered together from different nations and places, they join themselves together into one purpose and way of life, and bind their souls together as much as possible. Then too they imitate exactly our Savior's life on earth, for they take the place of disciples, while bestowing upon the superior the role of Christ, and rendering to him absolute obedience in all things. The many are one through the union of free will, and the one is not alone because he uses the bodies of all as his own limbs; and if one is "honored," then all are glorified as members of each other; if one "suffers," they "suffer together" (cf. I Cor 12:26), in the words of the apostle. They are each other's masters, and each other's servants, and they believe that this servitude is sweeter than any freedom. For the cause of this is not necessity, in which there is an element of pain, but free will and right choice. They own their possessions in common, they have one purpose, their salvation is in common, as is their wealth. At the same time, it suffices for them all in common, and the whole belongs to each one individually, for it is not material, so that it can be decreased by division into many parts. Therefore what could be more blessed than this way of life? For if the great Paul cites as the most perfect teaching, "Be imitators of me, as I of Christ" (I Cor 4:16), then [p. 485] it must be a great thing for them to become imitators of Christ.

I have related these few [virtues] out of many, not in order to give praise (for I am afraid lest I detract greatly from their value because of the inadequacy of my narration), but in order to show how great and what sort of blessing you lay claim to²⁵ and what eagerness and zeal you should demonstrate for its acquisition. So great is this topic that you can form an idea of the web [of my discourse] from the words I have woven at the beginning. Therefore I want you, my beloved sons, my true brothers beloved in Christ, to be workers and heirs of such a great good. For what more sublime or magnificent [possession] could I have to bequeath to you as a paternal inheritance?

[B4.] [Care for the physical and spiritual health of the monks]

First of all, I entreat [you] all to be one through good works and mutual love, so that you are separated only in your bodies, but are united in your souls, and each preserves the relation of limbs to the natural cohesion of the whole body. When everyone is healthy, you should be grateful to the Provider of health, each one on behalf of the others rather than on his own behalf, but if one of you is ill, then you should all be sympathetically disposed to his illness and share in his suffer-

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ing, just as the other limbs of the body suffer, if one is in pain. You should do everything and exert yourselves to see the brother cured of his illness, sparing nothing, neither deed nor effort, each of you reckoning that the same zeal and equal affection, as they go around, will reach him too, since we are all clad with the same weak body. But if, God forbid, someone should happen to be afflicted in his soul, then you must demonstrate even greater zeal and more ardent concern, since inasmuch as the soul is more valuable than the body, the harm is greater and more grievous. You should summon doctors who are skilled at curing such [afflictions], and in every way divert your brother from sin, exhorting him to proper behavior with words, and propitiating God with supplications and prayers.

[B5.] [Maintenance of all possessions in common]

Next [I enjoin you] to hold all your possessions in common, and that no one should have private property, nor even speak of it. You should condemn to utter banishment from this holy sheepfold [the words] “mine” and “yours,” which cause much trouble in life.²⁶ You should have nothing in your cells except for the bare necessities, and I do not mean food for the body, since the communal storerooms will have that, but whatever coverings are required for daytime use and for your rest at night, or even a book, so that when you have leisure from external distractions, you may occupy your mind with this, lest it wander off into improper thoughts as the result of idleness; and these items should be from the common [stores].

[B6.] [Expulsion of quarrelsome monks]

As for the arguments and rivalries and fights, I do not even wish to exhort you to avoid them. For how could the blessing of peace be preserved, or how could it not be torn into thousands of pieces by those who argue and fight? So that, as long as peace and equality remain, there is no possibility of fighting. If, however, [p. 486] the whole body is at peace and harmony, but one of the limbs is in discord, in this case the superior must concern himself with which drugs he can restore health to the ailing [brother], provided that [the latter’s illness] is such that he can somehow expel the evil and embrace harmony in the future. But if [the limb] is completely incurable, then even though we grieve and are pained at this, we must amputate it, lest it infect the other members with its disease, or even bring death to the whole body.

[B7.] [Prohibition of private companionships and friendships]

Not should you have private companionships or friendships, for this destroys harmony in yet another way. Paradoxically strife arises from friendship, for “slanders” and grumbling and “gossip” (cf. II Cor. 12:20) and suspicions and countless ills result from this, and grow upon the beautiful body of the community like spots and blemishes; and as a result its beauty withers and decays and its strength is gradually consumed, just like bodies consumed by lengthy illness. You should guard against all these things with every precaution. You must guard against this evil as well, and not permit anyone to do it, since it is one of the forbidden actions. Thus none of you should fraternize privately with another [monk], but should engage only in that communal companionship which members [of a community] owe each other. Nor will anyone be allowed to go to another’s cell, and visit or talk with him, either at nighttime or during the day, unless he wishes to

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be guilty of the charge of disobedience. But if the superior who is entrusted with the direction of the community orders a monk to convey one of his decisions to a monk in his cell, he should stand outside the door and depart as soon as he has delivered the message.

[B8.] [Importance of obedience to the superior]

It does not seem necessary for me to review in detail all the appropriate behavior. For you are not ignorant of these things, but as a result of your long association with me, you have experience of everything. Besides, this will be the concern of my successor as superior, to maintain your virtuous actions, by both his words and deeds, and to correct your faults with fatherly advice and instruction. Thus this will be his concern; and I ask you to maintain your obedience to him in a genuine and pure fashion, inasmuch as you owe him the same obligation as me, and you should render to him the appropriate reverence and honor. If someone asks, "Why should I? It is to you that I came and entrusted myself, and submitted myself with humble spirit. I do not wish [to submit] to another, you will not force and compel me to obey [another] against my will," we will quickly answer him that he will receive the same reward for submission, whether he submits to me or to him. For it is not the rank of one who subjects him, but the humility of the one who submits that leads to wreaths [of glory]. But if he should not be able to endure the submissiveness, and once and for all surrenders himself to a self-regulating regime and vainglory, he should withdraw from [p. 487] the monastery and live by himself wherever he wishes. No one will refuse him, since there can be no compulsion in the godly way of life. But I am not giving instructions now about those who choose to withdraw from the community of brethren, but about those who wish to live with the monks and share their possessions. These I enjoin to observe obedience toward my successor as superior. For I believe that this will be to your advantage and will lead to harmony and will bring you peace, as the many become one through obedience to one man. But in case one of you rebels and follows his own desires, if the superior can somehow reform him and make him submit to the yoke of Christian humility, this would be the best solution; but if he is incurably ill, he should be expelled from the monastery. For as John Klimakos said, "it is not right to permit the visible and the invisible enemy in the monastery."²⁷

[B9.] [Exhortation to the superior]

Neither should the superior govern with arrogance and insolence, considering himself the master of the monks, and them his servants, believing that his leadership is not a spiritual leadership, but some secular authority, which came to him as if from a paternal inheritance. For such [a superior] not only does not follow the strict regime of monks, but is clearly its enemy and opponent. Rather he should govern and care for [the monks] as a father cares for his own children, being guided by fatherly love in everything he says and does. For thus he will endure the unpleasant odor of the ailing [monk] and the rashness and congenital stupidity of the novice and the inability to perform bodily [functions] as a result of old age or disease. He should always hold the position of head with regard to the other limbs of the body, supervising them all and telling them all what needs to be done to manage the body, moving the limbs as he wishes, and they should not rebel against nor resist any of his wishes, but offer unquestioning obedience. He should treat them all as his own, deeming each one worthy of the appropriate care, maintaining the same affection

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and compassion toward all of them, but assigning each its own. For it would be inappropriate, or rather completely foolish, to assign to the hand the function of the foot, or the function of the eye to the mouth, or that of the mouth to the kidneys. For thus these limbs or organs will be worn out, and he will labor in vain, not having put them to appropriate use. Such a character do I wish in my successor as superior of this community.

[B10.] [Designation of a successor]

Wherefore after much deliberation on this matter, as the result of long trial and having learned from his very deeds that Neophytos Kerameus²⁸ is suited for this position, I want him to [p. 488] succeed me in authority over my brethren. For I have not passed over, as the result of some friendship or affection, a candidate who was suitable for the task on account of his virtue and experience, and preferred someone who lacked intelligence and made no pretense of virtue, but thus simply and honestly I have judged him capable of the task, so that his authority will not bring him any harm, but an increase in virtue, so that he will be able not only to instruct himself, but also to be a good example to the others, since the subject always tends to resemble the ruler. When he approaches the end of his life, in the same way he too should choose from the current monks the one who is pre-eminent over the others, and should appoint him as the leader of the brothers. The others should not be annoyed, or pierced with darts of envy, because they surpass the one who was preferred, but instead they should make the affair material for the acquisition of virtue, in the clear conviction that leadership is not the reward of friendship or noble birth or wealth, but of virtue. Again, when he is about to depart this present world, he should do the same; and this procedure should be followed in succession, with preference always being given to the best candidate. For I think this will not only be to your material advantage, but even more to your spiritual profit.

[B11.] [Permission to select a superior from outside the community]

But if it should ever occur that no one from the community is competent to assume the position, not because of wickedness, but because of lack of experience, the superior at that time, heeding my present discourse, should not subject the monks to an inexperienced [leader], since as a result he may be ruined and destroy²⁹ the others too. For he would be acting in a similar fashion to someone who took men whom he wished to save and whose salvation he deemed most important, and put them in a boat and released it upon the ocean, but then entrusted the tiller to a farmer or smith or cobbler, who not only did not know how to battle the waves and save the boat from the swell, but did not even know this fact, that it is by means of the tiller that [the boat] is steered. For they will surely sink with the ship, since there is no one who knows how to save them. But first of all he should make a search and exert a great deal of effort on this matter and bring in from the outside a shepherd who has a virtuous disposition and who, above all, fits in with your way of life. For it would be foolish to see no danger in importing food from the outside for the body, if there are no local provisions, but not to provide for the soul from the outside one who can nourish it with the bread of life. No one of any intelligence would find it harmful to entrust his sheep to an experienced shepherd brought in from outside, if he realizes the inexperience of those he has trained; and so in the case of rational souls [it would be foolish] to consider it shameful to entrust them to someone with pastoral experience, thinking this is not a fine thing, for the good to be

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found in others. In the case of the vineyard, no one would insist that its owner prune it, if he had no experience, [p. 489] but would call in vine-dressers from outside to prune it knowledgeably; and so in the case of “the plant which our heavenly Father has planted” (cf. Matt. 15:13), [it would be foolish] not to call in from outside someone to care for it and surround it with a trench, and make it inaccessible to wicked beasts. But so much for this.

[B12.] [Qualities of postulants and manner of their reception]

When, as is to be expected, certain members of your community depart this life, or for some other reason it is necessary to introduce new [monks], we would consider what sort of people they should be and the manner of their reception. First of all then it is fitting that anyone who wishes to join your community and become a member of it should renounce all his possessions. For how could he be numbered among the disciples of Christ if he has not renounced everything, since our Lord Jesus Christ said, “Whoever does not renounce all that he has cannot be my disciple” (Luke 14:33), and again, “If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross,” and then he added, “and let him follow me” (Matt. 16:24); or again, “If anyone comes to me and does not hate his own father and mother and children and brothers, yes, and even his own life, he cannot be my disciple” (Luke 14:26). Since therefore one who does not renounce everything and sever his attachment to the world cannot be a disciple of Christ, how could he be numbered among you, who have not only renounced money and property and friends and intimates and relatives, but have even denied yourselves, which is the greatest and most difficult [sacrifice]? Since then this is impossible, the reverse [alternative] would be possible, and [would prove] both profitable and beneficial.

[B13.] [Requirements for tonsure]

Therefore the [prospective monk] who comes to you must first renounce his money and property and family and social ties, and not be encumbered with any worldly evils, but he should believe that his true father is the one who brings him to the True and First Father, and that his brothers and friends and relatives are those who have chosen the same ascetic way of life as he has. He must also believe that his true property and wealth are above all the lack of possessions and poverty, which will procure for him the inalienable wealth of heaven, and in the second place the common property of the brethren, which belongs both to everyone and no one, on the one hand because it fulfills equally everyone’s basic need, on the other hand because each [monk] believes it belongs to the others and is not his own; and thus it happens that everyone practices perfect poverty.

Next he must adapt himself to the habits and system of the community, and believe that he should aspire to those goals [p. 490] which he also sees the community pursuing, and avoid those things towards which he sees the brothers ill-disposed. He should not have any private property, using as an excuse perhaps that only taking something from common property is forbidden and incurs a charge of theft, whereas storing up something for oneself from his own property, with a view to his old age or illness, is not liable to any charge. For first of all he entangles himself in faithlessness, not believing that he who gave this promise is trustworthy, and capable of doing what he promised, and he imputes injustice to God, [believing that] if he were to give all his

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property to the poor, in obedience to God, God would not be present at a time of need to relieve his necessity. How could he then say to Christ, “Lo, we have left everything and followed you” (Matt. 19:27), when he has kept back certain items, or how could he say, “You cannot serve God and Mammon” (Luke 16:13), and “No one can serve two masters” (Matt. 6:24)? He should avoid such an action. Indeed the parable of the merchant, which bears on this, is clear to everyone, “who finding one pearl of great value” bought it “for everything he had” (Matt. 13:45–46); and in another parable the Lord clearly declared that [the seed] “that is choked by the” anxieties and “cares of wealth” is not able “to bring its fruit to maturity” (cf. Luke 8:14). The Lord himself declared that the wealthy man is enmeshed in all sorts of cares, saying, “Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also” (Matt. 6:24). Besides these, such [a monk] will be inclined to defect from the community of brothers. Rather right away from the beginning he is infected with the disease of rebellion, cut off from the others by his possession of private property; and such [a monk] is arrogant,³⁰ and becomes contradictory and contentious and useful for nothing. But if such [a monk] is discovered before he even enters the monastery, do not let him enter even at first, although some people may think he is adorned with other good qualities, since he has thoughts unworthy of the community and of the profession [of vows]. But if his [true nature] should be revealed after his vows, either he should be chastised and embrace poverty and lack of possessions and humility to the same extent as the other monks, or he should be expelled from the monastery as one who has already divorced himself from the community through the possession of private property.

[B14.] [Required renunciation of secular relations]

Moreover the monk should neither have private engagements, nor should he visit his blood relatives nor receive them if they come to visit. For if they too have renounced the world and chosen the same [ascetic] way of life, he will not see them as blood relatives, but as spiritual brothers. But if they are still laymen, it is not right for a [man] who is crucified to the whole world for the sake of Christ to be still the servant of laymen. So much for the [postulants] who come to our community.

[B15.] [Examination of postulants]

As for you who receive them, [p. 491] you should not receive the postulant thus openly and without due examination, but should first inquire if his character is suitable for the [monastic] profession, and then you should make trial of him and test him for a considerable length of time, to see whether he is obedient and tractable, whether he is easily led and changes his mind with the slightest provocation, wafted about on every breeze, like the seed which fell on rocky ground, and quickly sprouted, but then withered away when a little heat struck it because it had no depth of heart. If he is thus tested, and found to be a worthy laborer in the divine vineyard of Christ, then let him be included among the brothers.

[B16.] [Entrance fees not allowed]

In no way should you ask the postulant for an entrance fee. For it is improper to teach him, on the one hand, that the possession of money is not necessary, but rather superfluous and even

harmful, but through your deeds to show that it is necessary, that it is impossible to obtain salvation or to adopt the monastic habit except through the payment of money. But if he should happen to be penniless, this should make you even more eager [to receive him], because you will find that this brother is already trained in ascetic discipline, and has already successfully attained the renunciation of property, and is accustomed to a spare diet and amenable to obedience and humility, since for the most part the inner condition of the soul is disposed by nature to resemble the outer garments and diet. If, on the other hand, he should be wealthy, he should first distribute his fortune to the needy or to his friends and relatives, and after ridding himself of this consuming passion,³¹ he should come to the monastery relieved of his burden and lightly equipped, as if ready for battle and to run the good race of piety. However, one could argue that it is right also to entrust the management of his money to whomever he entrusts his body and soul, and no one could find any fault, since we find that those who first believed in the gospel sold their property, and “bringing the proceeds laid it at the apostles’ feet” (Acts 4:34–35). But sometimes harm results from this, because the monk who makes this donation is lax in his obedience, or looks down on the others, because he has made a larger donation, or else because the situation causes shame for the poorer [monks]. For these reasons therefore you must absolutely avoid taking any fees from the postulant monks.

[B17.] [Prohibition of so-called fellowships]

As for the so-called “fellowships,”³² which fill the life of the monks with much negligence and laziness, and drive out love and divide godly communities into thousands of parts, and bring countless reproaches and disgrace on the solitary way of life, you should not let them even be mentioned, but forbid them with all [p. 492] your might as a source of evils, as an estrangement from Christ, since they separate and divide his members, as completely alien to the tradition of the holy fathers. So you should always maintain a vigorous and zealous opposition to fellowships. You should bear in mind the [punishments] decreed on this matter in synods by the holy fathers, which will befall the man who accepts these fellowships in the first place and persuades others, inasmuch as he will be responsible for countless murders, or rather something worse than murder, since depriving the body of present life and depriving the soul of future life are not equal [offenses].

[B18.] [*Kelliotai* not to be admitted]

I shall end my discourse after adding yet one more point, which might perhaps seem at first hearing to contradict the commandment, but if we put the matter to the test, it will be seen not to be in contradiction but in agreement with it. For although the commandment bids, “When you saw me a stranger and welcomed me” (cf. Matt. 25:35, 38, 43), I command you never to receive in the monastery the kind of monk called a *kelliotēs*, who is a monk in his habit, but has chosen an idiorhythmic regime and to live by himself as he wishes.

If we consider then the reason for the commandment, we will find no other than to unify everyone through love, and thereby eagerly to care for the ill and the poor and strangers like one’s own limbs, as much as is practicable. But if it should happen that on this account the unified [limbs] are torn apart, and love and harmony vanish, and we are filled with great confusion, will

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we not avoid harm, if we are able to carry out the same commandment in other [ways] by which we would not be harmed? If then we find great harm resulting from this *kelliotes*, must we not avoid the situation for this reason?

This man will either be an important [monk] who lays claim to virtue, or one who lives carelessly and lazily, and demonstrates no concern for his own salvation. If then he is careless and lazy, the evil is at once obvious. For it is easier for him to bring them down to the imitation of his wickedness than for him to be elevated to the peak of virtue, since evil is easy to imitate, but virtue requires much sweat and toil, and is an uphill battle for the present and hard [to attain]. So that for this reason one must prevent his residence in the monastery, lest we lose everything, through showing concern for one man.

If however he is an important monk and one who seems to love wisdom, either he is one of those who both seems and is important, or he is a charlatan and wears his virtue like a mask, [like those] whom the Lord compared to “whitewashed tombs” (cf. Matt. 23:27), beautiful on the exterior, but on the inside full of corpses and foul odors.

If he is one of those who is truly important and God-fearing, perhaps he himself will not cause any harm. But merely [p. 493] by following an idiorrhythmic regime in the midst of monks who have vowed obedience, he will provide an example of insubordination for the less perfect of monks under obedience. If one of them should ever be ridiculed by the superior, or ordered to perform a difficult task, he will immediately look to the idiorrhythmic monk as a model. With the devil as his advocate, he will say, “Why would not God support me like this monk, who has no one to order him about and who lives a trouble-free life, without singing many psalms and fasting and being preoccupied with physical distractions, but always communing with God? Most important is that he avoids all unpleasantness and sorrow, neither scorned or ridiculed by anyone, but regulating and disciplining himself, while I will always remain overwhelmed by hardships and destroyed in vain and to no purpose. What is worse, I have this stern judge as examiner of my actions, who in accordance with his authority judges affairs not as they are but as they seem to him, and sometimes he purposely slanders the good, so that he may make my life more bitter than death. Let me go away and live in a cell by myself, and rid myself of the present situation. For God did not limit man’s salvation to obedience alone.” The infected monk will say these things and will be destroyed by the idiorrhythmic regime of the monk who lives together with them.

Above all, who will be a trustworthy guarantor that a man who now concentrates on himself, and causes no offense to anyone, will always remain thus, and will not change and bring some harm to the community? Therefore since of necessity harm results from this situation, even if [the *kelliotes*] himself does not contribute to this, and since, on the other hand, it is unclear whether he will never wish to become deliberately evil, why should we heap up evils on ourselves unnecessarily? But if it should happen that he is discovered to be a fraud and one who feigns virtue, even should I wish, it will not be easy for me to relate how many evils will overwhelm you. Rather why need I list them in laborious detail, when I can sum up briefly that there is no evil that he will not teach you?

If you should ever agree with him, and [then], after realizing into what a depth of evil you have fallen, you wish to get rid of the evil, then it will be necessary for you to be dragged before the tribunal for having committed the ultimate injustice against him, and you will have to listen to

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our affairs being basely exposed by him, and matters of which he was perhaps the teacher. You will run the danger either of being totally destroyed, scattered hither and thither, or remaining in the same place you will stray from your blessed obedience, and will destroy the good of peace. There will be the danger that you will rebel against your supervisor and yourselves, and, although you share the same residence, and perhaps some bodily [necessities], you will be far removed from each other in your souls, in fact you will be enemies.

[B19.] [Limitation on hospitality]

If then such ills are expected from this [kind of monk], one must guard against this. I do not absolutely forbid you to receive a stranger, but you should offer hospitality for [only] two or three days to the stranger who arrives, and then, giving him as much as you can from [p. 494] your stores, dismiss him in peace, so that we may both carry out the commandment and avoid the problems caused by living together with idiorhythmic monks.

[B20.] [Other matters left to the superior's discretion]

I do not believe it necessary to discuss everything in detail and say what things you should cling to, for one should entrust these decisions to the superior, who has as his counselor him who approves of all good deeds and “imparts understanding to the simple” (cf. Ps. 118 [119]:130) and “teaches man knowledge” (Ps. 93 [94]:10): for example, about diet and clothing and manual labor, as well as about punishments, for which faults he should indicate his displeasure with words alone, and for which ones he should chastise with work in due measure, and again in which cases it is necessary to cut off the incurable limb after much admonition and as much treatment as possible. May it never happen that my brothers, my fine congregation in Christ, be in need of such medical attention. I pray that it may be in good health and condition. But if ever they are fated to fall ill, betrayed by our common nature, inasmuch as they are men, may they not require cautery or surgery, but milder drugs and those with which doctors reduce inflamed swellings.

[B21.] [Summary of injunctions]

Now I will briefly review and describe the chief features of our godly life, without which it is impossible ever to establish on earth this heavenly way of life. First of all, you must seek after genuine obedience throughout your entire life, and never quarrel with or contradict the superior, heeding the apostle who said: “Obey your leaders and submit to them, for they are keeping watch over your souls, as men who will have to give account” (Heb. 13:17). Then you should maintain harmony with one another, bound together with ties of love, and being one body and having as your head Christ Who has joined together that which is divided, and unified everything and “reconciled” (cf. Eph. 2:10) the world to God the Father. “You should outdo one another in showing honor” (Rom. 12:10), and in his love each [monk] should be concerned for all [monks] as for himself, not only in bodily matters, but much more in spiritual affairs. In fact they should be more concerned for each other than for themselves, obeying in this, too, the apostle who said, “Let no one seek his own good, but the good of his neighbor” (I Cor. 10:24). You should hold all property in common, and nothing should be called or be private property. For it is foolish to procure in common our heavenly inheritance, but not to have joint possession of earthly things, which are nothing in reality.

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[B22.] [Warnings against transgressions of the *Rule*]

I give you this advice as your father, and it is fitting for you to abide by it; for it is good to obey one's father. I also enjoin you as one who holds authority, and you must be content with [my injunction]. But if anyone through meanness should [p. 495] attempt to undo any of these things, you must oppose the evil and demonstrate all zeal and eagerness. If you must die to prevent any of this from being undone, you must believe it is to your advantage to run the course of martyrdom, confident, too, that evil will not prevail over virtue, nor will God, the judge of virtue, grow drowsy, nor will "he slumber, so as not to keep Israel" (cf. Ps. 120 [121]:4). But consider the possibility, God forbid, that with one accord you become fainthearted in the pursuit of virtue, and wish to destroy your community and union and concord, and each of you wishes to look out for himself and tend his own needs, using the monastery only as a pretext; and rejecting the truth, you utter these cold words, "Will not we alone show ourselves more intelligent than all the others? God will not deliver to destruction such a multitude of monks, because although they seem to be in a community, they have acquired private property, and do not observe fitting obedience toward the superior."

First of all, I do not know how to lament you and describe your destruction, that "you will be as a garden that has no water and as a terebinth tree that has cast its leaves" (Is. 1:30), or any other passage taken from Holy Scripture about someone's destruction. Then I will proclaim the judgment that awaits you, that even in the present world you will live in dishonor and disgrace, persecuted and insulted by everyone and deprived of your property and rightly being ill spoken of, because through your indolence you have extinguished the small spark of a true community which others established with much sweat and toil, and you have revealed yourselves unworthy of your vows. In the world to come, you will pay a severe penalty for your rash act, even though in other matters you may appear long-suffering and eager for virtue. For who will believe of you, that although you destroyed the common good, in private you acted in an appropriate matter? For when one labors alone and forces himself to some difficult task, it is completely clear that he would accomplish it more easily if many people shared [the work]. But I pray that you may never sink to such a degree of negligence, nor turn your backs to the devil, so as to be mocked by him, as you are thus shamefully and ignobly defeated. But if you scrupulously observe all [my precepts], and live the life which is hidden in Christ, on the great and remarkable day of the Second Coming of Christ you will be gloriously praised by him on the common stage of the world, and will receive the crown of justice (2 Tim. 4:8), and there [p. 496] you will obtain the universal abode in heaven, in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory forever, Amen.

Subsequent Chapters [C]

Preamble to the *Subsequent Chapters*

This is a verbatim transcription of the instructions set forth in the form of a testament by my most holy father and venerable master, of blessed memory, for my encouragement and advice. He presented it all in a fine manner and as no one else at all would express the discipline and order of the cenobitic and monastic life; and if one examines it, he would find this in the grandeur of the ideas

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and the graceful composition of the phrases, from which anyone who wishes may learn to what extent they possessed the grace of the divine spirit.

It is the desire of my humble self to select a few [items] from their many wondrous sayings in order to present them in a simpler and clearer fashion to those who do not yet have exact experience of the spiritual precepts which are operative in this monastery of ours. Thus if those who come to the monastery after my death read the [instructions] which they would have received through my presence and advice, “as the next best thing”³³—as the saying goes—having these instructions before their eyes in written form, and by walking in their footsteps, they will enjoy the true and blessed life as a result of this pious regime and way of life, just as if I were still alive and were uttering these admonitions to them in a living voice.

[C] 1. That the superior should be kind to the monks in his charge, and should not make outside friendships, nor enter into spiritual relationships or loans or anything else of this sort. Neither should he ever permit a layman to stay in the monastery without a trial period of three years, if he wishes to become a monk.

Therefore first of all I enjoin the superior of this monastery not to lay exclusive claim to some of the brothers and behave in a familiar or friendly fashion with them, but reject others as strangers and outcasts. Rather he should maintain the same spiritual attitude and love toward all, the one maintaining the form of the head, the others the form of limbs, in order to make up one complete body. Neither should he ever acquire a servant or retainer or anyone, either an outsider or monk, supposedly to serve his needs. Nor on the pretext of the management of the monastery should he make friends with outsiders, especially with laymen, and enter into friendships or adoptions of lay brothers or what are called spiritual relationships with them, and engage in [p. 497] loans and worldly transactions and business deals. Nor should he establish a tavern or bakery or oil-press for profit and for provision of the monastery, since they clearly bring perdition and spiritual ruin on the workers, and total destruction of the most holy monastic way of life. Nor should he receive any layman at all to take up residence in this monastery, unless he comes to the monastery for the fine purpose of submission, in observance of the rule which the divinely inspired Pachomios was taught by angelic visitation,³⁴ that is, that the person who comes to try out the monastic habit must be trained for three years, and, if he wishes to remain after this, he is deemed worthy of the holy habit, and to live together with them in the future; otherwise he is to be expelled from the monastery once and for all.

[C] 2. That there should be no female animals at all in the monastery or in the dependency, and that no woman should enter or be buried in the monastery. Neither should you receive holders of fellowships nor a youth younger than sixteen.

In general I enjoin you never to possess female animals, neither in the monastery, nor in the dependency, and never to permit in any way a woman to enter within the holy precincts, whether dead or, even worse, alive. There should be no other entrance or exit except for the general gateway to the monastery. In no way should one admit a holder of a fellowship, either for money or property, either inside or outside the monastery. You should never receive youths below the age of sixteen, precisely on account of their tender years and their tendency to loose behavior and the scandal produced therefrom by the devil.

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[C] 3. How it is sinful to eat in secret and even worse than theft and fraud, and that no one should be allowed at mealtime to serve himself his favorite foods, for this is a cause of disgrace and scandal for the monks.

None of the monks should eat in secret, nor receive messages from anyone at all from outside [the monastery], since secret gluttony is forbidden by our holy fathers. For it is said, “We have seen the salvation of negligent men, but never of the secret glutton.”³⁵ For such a man will be condemned by God to the same punishment as one who robs and defrauds his own brothers. Nor should he refrain from the appearance of secret gluttony, but in another way do something worse, and at mealtime shamelessly serve his favorite foods to himself, or perhaps to others as well to conceal his own disease. For this is even more offensive than secret gluttony, since the secret glutton acts in secret and with hesitation, but the former acts openly and boldly. One could not easily [p. 498] imitate the secret glutton, but [blatant greediness] will attract many, even apparently serious monks, to imitate this shameless behavior, and will be a cause of great harm and disgrace. For from this always follows contempt and everything will be thrown into confusion.

The old custom must be observed, namely that the official should place all the food, whatever it is, on the table in equal fashion, and each [monk] should take it to eat with indifference, and should not seek out his favorite foods and what is tasty and sweet to his tongue. The only exception is in the case of a [monk] who is ill and does not wish to eat salty food, but sweet. Even this should not be permitted for the ailing monk without the superior’s permission. When he has informed the official about him, then in accordance with his discretion he should offer the monk who requests it sweet food instead of salty, or, if he prefers, salty food instead of sweet. It is unreasonable to wish to partake of both at the same time, out of hedonism. For it is not fitting for those who have chosen the crucified life to indulge in luxury and pursue physical pleasures, which introduce war to the soul.

Likewise it is inappropriate for monks who have taken vows of obedience to receive messages, and thereby be forced to reply to them. For this is a sign of an idiorhythmic discipline, and anyone who does something of the sort must be reprimanded by the superior, to whom his correction must be entrusted.

[C] 4. Concerning visitors to the monastery, either at mealtime or at another time, that the superior should not be permitted to entertain them, if it should be necessary, either in his own cell or anywhere else, whoever they may be, except in the refectory at the appointed [mealtime].

Visitors to the monastery at the time of the midday meal should be invited to the refectory, whether they are men of virtuous and spiritual character, or nobles, or others. Whatever has been prepared at that time for the monks’ food should also be served to the guests for their meal, for this is our custom from of old. The superior should not invite them and entertain them in his cell or in the garden or anywhere else except the refectory at the appointed [hour]. If the visitors should arrive before or after lunch, whoever they are, and it should be necessary to offer them some hospitality and refreshment, they should be invited into the refectory, but none of the monks should share in their meal. The superior should engage in spiritual instruction, and the other [p. 499] monks should carry out their proper duties in a serious and quiet manner, and then the [guests] should be dismissed with blessings.

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[C] 5. That the entrance into the monastery should not be easily accessible for all who desire it, for this is a cause of spiritual harm.

Entrance into the monastery should not be readily available to all who wish it, especially for those from whom it will not be possible to acquire any spiritual profit, but rather grave spiritual harm. For although these people always wear a mask of friendship, as in a play, they usually throw their simple and right-minded audience into turmoil by the words they sow. Instead of being kind and peaceful, they rouse everyone to anger and distress and disgust, and try to attract people to their own passions and wicked ways, and ridicule the behavior of others. Therefore you must turn them away as corrupters of the community and manifest enemies of the monastic life, and not give them any opportunity for words and speech.

[C] 6. That all the monks in the monastery should confess their private thoughts to their superior and not to any outsider. Anyone who does not conform should be expelled from the monastery.

The monks who live in the monastery should not confess their private thoughts to any outsider, but to their superior, to whom they have vowed obedience until their dying breath. For it is improper for any of them, when sharing his thoughts, to bypass his own superior, and convey his [confession] to an outsider. For of these two, whose rules and instructions will he carry out? Certainly of neither. For one of two things will happen: either the outsider selected by him will relate [his confession] to the spiritual director of the monastery, and it will be superfluous for him to have chosen another [confessor] (for he tries to acquire outside what he has near at hand, and thereby the superior of the monastery is scorned), or he will give different advice. How is it right for a brother from the monastery to go to another person, who gives some advice that is spurious and alien to the monastic life? Where will he then carry out his admonitions? In the monastery? That is impossible, since the situation is not in accordance with its rules. Nor can he do this in his cell. For how can he, since he does not even control his own body? He will not, then, carry out the commands of either one, as has been said. For, on the one hand, he has shown his contempt for his own superior by his choice of a stranger and interloper. On the other hand, he has no place to carry out [p. 500] the instructions he receives from him. Furthermore, how is it clear that the man chosen from outside is virtuous rather than the opposite? For in any case, if he appeared to be virtuous and was capable of leading those who consulted him toward spiritual perfection, he would have advised them to go back to the spiritual director of the monastery and themselves, and to humble themselves, and accept with gratitude his decisions and instructions. If he fails to do this, he reveals that he is not from the ranks of the virtuous, but one of those who wear a mask of virtue, who pretend that they can teach the monastic way of life, but are far removed from it. The saying well fits them that externally they appear in the guise of sheep, but inwardly they are filled with rapine and greed (cf. Matt. 7:15). "For by their fruits shall they be known" (Matt. 7:16). Thus for monks to approach such men and entrust them with their thoughts, disregarding their own shepherds, causes enormous spiritual harm. For these men, who neither walk in the path of the Lord, nor give advice appropriate to the monastic way of life, have made themselves answerable to God. In the same way, these [monks] could rightly be called "thieves," in the words of the Lord, "because they do not enter by the door, but climb in by another way" (cf. John 10:1), inasmuch as they do not appear to obey their own superior, but consult another, who is a corrupter rather than a shepherd.

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But someone will object and say that he will carry out the instructions of both the common father and of the stranger. Rather, if the truth be known, he will show his contempt for both, as has been demonstrated above. For it is not permissible for one who has chosen to carry out to the utmost the commandments of our common protector, the “narrow and hard” (cf. Matt. 7:14) [path], in the words of our Lord, not to be satisfied with this [path], which is for him the most desirable accomplishment, and to leave it and seek another [path] outside, as if the first does not satisfy him. Rather it is clear that he has contempt for both, since he does not confidently attach himself to anyone, for [the Lord] says, “No one can serve two masters” (Matt. 6:24). In any case it is appropriate that a monk who falls victim to such a disease, and is not willing to mend his ways even after exhortation and counsel, but relies rather on his own inclination, should be severed from the rest of the community, like a diseased member, lest he infect the others with his disease. Since it is not at all lawful for a disobedient and willful [monk] to be found in the monastery, his correction must be entrusted to the superior. [p. 501]

[C] 7. That monks should not go to law courts. But if it becomes necessary, they should go only to state the case, and should immediately depart without getting involved in the affair.

[Monks] should not go to law courts concerning any sort of financial suit. If they are wronged by someone and deprived of their property, then they should approach those who wrong them, in accordance with the words of the Savior: “If your brother sins against you, go and tell him his fault, between you and him alone. If he listens to you, you have gained your brother. But if he does not listen, take one of two others along with you. If he refuses to listen to them, tell it to the church; and if he refuses to listen to the church, let him be to you as a Gentile and a tax collector” (Matt. 18:15–17). Wherefore, following this commandment of the Lord, they ought to approach those who wrong them, and discuss among themselves their injustice to them. If after listening to their words, one renounces his wrongdoing, a double advantage results therefrom: the wrongdoer renounces his wrongdoing, and the [property] taken unjustly is recovered for the monastery. But if he takes no heed of their words, then they should take one or two [others] with them, for perhaps the one who wronged them will be ashamed and will renounce his sin. But if he pays no heed to these either, then they should approach the protector of the Church [i.e., the patriarch], not to lodge an accusation against the wrongdoer, nor seeking a lawsuit with him, but only to state the amount of which they have been deprived by the brother who has wronged them, and not to get any further involved in the affair. For the protector of the Church will see to it that the monastery recovers its property and that the wrongdoer is corrected, unless he wants to be subject to the Lord’s judgment: “Let him be to you as a Gentile and a tax collector” (Matt. 18:17).

But if the monks should be accused by another of theft, it is my wish, to begin with, that my [monks] not be seen as thieves of any movable or immovable property, since they are obligated to renounce their own [property], if the commandment is observed. But if ever such an occurrence should take place as a result of beguilement [by the devil], I do not want them to wait to be accused by their victim and then make restitution, but they should give up the stolen property even before the summons of the court. For thus they will induce the love of their [opponents] and will secure their own peace and quiet. But if that person suspects that he has been wronged by the monks, but the reality and truth are different, they should go to court, whether they were accused before the holy and divine [tribunal] of the church of Christ, or the imperial and royal *sekreton*, for

three reasons: on account of the respect owed to the court, so that the monks may not be [p. 502] dishonored and slandered as thieves and people covetous of the property of others, and, moreover, so that they may reveal the truth in a clearer fashion for the satisfaction of the judges and the plaintiff. [The monks] should not become further involved in this business, but immediately after the statement of the case they should depart from the court, cheerfully accepting the decision made by the judge, even if it does not turn out as they wish. For I prefer for them to be deprived of physical [possessions] without justice rather than for them to become involved and interfere in their lawsuits and in the struggle and battle against their adversaries, contrary to the commandment, which says, “the Lord’s servant must not be quarrelsome” (II Tim. 2:24), but should be peaceful with “those who hate peace” (Ps. 119 [120]:7).

[C] 8. That the treasury should be paid without any reduction what the monastery is accustomed to pay on the annual harvests of wheat and wine.

Since I have mentioned law courts and injustice, I think I should not overlook this point, the payment of taxes to the treasury. First of all, my holy [predecessors], the venerable masters, with a view to the discipline of the monastic life, strove to apply, among others, the following [rule], which indeed was observed their entire life, and after their death this practice was continued by me up to the present day, in accordance with their holy wishes: that no business affairs be carried out in the monastery, either for revenue or for a loan or any other transaction resulting in financial gain. I myself enjoin that my [monks] should continue this practice in the future, as long as, with God’s help, the monastery exists.

Next, since our food is provided above all by the mercy of my all-holy Virgin, to whom as foundress this monastery has been dedicated from the beginning, and then from our estates and the crops they bear annually, and from this harvest has been paid the customary tax to the treasury, I say that in the future everything that belongs to the state from this harvest, whether it is wine or wheat or any other products, should be paid by the monks without any reduction to the collectors of the state taxes, and nothing that belongs to the fisc should be kept back, perhaps with the excuse of private profit, that what is hidden results from the labor of the monks. Rather they should hand over to the tax collectors with all truth and honesty everything owed them from all the revenues of the monastery, even if nothing else remains for the sustenance of the monks, [p. 503] and they should not prefer falsehood to the truth for the sake of personal gain. For it is better for them to tell the truth and be deprived even of their own property than to choose falsehood, and for the sake of material gain to renounce truth, that is, Christ himself, who is Truth (cf. John 14:6). For this is the work of the wicked devil who with mind and senses begrudges good deeds, to grasp matters on the right and end on the left, and through a few small matters causes enormous harm to those who obey him. For through his advice that it is not sinful for someone to keep back his own [property] and to lie about this, he gradually casts them into greed and desire for the property of others. For when someone becomes accustomed to lie and keep back his own property, he will advance along this road and use these [tactics] with regard to the property of others, which is covetousness. My brethren, there is no difference between this and idol worship, according to the blessed Paul, who says: “Flee covetousness, which is idolatry” (Col. 3:5). Moreover, according to God’s ancestor, the prophet David, everyone who lies will fall into the abyss of perdition, for he says, “Thou wilt

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destroy all that speak falsehood” (Ps. 5:6). At all events my all-holy Virgin will not overlook these monks who have chosen³⁶ to speak the truth, through the compassion and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, “Who opens his hand and fills with pleasure every living thing” (Ps. 144 [145]:16), who said, “Look at the birds of the air: they neither sow nor reap nor gather into barns, and yet our heavenly Father feeds them” (Matt. 6:26), who commanded, “Seek the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be yours as well” (Matt. 6:33), but [the Virgin], the Nurse and Protectress and Provider of all the monastery’s property from the beginning until now, will provide for their needs many times over.

Therefore, as has been said, you must pay the fisc its due, without any reduction, from the income of the monastic estates, since we have this obligation according to the blessed Paul, the universal teacher of the world. For he says, “Brethren, pay all of their due, taxes to whom taxes are due, honor to whom honor is due, revenue to whom revenue is due. Owe no one anything, except to love one another” (Rom. 13:7-8). The same is also found in the commandments of the holy and divine fathers who enjoin, “Child, if you are a disciple of the gentle and humble One, give and pass by.”³⁷ [p. 504]

[C] 9. That no one of the monks should ever be a protector or guardian of anyone at all, nor should he be readily disposed to bear witness about any matter whatsoever.

On no pretext whatsoever should any of the monks become a guardian or protector or attorney for anyone, whether a foreigner or one of his countrymen; for this is contrary to the divine and holy canons. For those who have mortified themselves for the sake of the Christian life and have renounced the world, and are not masters of their own will, and have vowed to be proper monks, have the obligation to act in accordance with the canons and not be involved in any worldly affairs. This would be impossible for anyone to avoid if he is the guardian of widows and orphans, and is an advocate at trials, and appears before emperors and patriarchs allegedly to succor the needy. For such a man will be forced, on the one hand, as a guardian to be concerned with material matters, and to busy himself with those things whose possession he renounced once and for all when he became a monk; on the other hand, if he spends a lot of time at lawsuits, as an attorney and advocate, [he will be forced] to contend with his opponents and to attack and be attacked by his adversaries. This is not the role for disciples of the gentle and peaceful one, who enjoined them to deny themselves and raise his cross and follow him (Matt. 16:24).

Neither do I want my monks to be eager to bear witness, unless they should be ordered to do so by the superior, because it is not otherwise possible to ascertain the truth and where justice lies, except from their testimony. [I permit] this only if they are simply questioned; but if [they are to testify] under duress and upon orders, in no wise do I permit it. For without this [prohibition], if they were ready to testify, they would be well liked by the party on behalf of which their testimony seemed to be delivered, but hated and opposed by the other, inasmuch as they testified against it. If the latter party takes offense at them, how could these monks who are asked by the commandment to be peaceful with “those who hate peace” (cf. Ps. 119 [120]:7) have a peaceful conscience? This certainly would not occur, if they lived like monks, in the words of the commandment, mortifying themselves to things on earth for the sake of the hidden life in Christ, just as the blessed Paul says, “For you have died, and your life is hid with Christ in God” (Col. 3:3). For if this was

said once and for all to all Christians, it is even more right that it be observed by monks, since they have renounced the present world and mortified themselves to the world, and have clothed themselves in the monastic habit as a second baptism, so that they may recollect the first [baptism]. Thus for monks to revert to the same [worldly concerns] [p. 505] and to defile this second baptism by associating with those things which they have renounced, makes them transgressors of their vows, inasmuch as they are building up those things which they tore down as an obstacle to them in their pursuit of virtue. Suitable for them would be the words of the blessed Paul, “But if I build up again those things which I tore down, then I prove myself a transgressor” (Gal. 2:18). Therefore it is fitting for you to avoid these things, so that you may not experience punishment in the world to come as transgressors of the commandments, but rather may be deemed worthy of eternal life as workers of virtue.

[C] 10. That daily during the brothers’ mealtime should be read the *Ascetic Treatises* of the great father Basil and the sayings of the holy fathers.

Daily, while the brothers are eating in the refectory, should be read aloud, in everyone’s hearing, the *Ascetic Treatises* of our holy father Basil the Great, and sometimes the sayings and deeds of the holy fathers, which are called *Gerontika*, since both contribute to the contemplation and action, through which the person who lives according to God and renounces earthly things and likens himself to God as much as possible. For together with this material nourishment monks should consume the angelic and heavenly food which is the word of God, and the monks should occupy themselves above all with this [spiritual food], comprehending the readings, since “Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God” (Matt. 4:4), and according to the blessed Paul, “Whether you eat or drink, or whatever you do, do all to the glory of God” (I Cor. 10:31), and again, “pray constantly, give thanks in all circumstances” (I Thess. 5:17–18), lest by doing otherwise they be subjected to the judgment of being ranked by Holy Scriptures with dumb animals, because they treat the refectory like a stable. For it is said, “A refectory without the word of God is like a stable for animals.”³⁸

At the beginning of each month should be read aloud the treatise of the most holy patriarch lord Neilos for the regulation of monastic life, in the form of the testament of our most holy monk lord Mark,³⁹ and the treatise which my humble self recently composed in a more comprehensible and clearer style,⁴⁰ treating systematically the benefit of the monks therefrom. [p. 506]

[C] 11. That no one should have any private property in his cell unbeknownst to the superior, and that the superior has the obligation continually to oversee such matters.

No one should keep in his cell any garment for day or night nor anything else, even a needle, without the knowledge of the superior. If someone should be caught concealing anything of this sort, he should be rebuked and disciplined with the appropriate penalties, and that which he concealed, no matter what it is, should either be distributed to the poor or thrown into the fire to be burned and destroyed in front of all the monks. Therefore it is perforce necessary that the superior enter the cell of each monk at the beginning of each month and make the required inspection and examination of the things in each one’s cell.

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[C] 12. That none of the monks should go to services at the Great Church, but the superior has the obligation to visit the incumbent ecumenical patriarch twice a year, and that [the monks] should not interfere in his affairs.

No one is to attend the services and feast days of the Great Church, neither the superior, nor any of his entourage, not because the holy rites celebrated there are blameworthy, but because it is not appropriate for monks, who have once and for all vowed to embrace contrition and sorrow (for it is to this that we are appointed), to surrender themselves to celebrations and festivals. For it is ridiculous for someone to mourn and celebrate at the same time. Moreover it was not customary for the inhabitants of our monastery to do this, and it is my wish that this tradition be maintained forever.

I permit only this, that the superior should visit the incumbent ecumenical patriarch twice a year, that is during the week of the tax collector and Pharisee,⁴¹ when the divine and revered days of Lent are approaching, to receive from him a prayer and blessing for the accomplishment of virtue, and again during Easter week, in all ways demonstrating his fellowship to the defender of the Church.

No one from our monastery should ever listen to gossip and slanders against him [the patriarch], or in any way dislike him (unless he falls into manifest heresy, either with regard to the divine and ineffable dispensation and accommodation of our Savior and God, or in theology), but should honor him in every way and speak his name with sincere affection and love, and not interfere at all in his affairs, whether they are carried out well or not; for, to quote [Gregory] the Theologian, “it is sufficient for you if you are well tended.”⁴² [p. 507]

[C] 13. That the customary commemorative services should be performed for the monks who have passed away, and that there should be a liturgy on the day of their death and every day thereafter for forty days, and that sick [monks] deserve a great deal of attention.

You must exert all zeal and diligence without fail to carry out the traditional [services] for deceased monks, that is, commemorative services and liturgies. On the very day of their death, if the time [of death] does not prevent it, during the very hour, if possible, a liturgy should be celebrated on behalf of the deceased. This should be continued without interruption for forty days. In the evenings, until the aforesaid forty days are accomplished, after compline all the monks should each make twelve prostrations on behalf of the deceased, saying, “Lord, grant rest to the soul of your servant so-and-so.”

Furthermore, you should visit and take suitable care of those brothers who fall ill, and a doctor should be summoned, and in no way should his orders be thwarted by any excuse of cost and expense.

[C] 14. That every year there should be celebrated without fail the feast day of our most holy Mother of God, that is of the Dormition, and the following day there should be a *parastasimon* and liturgy on behalf of the blessed founders.

The feast day of my *Panagia*, I mean of the Dormition,⁴³ should be celebrated without fail, just as it was first celebrated by my holy fathers and monks and then by myself, that is, the monks should spend the entire night in psalmody and reading, and during the day should celebrate the

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divine liturgy. The usual arrangements should be made in the refectory, and at the monastery gate a distribution should be made to the poor of half a *modios* of bread and wine and sufficient cooked food. A *parastasimon* and liturgy for the founders should be celebrated on the next day. In like manner we say that on the feast day of my holy great martyr Demetrios,⁴⁴ and on the following day, there should be a *parastasimon* and liturgy for my holy fathers and monks, the blessed lord Mark and the celebrated patriarch lord Neilos. [p. 508]

[C] 15. That each year, without interruption, a commemorative service should be celebrated at the appointed time for the most holy ecumenical patriarch lord Neilos and for the most holy monk lord Mark.

On the first of February should be celebrated the commemorative service and feast day of the most holy and venerable patriarch lord Neilos and a liturgy on the following day, and there should be a distribution to the poor of one-quarter *modios* of bread and wine and sufficient cooked food.

I ordain that the same thing should also happen without any change on the [first]⁴⁵ of March, the commemorative service for my most holy father and monk, lord Mark of blessed memory, and a liturgy on the following day, and a distribution to the poor of the same amount of bread, wine and cooked food, and on all the other days of the year the poor should be provided with two loaves of bread of the larger size.

[C] 16. That the superior should not be questioned by anyone with regard to the revenues and expenses of the monastery, and that [monks] should not speak to each other privately and should avoid idle gossip.

This too can be stated summarily: the superior should not be questioned by any of the monks about the revenues and expenses of the monastery, as long as he abides by all the rules and regulations I have set forth.

I ordain that all the monks should avoid idle gossip in common, and should not visit each other's cells, either by night or by day, and converse with each other in private, especially after the office of compline, but each should go straight to his own cell to perform prostrations or prayers, to the extent of his strength and inclination.

[C] 17. That on all the days of the year, including fast days, [the monks] should chant their own office.

I think I should write a few words, as a reminder, about communal psalmody, I mean that of both night and day. During Lent everything should be carried out exactly as the *typikon* specifies at the Sunday vigils and the daily offices. On Saturday and Sunday [the monks] should partake of wine and a boiled dish with olive oil, on the other days they should abstain from food cooked with olive oil. If perhaps they need some boiled dish in between these, add vinegar instead of oil. On Tuesday and Thursday they may have wine. During Easter week they should follow the rules [p. 509] of the *typikon*, and begin to chant the customary hours daily without fail and the entire night office together with the *kathismata* and readings. They should also sing the vesper hymns with the prayers, that is, on Sunday the canon of the "Angel, guardian of the soul," on Monday the [canon] of my *Panagia*, that begins, "Oppressed by many trials," on Tuesday the [canon] of our Lord God

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and Savior Jesus Christ, that begins “Alas, what shall I lament, what shall I bewail,” on Wednesday the [canon] of my holy and glorious martyr Demetrios and the other canons composed for him by mode, on Thursday the [canon] of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ, that begins “Sweetest Jesus,” on Friday the hymns and canon of the *Akathistos*. In like manner should be celebrated all the vigils on the feast days of the Lord and anniversaries of the great saints, as the *typikon* ordains.

During the fast of the Holy Apostles and the fast preceding the Dormition of my *Panagia*,⁴⁶ [the monks] should abstain from boiled food, olive oil and wine on Wednesday and Friday. Also during the forty days before Christmas, [the monks] should abstain from olive oil and wine on Wednesday and Friday, except on feast days of the Lord or on the anniversary of a great saint. On these days they should chant the hours and the *mesoria* in unison at vespers, and should eat only once a day, consuming dry foods and drinking only water and partaking only of seasonal fruits at mealtime.

[C] 18. Exhortation that all the foregoing rules should be continuously observed by the monks, and a petition to future emperors and patriarchs not to interfere with the monastery.

These [rules] then have been set forth by my humble self for the sake of clear explanation, as has been said, on the one hand as a reminder of the monastic and cenobitic condition, on the other hand to maintain and preserve all the previous regulations, as well as those which I have now set forth. I pray to my God that you be revealed as trusty workers of virtue, who regard the written rules as if they were an image and archetype of every good, so that if some depraved person should renounce his vows to God, and dare to transgress and overturn these [rules], he will receive a heavy sentence from God, and will be subject to the punishment of my mediocrity, unless he makes amends through repentance.

Furthermore, since by the grace of God this monastery has been preserved free and unenslaved up to the present time by successive venerable emperors and most holy patriarchs, I pray to God that it be maintained in the same freedom even after my death. I beg and entreat future emperors and patriarchs [p. 510] to maintain the same attitude toward the monastery as their predecessors, and no one else should be appointed superior against the wishes of the incumbent superior of the monastery, nor should a fellowship be given to anyone at all as a gift, nor should any other ill-treatment and abuse or any demand whatsoever be inflicted upon the monks, nor should any monk, or, even worse, layman be sent to the monastery by emperor or patriarch. For anyone who attempts anything of this sort, either totally or in part, my humble self considers him as unjust and unreasonable and as one who throws into confusion good rules and regulations and overturns the good order of monastic life, to the best of his ability, and considers him as excommunicated and unforgiven by God the Ruler of All.

Therefore just as the most holy and blessed venerable master lord Mark entrusted this monastery to the most holy and venerable patriarch lord Neilos, and he in turn passed it on to my humble self, and I exerted considerable effort and zeal for its prosperity and improvement, thus in turn my humble self transfers it to the most honorable ordained monk _____⁴⁷ whom I decided was distinguished above the others in his edification and improvement of the souls to be found in this *kellion*, with God’s help. Therefore I want him as my successor to have all license and authority in the monastery. When he, too, is about to depart this present world and journey to God, he has

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the obligation to pass it on to the monk whom he chooses as the best of all, and who is capable of protecting souls and guiding them to the path of salvation, and this should occur in succession in perpetuity. We have had my *Panagia* as the sole founder and steward and superior from the beginning until now, and I bequeath her to you as protector and perpetual patron.

I pledge to you all and assert to my beloved children in Christ, that if you dwell in this monastery with eagerness and zeal, striving for virtue until the end and observing the rule, you will attain the same rewards and crowns as those promised by God the Judge to the hierarchs and holy men and martyrs on the great and illustrious day of his judgment. To him be power, glory, honor and kingdom now and forever and to everlasting generations. Amen.

Written and signed in the month of September of the year 6916 [= 1407 A.D.], first indiction. Matthew, by God's mercy archbishop of Constantinople, the New Rome, and ecumenical patriarch.

Notes on the Translation

Editors' note: The assistance of our translator, Alice-Mary Talbot [AMT], is gratefully acknowledged for the notes to this document.

1. *kalogeros*. [AMT]
2. The chapter numeration in [A] follows Hunger's edition. [AMT]
3. John Chrysostom, *Homilia in Rom.*, 8.28, PG 51, col. 170.
4. *hesychia*. [AMT]
5. E. Leutsch and F. Schneidewin, *Corpus paroemiographorum graecorum*, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 1839–51; repr. Hildesheim, 1958), p. 104, line 99. [AMT]
6. Perhaps ca. 1375. For Mark, see [7] below, and Trapp, *PLP*, fasc. 7, no. 17017, p. 115.
7. Probably John V (1341–91) and Andronikos IV Palaiologos (1376–79) are meant.
8. Neilos Kerameus (1380–88), for whom see Alice-Mary Talbot, "Neilos Kerameus," *ODB*, pp. 1449–50, and Trapp, *PLP*, fasc. 5, no. 11648, Kerameus Neilos, pp. 173–74.
9. In 1380.
10. Sometime before 1388; see Talbot, "Neilos Kerameus," p. 1449.
11. Location uncertain; see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, p. 501, and D. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100–1460* (Washington, D.C., 1968), p. 94, n. 146.
12. For this foundation, see Janin, *Géographie*, vol. 3, pp. 286–89.
13. Probably John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–1354).
14. In 1354, after the fall of John VI Kantakouzenos.
15. After his abdication on December 10, 1354, John VI, under the monastic name Joasaph, first retired to the monastery of St. George of Mangana, then to the Charsianeites monastery; see Nicol, *Kantakouzenos*, pp. 86, 94.
16. In 1380; see [5] above.
17. A reference to the Turkish siege of Constantinople (1394–1402) by Beyazid I.
18. Antony IV (1389–90, 1391–97)
19. Kallistos II Xanthopoulos (1397).
20. In October 1397.
21. In 1399; John VII Palaiologos served as regent from 1399 to 1403; see Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 202–11, and Talbot, "Matthew I," p. 1316; for John VII, see John Barker, "John VII in Genoa: A Problem in Late Byzantine Source Confusion," *OCP* 28 (1962), 213–38.

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22. Matthew I's deposition lasted from the summer of 1402 until June 1403; see Talbot, "Matthew I," p. 1316.
23. Subsequent to Matthew I's restoration by Manuel II Palaiologos in 1403.
24. *exampelon*: old or abandoned vineyard. See Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v. [AMT]
25. Read *metapoieisthe*? [AMT]
26. Cf. the language of (22) *Evergetis* [37].
27. John Klimakos, *Scala paradisi* 4, PG 88, col. 685A.
28. Neilos Kerameus; see Trapp, *PLP*, fasc. 5, no. 11648, p. 173.
29. Read *prosapollyein*. [AMT]
30. Read *alazon*. [AMT]
31. Read *tes touton*. [AMT]
32. *adelphata*; for which see E. Herman, "Die Regelung der Armut in den byzantinischen Klöstern," *OCP* 7 (1941), 406–60, esp. 444–49, and Paul Magdalino, "Adelphaton," *ODB*, p. 19.
33. Cf. Leutsch and Schneidenwin, *Corpus paroemiographorum graecorum*, vol. 2, p. 362. [AMT]
34. Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 32, ed. C. Butler (Cambridge, 1898; repr. Hildesheim, 1967), pp. 88–96.
35. Cf. John Klimakos, *Scala paradisi*, Schol. 20, PG 88, col. 877B.
36. Read *proeremenous*. [AMT]
37. Unidentified. Not in the works of the Cappadocian fathers.
38. Unidentified. Not in the works of the Cappadocian fathers.
39. That is, the *Rule* of Mark and Neilos [B].
40. Matthew I's *Subsequent Chapters* [C].
41. The week preceding the fourth Sunday before the beginning of Lent when the parable of the tax collector and the pharisee (Luke 18:10–14) is read. See *Catechesis Chronica Monasterii Studii*, 8, PG 99, col. 1697D.
42. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 19, *De suis sermonibus et ad Julianum exaequatorem*, PG 35, col. 1053C. [AMT]
43. Feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God, August 15.
44. Feast of St. Demetrios, October 26.
45. Possible lacuna in the manuscript here.
46. Fast of the Holy Apostles, from Monday after the feast of All Saints (Sunday after Pentecost) through the vigil of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, June 28; fast of the Mother of God, August 1–14, for which see (20) *Black Mountain* [87], [88] and (30) *Phoberos* [31].
47. A space for the name has been left blank in the manuscript.

Document Notes

1. Autobiography [A]

Summary titles of the chapters are listed to facilitate reference.

[A1] Excursus on the value of the cenobitic life.

[A2] Matthew's monastic vocation.

[A3] His reception as a disciple by Mark.

[A4] His acceptance of monastic discipline.

[A5] Neilos succeeds Mark as superior, becomes patriarch (1379); Matthew appointed superior; his labors on the monastery's behalf.

[A6] Foundation history; role of the founder John Charsianeites.

[A7] Recruitment of Mark as superior; Charsianeites' disgrace (1354).

[A8] Subsequent additions to the endowment; residence of the ex-emperor John VI Kantakouzenos.

[A9] The monastery left without a protector after Neilos; Matthew's benefactions; destruction of properties by the Turks.

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[A10] Matthew elected patriarch (1397); his deposition by John VII Palaiologos (1402).

[A11] Restoration of devastated estates; imperial tax concessions; commemoration of the emperor.

[A12] Summary of Matthew's personal contributions; purpose of the *typikon*.

2. *Rule* of Mark and Neilos [B]

[B1] Authority for issuance of this *Rule*. See similar discussions in (52) *Choumnos* [B1] and (58) *Menoikeion* [2].

[B2] Discussion of alternative forms of monastic life. See also (24) *Christodoulos* [A24], (34) *Machairas* [152], (37) *Auxentios* [11], (42) *Sabas* [7], (54) *Neilos Damilas* [6], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [149].

[B3] Advantages of the cenobitic way of life. See also (47) *Philanthropos* [1] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [47].

[B4] Care for physical and spiritual health of the monks. See also (22) *Evergetis* [41] and related documents, (39) *Lips* [33] ff., (56) *Kellibara II* [5], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [90].

[B5] Maintenance of all possessions in common. See also [B21], [B22] below and (22) *Evergetis* [22] and related documents, (37) *Auxentios* [5], (52) *Choumnos* [B19], (55) *Athanasios I* [5], (56) *Kellibara II* [3], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [46], [154].

[B6] Expulsion of quarrelsome monks. See also (22) *Evergetis* [9] and related documents, (42) *Sabas* [5], and (45) *Neophytos* [CB9].

[B7] Prohibition of private associations and friendships. See also (22) *Evergetis* [42] and related documents, (37) *Auxentios* [5], (55) *Athanasios I* [4], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [46], and (58) *Menoikeion* [22].

[B8] Importance of obedience to the superior. See also (22) *Evergetis* [16] and related documents, (39) *Lips* [9], and (52) *Choumnos* [B4], (55) *Athanasios I* [1], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [9].

[B9] Exhortation to the superior; not to govern despotically. For the principle, see (37) *Auxentios* [9] and (38) *Kellibara I* [18]; for consultative government elsewhere, see (22) *Evergetis* [14] and related documents; (39) *Lips* [21], [23], [32], [38], [39]; (55) *Athanasios I* [5]; (58) *Menoikeion* [22]; and (59) *Manuel II* [6].

[B10] Designation and qualifications of the next superior; future succession to the superiorship. For the use of a testament to designate a successor, see [C18] below and (1) *Apa Abraham* [1]; (10) *Eleousa* [11]; (24) *Christodoulos* [B3], [B5], [C1]; (25) *Fragala* [A7], [B7]; (41) *Docheiariou* [4]; (45) *Neophytos* [16]; (49) *Geromeri* [14]; (50) *Gerasimos* [3]; and (52) *Choumnos* [A3]. The discussion of qualifications echoes (22) *Evergetis* [14] and related documents.

[B11] Monks from outside the community eligible for the superiorship. See also (32) *Mamas* [1], (33) *Heliou Bomon* [1], (35) *Skoteine* [17], (37) *Auxentios* [3], cf. (34) *Machairas* [148].

[B12] Qualities of postulants and how they should be received. See also (52) *Choumnos* [B9], [B17] and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [5], [6].

[B13] Requirements for tonsure. See also (39) *Lips* [17], [18]; (52) *Choumnos* [B11], [B17]; and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [7].

[B14] Required renunciation of secular relations; no visits or visitors. See also (39) *Lips* [15], [16]; (52) *Choumnos* [A21]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [7]; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [75], [76].

[B15] Examination and trial of postulants. See also (37) *Auxentios* [12]; (39) *Lips* [17], [18]; and (52) *Choumnos* [B6].

[B16] Entrance fees not allowed; distribution of worldly goods to others on entrance; monastery to welcome penniless monks. For similar views, see (13) *Ath. Typikon* [49], (52) *Choumnos* [B6], [B7], and (55) *Athanasios I* [7]; cf. (59) *Manuel II* [12].

[B17] Prohibition of fellowships. See also [C2], [C18] below, and (34) *Machairas* [153].

[B18] Kelliotic monks not to be admitted. See also [B8] and [B13] above, and (53) *Meteora* [1], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [149], and (58) *Menoikeion* [11].

[B19] Limitation on hospitality. See also [C4] below and (21) *Roidion* [B2] and (42) *Sabas* [8]; cf. (34) *Machairas* [118].

[B20] Diet, clothing, manual labor, and punishments left to superior's discretion. (53) *Meteora* [8] permits differences in clothing; (52) *Choumnos* [B21] also leaves manual labor to the superior's discretion.

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[B21] Summary of injunctions. See also (22) *Evergetis* [42] and related documents, which serve the same function.

[B22] Warning against violators of the *Rule*. See also [C18] below and the sanctions in other Palaiologan documents: (37) *Auxentios* [2]; (39) *Lips* [2]; (48) *Prodromos* [16]; (49) *Geromeri* [16]; (50) *Gerasimos* [5]; (51) *Koutloumousi* [A15], [B20]; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [17].

3. *Subsequent Chapters* [C]

[C1] Code of conduct for the superior; admission of laymen only for tonsure. For the former, see (22) *Evergetis* [17] and related documents; for the latter, see bans on fellowships in [B17] above and [C2] and [C18] below, and for length of the novitiate, see [B15] above.

[C2] No women, youths, or female animals; no burials of women in the monastery; only one gateway; no fellowships. For the ban on women, see (22) *Evergetis* [39] and related documents, (37) *Auxentios* [12], (45) *Neophytos* [19], [C18], (53) *Meteora* [7], and (58) *Menoikeion* [14]. For the ban on youths, see also (12) *Tzimiskes* [16], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [48], (15) *Constantine IX* [1], cf. [15], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [49], (42) *Sabas* [1], (58) *Menoikeion* [14], and (59) *Manuel II* [13]. For the ban on female animals, see also (12) *Tzimiskes* [22], [23]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [31], [53]; (15) *Constantine IX* [3], [4]; (45) *Neophytos* [19]; and (59) *Manuel II* [14]. For other bans on burials, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [70], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [86], and (37) *Auxentios* [13]. For other physical restrictions on access and observation, see (27) *Kecharitomene* [74], [80]. For fellowships, see also [B17] above and [C18] below.

[C3] No secret eating; equal portions of food; no correspondence with outsiders. For the ban on secret eating, see also (22) *Evergetis* [9], [22] and related documents, (39) *Lips* [29], (47) *Philanthropos* [2], (56) *Kellibara II* [3], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [84]. For dietary equality, see also (22) *Evergetis* [26] and related documents, (37) *Auxentios* [7], (52) *Choumnos* [B20], (53) *Meteora* [3], and (56) *Kellibara II* [2]. For the ban on correspondence, see also (22) *Evergetis* [22] and related documents, (34) *Machairas* [131], and (45) *Neophytos* [CB5].

[C4] Guidelines for the entertainment of visitors. See also [B19] above and (3) *Theodore Studites* [20], [23]; (13) *Ath. Typikon* [33], [35]; (21) *Roidion* [B5], [B7]; (34) *Machairas* [116], [117]; (52) *Choumnos* [B15] and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [20].

[C5] Restriction on access to the monastery. Cf. (45) *Neophytos* [C17].

[C6] Exclusive confession to the superior. See also (22) *Evergetis* [7], [15] and related documents, and (52) *Choumnos* [B10]. (52) *Choumnos* [A17] and (58) *Menoikeion* [13] are more indulgent.

[C7] Monks not to engage in litigation except if falsely accused. See [C9] below and also the discussion of litigation in (15) *Constantine IX*, Introduction, [8]; (19) *Attaleiates* [34], [43]; (23) *Pakourianos* [18]; and (47) *Philanthropos* [4].

[C8] Obligation to pay taxes on annual harvests. For the monastery's tax-exempt properties, see [A11] above. For fiscal obligations of the properties of other monasteries, see (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 10], [INV 11]; (27) *Kecharitomene*, Appendix A; and (31) *Areia* [M10], [T6].

[C9] Monks not to serve as guardians, protectors, or advocates. See also (3) *Theodore Studites* [8], (12) *Tzimiskes* [14], (13) *Ath. Typikon* [30], and (59) *Manuel II* [10].

[C10] Daily reading of Basil's *Ascetic Treatises*; monthly reading of the *Rule* of Mark and Neilos and the author's *Subsequent Chapters*. For use of Basil, see also (24) *Christodoulos* [A26]; for reading of the *typikon* in other Palaiologan monasteries, see also (37) *Auxentios* [13], (39) *Lips* [8], (55) *Athanasios I* [8], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [120], and (58) *Menoikeion* [9].

[C11] No private possessions in the cells; superior to conduct monthly inspections. For the former, see also (22) *Evergetis* [22] and related documents, (47) *Philanthropos* [2], and (53) *Meteora* [10]; for the latter, see (22) *Evergetis* [27] and related documents, (34) *Machairas* [120], and (45) *Neophytos* [C11].

[C12] Monks to abstain from services at Hagia Sophia; superior to visit the patriarch twice a year. For the treatment of patriarchal rights in other Palaiologan documents, see (38) *Kellibara I* [15], (39) *Lips* [1], (50) *Gerasimos* [4], (55) *Athanasios I* [9], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [26].

[C13] Commemorations of departed monks. See also (22) *Evergetis* [36] and related documents; for provi-

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- sions in other Palaiologan monasteries, see (37) *Auxentios* [13] and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [149], [150], [151].
- [C14] Prescriptions for feasts of the Dormition and of St. Demetrios. For the former feast, see also (20) *Roidion* [B9], (22) *Evergetis* [11], (23) *Pakourianos* [11], (27) *Kecharitomene* [59], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [10], (34) *Machairas* [29], (39) *Lips* [38], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [112].
- [C15] Annual commemorations of Neilos and Mark. See also the commemorations of past superiors in (22) *Evergetis* [35], Appendix, and, in Palaiologan times, in (48) *Prodromos* [9].
- [C16] Superior not answerable to monks for finances; condemnation of idle gossip and visitation of cells. For the former, see (22) *Evergetis* [18] and related documents. For the latter, see (22) *Evergetis* [9] and related documents; (34) *Machairas* [128], [130]; and (45) *Neophytos* [CB6].
- [C17] Dietary and liturgical regulations. See also provisions for other Palaiologan monasteries in (37) *Auxentios* [8], [10]; (39) *Lips* [29], [30], [31], [32], [33]; (53) *Meteora* [11]; (52) *Choumnos* [A16], [B14]; (54) *Neilos Damilas* [10], [12]; (55) *Athanasios I* [4]; (56) *Kellibara II* [1]; (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [59], [78], [80]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [4], [16].
- [C18] Recapitulation of provisions; institutional independence; designation of a successor. For institutional independence, see also (37) *Auxentios* [2], (38) *Kellibara I* [15], (39) *Lips* [1], (40) *Anargyroi* [3], (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [14], [15]; and (58) *Menoikeion* [3], [11], [22]. For the ban on fellowships, see also [B17] and [C2] above. For a prior designation of a successor, see [B10] above, with cross-references.

61. *Eleousa Inv.: Inventory of the Monastery of the Mother of God Eleousa in Stroumitza*

Date: 1449¹

Translator: Anastasius Bandy, with Nancy Ševčenko

Edition employed: Louis Petit, “Le Monastère de Notre-Dame de Pitié en Macédoine,” *IRAIK* 6 (1900), 1–153, with text at 114–25.

Manuscript: Parisinus, supplément grec 1222 (19th c.)²

Other translations: Macedonian, by Ć. P. Miljković-Pepok, *Veljusa: Manastir Sv. Bogorodica Milostiva vo seloto Veljusa kraj Strumica* (Skopje, 1981), pp. 283–309.

Analysis

This *Inventory*, separated from the foundation’s *typikon*, (10) *Eleousa*, by nearly 365 years, concludes our collection of monastic foundation documents. Like some of the Athonite monasteries for which (59) *Manuel II* was written earlier in the fifteenth century, *Eleousa* was a foundation born in the era before some of the enduring principles of the monastic reform had taken root. Indeed, (10) *Eleousa* [18], as will be recalled, actually prohibits the drawing up of an inventory. Perhaps the founder Manuel of Stroumitza considered such a requirement demeaning to the monastery’s superior even though—like the reformers—he was unwilling to countenance the alienation of any of the foundation’s assets. Be that as it may, here in the fifteenth century³ the monastery’s monks and their superior Meletios chose to interpret [8] their founder’s *typikon* in accordance with what more than three centuries of Evergetian security provisions had conditioned them to accept as customary practice.

The itemization of the foundation’s movable properties follows, including a list of icons, both “adorned” and “unadorned” [2], books [3], sacred textiles such as altar cloths and *podeai* [5], and lamps, candelabra, and other lighting devices [6]. There is no enumeration of the foundation’s landed properties, though there is a list of imperial chrysobulls and other official documents in the monastery’s cartulary of which eight are fully or partially preserved along with the inventory and the *typikon*. The *Inventory* asserts [7] that the monastery had no cash assets and was even laboring under the burden of debts imposed by a “capricious tax collector” on “pretext of some indebted Vlachs.”

Twenty-three monks sign the inventory with their names or marks, including the superior, the ecclesiarch, two ordained monks, the steward, the cellarer, a fisherman, two ox-team drivers, a tailor, and a beekeeper. This is considerably in excess of the ten monks set in the late eleventh century as a limit by the founder in (10) *Eleousa* [5].

FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Notes on the Introduction

1. For this provisional, still problematic dating, see Petit, “Notre-Dame,” p. 13, endorsed by Bompaire, “Catalogues,” p. 74. The document is dated Monday, February 10, in the twelfth indiction, yielding, according to Petit, the following possible dates: 1119, 1164, 1449, 1494, and 1539; the date of 1344 proposed by Omont, “Inventaire,” p. 312, is impossible; Laurent, “Recherches,” p. 23, followed by Miljković-Pepek, *Veljusa*, pp. 55–64, argues for 1164, with later interpolations such as the chrysobull of John III Doukas Vatatzes in [4].
2. See Omont, “Inventaire,” p. 309, and discussion in the note on the manuscript in (10) *Eleousa*.
3. According to Laurent, “Recherches,” p. 17, the area around Stroumitza had been under Serbian rule for sixty years (1334–94), then was conquered by the Turks.

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Translation

The present list of the sacred vessels, both books and sacred offerings, liturgical cloths and all ecclesiastical effects of our holy monastery, namely, of the supremely holy Mother of God the Merciful, who is properly and quite truly supremely blessed, has been committed to writing by us, the monks, as will be indicated in the text.

1. The fathers have rightly prescribed by canon and handed down that each church’s belongings—the sacred vessels and liturgical cloths of the holy houses and monasteries, that is, places of meditation, and all other ecclesiastical effects for the performance of the divine eucharist and celebration of sacred rites—be indicated in a record book, which record book is called and was called and continues to be called the inventory in accordance with the language [of the fathers]. For, in fact, when the fathers had gathered together in Constantinople under the Patriarch Photios in the church of the holy and universally renowned Apostles, they stated that, “along with all its belongings, including that is, the church itself, the possessions of [the monastery] must be recorded in an inventory and be deposited in the archives of the bishopric. For, if anyone no longer can have authority over those very things that he gives as gifts to a human being, how will one be permitted to wrest [from God] [p. 115] the authority over the things that he consecrates to God and dedicates to him?”¹ So much for the first canon of the aforesaid council.

The seventy-fourth canon of the holy and universally renowned Apostles [says]: “Let no one any longer appropriate for his own use a consecrated gold or silver vessel or cloth, for this is

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unlawful. If anyone, however, should be detected [doing this], let him be punished with excommunication.”²

The twelfth canon of the Second Council at Nicaea [says]: “If any bishop or superior should be found alienating anything from the properties of the diocese or of the monastery into a civil official’s hand or surrendering them to another person, the surrendering is to be invalid according to the canon of the Holy Apostles, which says, ‘Let the bishop have care of all the ecclesiastical things and let him manage them as if God were observing; and he is not permitted to appropriate any of them or grant as gifts the things of God to his own relatives. If, however, they should be paupers, let him provide for them as paupers but let him not, on their pretext, sell off the things of the monastery.’³ If they should allege as an excuse that a field is creating a loss and does not happen to produce a profit, not even thus are they to give out the land to the civil authorities in the area but to clerics or to farmers. If, however, they should use wicked cunning and a civil official purchases the field from the cleric or the farmer, even thus the sale is to be invalid and [the property] is to be restored to the diocese or to the monastery. Let the bishop or the superior of the monastery who does this be expelled, the bishop from the episcopal office and the superior from the monastery, for wickedly dispersing the things that they have not collected.”⁴

The twenty-sixth canon of the Council at Carthage says: “Likewise we have resolved that no one is to sell any ecclesiastical property. If this property produces no profits and if there is a pressing need, this is to be made clear to the primate of the province and he is to consult with the prescribed number of bishops as to what he is to do. If, however, there should be such an emergency in the church as to render impossible a consultation prior to the sale, let the bishop call to witness at least those who are in the vicinity, taking care [p. 116] to point out to the council all the troubles that have occurred to his church. If he will not do this very thing, [the seller] shall be responsible to God and the synod and shall be deprived of his own office.”⁵

The seventh canon of Gregory of Nyssa [says] concerning sacrilege: “Sacrilege in the Old Testament was not at all to be tolerated with less than frightful condemnation. For likewise both he who had been caught for murder and he who had purloined the things that had been dedicated to God suffered punishment by stoning (cf. II Macc. 4:42; 13:6). On the basis of ecclesiastical custom I do not know how any accommodation and indulgence occurred so that a more tolerable cleansing from such an illness was considered. For the tradition of the fathers prescribed less time for punishment of [those who commit sacrilege] than for [those who commit] adultery.”⁶

The seventeenth regulation of the second title of the first book of the *Codex* [of Justinian] [says] that, “If movable things, apart from the sacred vessels, are available, the alienation and mortgaging of the necessary immovable and sacred properties ceases. The twenty-first regulation of the same title says that whoever purchases sacred vessels or liturgical cloths, except for the ransoming of prisoners, or accepts them for mortgaging or security, forfeits both the value [of the goods he received] and the debt [owed to him]; and these [goods] are reclaimed by the bishops and stewards and sacristans, even if [the items] have been melted down; or their [estimated] value is demanded back, even if they are not to be seen. Book eighteen, title one, regulation sixty-two says that whoever in ignorance purchases the sacred [property] as if it were private [property], even though the sale is invalid, nevertheless has a [legal] grievance against the seller for he should not have been deceived in a matter of vital interest to him. [Justinianic] *Institutes* twelve, title one,

says that the sacred vessels are neither to be sold nor to be mortgaged except for the releasing of prisoners. The first regulation of the second title of the *Novels* [of Justinian]⁷ subjects to punishments those who pawn the sacred vessels contrary to the law or sell them or melt them down or alienate them except for the releasing of captives.”⁸

“The second regulation of the same title says that the sacred vessels of the church of Constantinople and of the houses of prayer, wherever they are situated, are not otherwise to be sold or to be mortgaged except for the release of prisoners. If, however, there should be many [p. 117] vessels that fulfill no necessary use, and it happens that some of the sacred houses are weighted down with debts and other movable possessions are not available to them from which they are bound to repay their debts, there will be permission—provided that the sale is constituted without fraud, the bishop alienating [the sacred property] with the authorization of the metropolitan and the metropolitan with the authorization of his own patriarch—to sell superfluous vessels to other holy houses that have need [of them] or to melt them down and sell them and to furnish their value for the debt, so that the immovable possessions may not be alienated. Book one, title eighteen, chapter thirteen says that the civil authorities are to seek out the sacrilegious. Book ten, title two, chapter four says that the heirs cannot divide among themselves the things that have been acquired from sacrilege.”⁹

“Book forty-eight, title four, chapter one, [says] that the crime of high treason is similar to that concerning sacrilege. Chapter seven [says that] the sacrilegious are punished in accordance with the nature of their sin.”¹⁰ “Regulation six [says that] the removal of personal monies from a sanctuary is not sacrilege but theft.”¹¹

“Book forty-eight, title thirteen, chapter seven [says that] the punishment of the sacrilegious is imposed, either more heavily or more lightly, according to the character of the persons and the sin and the time and the age and the nature. For some are turned over to wild animals; some are burned, some are impaled. A fitting punishment, however, is for him who commits sacrilege at night to be turned over to wild beasts, while he who commits a moderate sacrilege in daytime is condemned to the mines, whereas he who is a dignitary is exiled. Regulation eleven [says that] the sacrilegious are subject to capital punishment. Sacrilegious are those who rob the public churches, while those who rob private sanctuaries and the small churches that are unguarded are punished less than the sacrilegious but more than thieves. An outsider who robs the sanctuaries is subject to the crime of sacrilege, for he who has been entrusted with their guarding, even if he takes away something from them, is not subject to this law. Regulation twelve [says that] he who places a man in a casket and sets him down in a church [for healing purposes], if the latter comes out of the casket and steals some objects of the sanctuary, is to be exiled.”¹²

These chapters of the laws according to the sacred canons we have set down in the present *Inventory* for the purposes of deterring [p. 118] and arguing against those who intend perhaps to form designs upon the sacred vessels and other objects belonging to our most holy monastery that have been dedicated by our most blessed and most saintly father and founder and [by] some Christ-loving people for generations for the sake of commemoration upon their death.

2. When our most saintly father and founder built this monastery and consecrated to it the things that belong to it, he included the latter in an inventory for the identification of the things that

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belonged [to the monastery] and dedicated them to the Mother of God and made them known just as those who lived as monks in this monastery in a saintly manner and were consecrated to God told us. In the instant year, namely, the now current indiction

..... [lacuna in the text]

where, in fact, the strap of the aforementioned broken lamp was inserted.

A bronze icon [representing] the holy Mother of God seated with Child; it has a narrow silver-gilt frame. A silver-gilt-icon, *monopetalos*, [representing] three holy military saints depicted in profile (?),¹³ standing, with a frame that has busts of various saints. An icon of the Mother of God, painted on wood, that has a narrow halo and a narrow silver-gilt frame without images. Another icon [representing] the Mother of God seated, made of steatite,¹⁴ with a narrow silver frame without images. A large icon [representing] the supremely holy Mother of God standing, with the Child smiling (?) [p. 119] at her breast;¹⁵ it has two enameled, silver-gilt haloes. A large banner icon:¹⁶ a bust of the Mother of God with Child, painted on wood; it has two silver haloes without an overlay of gold. An icon of the Mother of God with Child, standing, one cubit high; it has two silver haloes. The foregoing are the sacred adorned icons of various saints that we have found.

There are also the following unadorned icons, namely: an icon of the supremely holy Mother of God the intercessor, unadorned, a cubit high, that stands near the icon of the Mother of God the Merciful set out for veneration. Another icon, a cubit high, [representing the Entrance of the Virgin into the] Holy of Holies. Another icon, a cubit high, [representing] the Dormition of the Mother of God. An icon, a cubit high, of the Mother of God, seated, that has also [a picture of] the founder. An icon, a cubit high, of the three martyrs, Manuel, Sabel, and Ismael.¹⁷ An icon of St. Nicholas standing; this too has [a picture of] the founder. Large icon, four spans high, that has three standing persons: Christ and Peter and Paul and around them various busts. Above the *templon*, there stand icons, busts [of] the Savior, a cubit high, [St. John] the Forerunner, likewise a cubit high, St. Peter, three spans high, [St. John] Chrysostom, standing, a cubit high. Another icon, of St. Auxentios together with St. Stephen the Younger, a cubit high. An icon triptych: the one panel, that is, the middle one, has the holy Crucifixion, while the other two have the Dormition of the Mother of God, the holy Resurrection, the Ascension, and the Nativity. Another icon, a bust of Emmanuel, the Savior. [Another] icon, [representing] the *Deesis* on a single panel. Another, which has wings, [representing] the holy Forty [Martyrs]. A large icon with wings, [representing] the Second Coming. [Another] icon, small busts of the holy *Anargyroi*, on one panel. Another [icon], a bust of St. Demetrios, one pseudo-cubit high, likewise also another small one. [Another], a bust of [St. John] Chrysostom, one pseudo-cubit high. Two new icons, [p. 120] joined, Christ and the Mother of God, a span high. A small icon, of gilded bronze, [representing] St. Menas. Three icons on one board, a cubit high, of St. Eleutherios, John Chrysostom, and St. Blasios. A bronze shield like icon,¹⁸ a bust of the Savior. There is also an icon that by error we have overlooked to include above with the rest of the adorned icons, which is St. [lacuna in the text]

We have found also a case for the precious wood [of the Holy Cross], with decoration in the old [style], which has its cover and is a span in length, having inside a circular, thick, short cross without precious wood, and inside the case it has Sts. Constantine and Helena depicted in the old [style] crudely.¹⁹ So much about the holy icons that have been found without adornments.

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3. As for the holy books we found, they are as follows:

Among the first, a large holy Gospel lectionary which has inside the four Evangelists in color with gold nimbuses (?)²⁰ and gold initial letters and decorations, covered with bright white silk cloth, having silver-gilt decoration. [It has] on the one cover in the middle Christ crucified and likewise in the shape of a cross the four Evangelists, standing, and at their edge round busts and a corresponding number of white silver nails that keep the aforesaid images nailed to the cover, while on the other cover of the same Gospel there is a cross and silver-gilt *gamma* ornaments and no images, likewise a pair of silver clasps²¹ entwined with silk.

Another Gospel lectionary for the entire year appropriate for every day. It is large with an old multicolored bright silk [cover], and it too has silver-gilt ornaments, that is, in the middle of the one cover it has a cross, an image of the Crucifixion, and four *gamma* ornaments, and the four Evangelists, and at their edge [p. 121] busts [of saints] and clasps and silver nails.

Another Gospel lectionary [covered] with silk cloth of the highest quality,²² having a cross and four silver-white *gamma* ornaments, plain, without saints.

Another Gospel lectionary in uncials²³ [covered] with silk cloth of the highest quality, small, it too having as ornament a cross and silver *gamma* ornaments, plain, white.

Two books: the four Gospels, written in minuscule;²⁴ two *Euchologia*, written in minuscule, and another one written in uncials. Two books of "The Ladder" [by John Klimakos]. Two books for funeral services. Two other books containing the [Gospel of] Matthew, one small and one large; the small one is of paper. A *Schematologion*. One *Nomocanon* written in uncials. Two books, a half *Oktoechos*, with two canons. One *Apostolos* for every day of the year. Another book [with] selections from the apostolic epistles.

Two books, [containing readings] from the *Prophetes* for the office. A *Praxapostolos* with gold-lettered initials, that is, a commentary on the [Acts and Epistles of the] Evangelist John.²⁵ A *Panegyrikon* of Gregory the Theologian; the initials and titles are in gold letters; it is covered with bright white silk cloth without ornaments. *Synaxarion* containing the lives of the saints for each day of the whole year. Another regular *Synaxarion*, for the office that is sung. One large psalter, written in minuscule on parchment and paper, written in thick letters, beautifully written. Three other small Psalters. Two other half Psalters. Another Psalter, on paper, with commentary. Two large books, *Sticheraria*, one of them for the [Great] Lent. Another small *Sticherarion* for the [Great] Lent. Four *Menaia* for the whole year. Two large *Parakletikai Oktoekhoi* for the daily office, divided, but counted as one [book]. One *Triodion*, in good condition, complete.

A book [containing] the great *Nomokanon*, both ecclesiastical and civil laws, not lacking any of the synodal regulations and being equal in its contents with that which is kept in the Great Church of Constantinople.²⁶ Another book, a lectionary, *Panegyrikon*, beginning from the month of September up to [the feast of] St. Stephen the Younger. Likewise another book, [p. 122] beginning from the month of October and ending with [the feast of] St. Prokopios. Another [book], beginning from [the feast of] St. Stephen the Younger and ending with [that of] St. Martin. Another book, by [Symeon] Metaphrastes, beginning from the month of October up to the end [of that month]. Another book of *The Statues* by [St. John] Chrysostom. Another book, beginning from the month of January up to the end [of that month]. A book of [St. John] Chrysostom, on the acts of the patriarchs, that is, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, which those who are ignorant call "The *Hexameros*." Another [book], the *Ascetic Treatises* of St. Basil. Another book, a *Panegyrikon*,

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beginning on the thirtieth of the month of November and ending with the [feast of] the Holy Innocents.²⁷ Another [book], beginning with April and ending with the [feast of the holy] martyr Basil. Another [book] beginning from the sixth of December up to [the feast of] St. Panteleëmon. A book of paper, leather-bound, a *Panegyrikon* of [Symeon] Metaphrastes. A book of the works of [Pseudo-] Clement. Another book of St. Ephraem, and another of St. Dorotheos. A book in paper called "*Melissa*,"²⁸ and another *Melissa* in parchment, which the magistrate Theodore from Stipi possesses. One book, a *Paterikon*. One book, [containing the] *Heirmologion*. Two *kontakaria*. One book, in paper, [containing] the *troparia* sung during matins. One *Horologion*, in paper, belonging to the founder. One book, for the month of October, in good condition. So much regarding the books of the monastery.

4. The property titles are as follows: Two chrysobulls of the celebrated emperor, Lord Alexios [I Komnenos (1081–18)].²⁹ Another *prostagma* of the celebrated emperor, Lord John [II Komnenos (1118–43)].³⁰ A *prostagma* of our most mighty and Born-in-the-Purple Lord Manuel [I] Komnenos (1143–80), that prescribes concerning the dependent peasants and the land.³¹ Another *prostagma* of the aforesaid concerning the donation for the salvation of his soul.³² Another *prostaxis* of his holy majesty concerning the children of such dependent peasants.³³ Another *prostaxis*, of his majesty confirming all the rights of the monastery.³⁴ Act of the transfer of the dependent peasants and the land.³⁵ Another [act of] transfer regarding the delimitation of the land [where] our monastery is situated.³⁶ Another act regarding Mostanitzia.³⁷ [p. 123]

Another act [regarding] the dependency of the holy *Anargyroi*.³⁸ Two memoranda of the most holy and ever-memorable archbishops of all Bulgaria, lord Leo the Philosopher, and lord John Komnenos.³⁹ Another memorandum, or rather a juridical decision, of the aforesaid ever memorable archbishop, the monk John Komnenos, confirmed and sealed by him, making clear the independence of the monastery, that is to say, the fact that it is to be outside of all control and beyond covetous authority.⁴⁰ Another chrysobull of our mighty and holy emperor, Lord John [III] Doukas [Vatazes] (1222–1254).⁴¹ Another *prostagma* of this holy majesty. Another, a *sigillidion*⁴² of the much-beloved nephew of our mighty and holy emperor, lord Constantine Komnenos Tornikes.⁴³ So much concerning such titles.

5. The sacred liturgical cloths and other altar-cloths and silk cloths are the following, namely: Three altar-cloths, the one a silk cloth with an ornamental design of forty bands (?),⁴⁴ which has in the middle the image of [emperor John] Tzimiskes (969–976). Another, more elaborately wrought, a silk cloth, which has six lions; and the other, a silk cloth of the highest quality, which is delicately embroidered.⁴⁵ These are the altar cloths.

Eleven *podeai*, namely icon hangings for the feast days: the one that is gold-sprinkled, and four [made] of silk cloth of the highest quality, that are white; two other, ordinary ones, that are violet-purple,⁴⁶ two others, that are scarlet with gold-sprinkled parrots; another, *narthekote*,⁴⁷ having Christ in the middle and the holy Apostles in a circle; and the other, of silk cloth of yellow background, with a fine design. While these are for the feast days, there are six old ones for everyday use, and one large *podea*, embroidered with a lentil design. Along with these there are two pairs of paten and chalice veils; six genuine fans;⁴⁸ two *koukoula*,⁴⁹ and another of red silk. The foregoing are indeed the sacred coverings or silk cloths.

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6. As regards lighting devices,⁵⁰ however, that is, candlestands⁵¹ and *lamnai*⁵² and large candelabra⁵³ and basket-shaped lamps⁵⁴ of cast bronze, they are as follows. Two large and long *lamnai*.⁵⁵ Two arched candlestands for the icons set out for veneration.⁵⁶ One large candelabrum with six candleholders [p. 124] made of *elektron*.⁵⁷ Two thin and long candelabra of [the same type made of] *elektron*. Two identical candelabra for the entrance.⁵⁸ Big and small basket-shaped lamps with their suspending chains, these, too, of *elektron*. There are ten chains for these basket-shaped lamps and [there are] also another two short chains. Another deep basket-shaped lamp with incised work and bronze overlay. Two bronze censers and three bronze standing censers.⁵⁹ Two white sets of vestments and one purple.

7. The foregoing are the things that have been found at hand, before God as witness, in our church and the sacristy at the close examination conducted by us, the monks, as stated above. Beyond these things that are indicated in the present register, no other kind of thing was found or coin, whether of imperial stamp or any other of whatsoever sort, even so much as one *gellion* or *hyperperon*, as God is [our] witness. Rather we had even debts up to thirty *gellia* because of a tax collector's extraordinary requisition on pretext of indebted Vlachs, the lord George Tetragonites⁶⁰ acting as tax collector during the tenth indiction before the last. For this reason, in fact, we revealed and mentioned these things in support of the innocence of us monks. If, however, we perhaps have not spoken the truth but have given a contrived account of these debts or have concealed any of the things that belong to the monastery, we shall be accountable to the judgment that is to come for having lied. For this reason, indeed, with our own hand we have affixed our signature and sign, each of us, the monks of our monastery who are at hand, for the confirmation of this register.

We are the following:

- + I, Nephon, the monk, and ecclesiarch, have signed
- + I, the lowly ordained monk, Clement, have signed
- + I, the lowly ordained monk, Hilarion, have signed
- + I, Ignatios, monk, have signed
- + I, Theodosios, monk, who am from afar, have signed
- + I, the monk Barnabas, have signed
- + I, too, Gerasimos, monk, have signed
- + I, too, Chariton, monk, have signed
- + I, Ioannikios, monk, have signed

Sign [affixed] by Nephon the steward

Sign [affixed] by Nikon, monk, the Theban [p. 125]

Sign [affixed] by Nikon, monk, the nephew of Pter[. . .

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Sign [affixed] by Joachim, monk, the fisherman

Sign [affixed] by Neophytos, monk

Sign [affixed] by Leo, monk

Sign [affixed] by Iakobos, monk, the tailor

Sign [affixed] by [the] monk Dositheos

Sign [affixed] by Ioannikios, monk, the teamster

Sign [affixed] by Laurentios, monk, the cellarer

Sign [affixed] by Gerontios, monk, the member of the dependency

Sign [affixed] by Barlaam, monk, the teamster

Sign [affixed] by Kallinikos, monk, the beekeeper

I, Meletios, the lowly monk and superior of the monastery of the supremely holy Mother of God the Merciful, with my own hand, have signed.

8. + In the month of February, the tenth, on Monday, in the twelfth indiction, in the presence of the most God-revering clerics of our most holy bishopric, the monk *papa* Constantine the Thracian, John Kyparissiotēs, priest and *deutereuon*, Presbyteros the priest and nephew of Soterichos (?),⁶¹ John the most devout archdeacon and acting trustee, and others, the present *Inventory* was brought to us by the most honorable monks of the supremely holy Mother of God the Merciful and the most honorable lord Meletios, the superior, and the monks under him, who had set it forth, and this *Inventory* was acknowledged by them to have been made in accordance with the testamentary instruction of the founder of blessed memory of their most holy monastery, namely, that they make a close examination of the things that belong to it, whenever a superior is appointed. Accordingly, when the leadership of the monastery fell to the above-mentioned monk, Meletios, since an inventory was not found in their monastery, the present *Inventory* was made, and, as a result of their request, it was signed also by us in order that it might carry self-credibility, in the aforewritten month and indiction. +++

The lowly bishop of Stroumitza, Clement, monk +

Notes on the Translation

1. *C. Const. I et II* (861), c. 1 (R&P 2.649).
2. *Canones apostolorum*, c. 73 (not 74), (= R&P 2.93).
3. *Canones apostolorum*, c. 38 (= R&P 2.52).
4. *C. Nicaean. II* (787), c. 12 (R&P 2.592–93).
5. *C. Carth.* (419), c. 26 (R&P 3.372).
6. Gregory of Nyssa, *Canon* 8 (not 7) (R&P 4.328).
7. *JN* 120.10.
8. This long quotation is from *Nomokanon* 2.2 (R&P 1.108).
9. *Nomokanon* 2.2 (R&P 1.109).

FIFTEENTH CENTURY

10. *Nomokanon* 2.2 (R&P 1.110).
11. *Nomokanon* 2.2 (R&P 1.111).
12. *Nomokanon* 2.2 (R&P 1.112–13).
13. *grammistoi*; for *grammistos* as synonymous with *katagraptos*, “drawn in profile,” see Petit, “Notre-Dame,” p. 129. The meaning of *monopelos* is unclear.
14. *lithos amiantos*.
15. *enkardion eulalaton*; *eulalaton* is not in the dictionaries. It may be synonymous with *eulalon*, “smiling,” “having a fair expression.” See Kriaras, *Lexiko*, s. vv. *eulalos* and *eulaleton* (attested only as an adverb). Petit, who believes that *enkardion* stands here for *enkolpion*, prefers to read *euelaton* and translates “medaillon bien laminé.” See “Notre-Dame,” p. 130.
16. *signon*; icon attached to or represented on a banner used in a procession. See Petit, “Notre-Dame,” p. 131, and (28) *Pantokrator*, [25], [30], [31].
17. According to Petit (“Notre-Dame,” p. 132), these obscure saints, who were put to death in Chalcedon during the reign of Julian (361–363), continued to enjoy a widespread cult in Macedonia at the end of the 19th century.
18. *skoutarion*; for which, see Petit, “Notre-Dame,” p. 133.
19. *atechna* = “crudely”?
20. *chrysopetala*; for a tentative translation of this term, see (23) *Pakourianos*, note 42 to Translation.
21. *tzinotheka*; not in the dictionaries but see Petit, “Notre-Dame,” p. 134.
22. *katablattion*; Petit (“Notre-Dame,” p. 136) defines *katablattion* as silk cloth of “dark purple color” and Kriaras (*Lexiko*, s.v. *blattin*) as “all-purple” silk cloth. However, the listing in chapter 5 of this *Inventory* of four “white” *podeai* made of *katablattion* clearly shows that this term denotes not the color but the quality of the fabric. Since *blattion* meant silk cloth, regardless of color, after the 10th century (cf. A Gonosovà, “Blattion,” *ODB*, p. 296), the term *katablattion* must have been used for silk cloth of the highest quality.
23. *litogramma*; see Petit, “Notre-Dame,” p. 134, and (19) *Attaleiates*, [Inv. 7] and [Inv. 17].
24. *monokaira*; see Petit, “Notre-Dame,” p. 136, and (19) *Attaleiates*, [Inv. 7].
25. On the apocryphal acts of St. John, see E. Junod and J.-D. Kaestli, *L’histoire des Actes apocryphes des apôtres du III^e au IX^e siècle: Le cas des Actes de Jean* (Geneva-Lausanne-Neuchâtel, 1982).
26. For this work, see Beck, *KTL*, p. 146, and Andreas Schminck, “Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles,” *ODB*, p. 1491.
27. The commemoration on 29 December of the children of Bethlehem slain by Herod after he had been told by the magi of the birth of Christ (Matt. 2:16–19). Since the *Panegyrikon* ended with this feast, it must have started with November, not December thirtieth, as the edition reads.
28. Lit. “Bee.” A collection of quotations from the works of ecclesiastical and secular authors. See E. M. Jeffreys and A. Kazhdan, “Melissa,” *ODB*, p. 1335.
29. Dölger, *Regesten*, nos. 1124, 1231, ed. Petit, “Notre-Dame,” docs. 1–3, pp. 25–27, 28–30.
30. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1328, cf. Petit, “Notre-Dame,” p. 30.
31. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1385, ed. Petit, “Notre-Dame,” doc. 4, p. 31 = doc. 8, pp. 36–37.
32. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1437, ed. Petit, “Notre-Dame,” doc. 5, pp. 31–32.
33. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1409, ed. Petit, “Notre-Dame,” doc. 6, pp. 32–35.
34. Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 1337, ed. Petit, “Notre-Dame,” doc. 7, p. 33.
35. Possibly the *Pittakion*, ed. Petit, “Notre-Dame,” doc. 8, pp. 34–46.
36. Not extant.
37. Not extant.
38. Not extant.
39. Not extant.
40. Not extant.
41. Neither the chrysobull nor the edict is extant or listed in Dölger, *Regesten*.
42. Not extant.

61. ELEOUSA INVENTORY

43. Constantine Tornikes (d. ca. 1275) who was *megas primikerios* under John III Doukas Vatatzes and *sebastokrator* under Michael VIII Palaiologos. See G. Schmalzbauer, “Die Tornikioi in der Palaiologenzeit,” *JÖB* 18 (1969), 117–19.
44. *tessaraktasemos*; not in the dictionaries. Koukoules (*BBP*, vol. 2.2, p. 41) cites the term *platysemos* in reference to silk cloth with “an inwoven pattern of large bands.”
45. *leptoexomplios*; for the meaning of *exomplion*, see Koukoules, *BBP*, vol. 2.2, p. 41.
46. *oxykaistorai*; on this term, see (23) *Pakourianos*, p. 559, n. 50.
47. Fabric named after a type of reed (*nartheki*) used as a tool in weaving it so as to achieve the effect of loops on the surface of the cloth. See Koukoules, *BBP*, vol. 6, pp. 291–92.
48. *flamoula*; Danica Lecco (= P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin* [Paris, 1977], p. 26) identifies *flamoulon* with *ripidion*. The latter is a fan with which the deacon fans the oblation; see Lampe, *PGL*, s.v.
49. The fact that these *koukoula* are listed with other furnishings of the church and that among them is found one made of “red silk” indicates that they were not monastic cowls (*koukoulia*) but some kind of cover for sacred vessels or icons(?).
50. *manoualia*: for which see L. Bouras, “Byzantine Lighting Devices,” *JÖB* 32. 3 (1982), pp. 480, 487, n. 22.
51. *kerostatai*.
52. *lamnai*: metal beams with candleholders used over the *templon* and icon frames. See Bouras, “Byzantine Lighting Devices,” p. 480.
53. *statareai*: see Bouras, “Byzantine Lighting Devices,” p. 480.
54. *kaniskia*: see Bouras, “Byzantine Lighting Devices,” p. 479.
55. See n. 52 above.
56. *kamarai*: arched metal strips with candleholders. See Bouras, “Byzantine Lighting Devices,” p. 480.
57. *statarea elektros*: It is not certain that the reference is to the alloy of silver and gold known as *electrum*. According to a glossary in a 14th-century manuscript cited by Petit (“Notre-Dame,” p. 147), *elektron* was either “pure bronze or another type of gold mixed with glass and stones.” For a similar definition of *elektron*, see Demetrakos, *Lexikon*, s.v. *allotypos*.
58. *manoualia*: see n. 50 above.
59. On the *katzion*, see L. Ph. Bouras and A. Kazhdan, “Censer,” *ODB*, p. 397.
60. Otherwise unknown; see E. Trapp, *PLP*, no. 27597.
61. Edition reads: *Presbyterou hiereos tou tou Soterichou*; the second *tou* may here be a scribal error in which case we should translate “the priest Presbyteros Soterichos.” In *PLP*, no. 23732, Presbyteros is listed as the son of Soterichos.

Document Notes

- [1] Civil and canon law requirements for an inventory. For the obligation to have an inventory, see also (35) *Skoteine* [24]; cf. (10) *Eleousa* [18].
- [2] List of icons. See also similar lists in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 5]; (23) *Pakourianos* [33B]; (35) *Skoteine* [26], [45]; and (48) *Prodromos* [14].
- [3] List of books. See also similar lists in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 7], [INV 12] ff.; (23) *Pakourianos* [33B]; (35) *Skoteine* [24], [27], [28], [42]; (45) *Neophytos* [12], (48) *Prodromos* [14], and (54) *Neilos Damilas* [INV].
- [4] List of property titles. See (23) *Pakourianos* [33D], [33E] and also inventories of landed properties in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 9]; (27) *Kecharitomene*, Appendix A; (28) *Pantokrator* [65], [66]; (35) *Skoteine* [31], [32], [33], [34], [35], [36], [37], [38], [41], [43]; (37) *Auxentios* (Missing); (39) *Lips* [44] ff.; and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [121] ff.
- [5] List of sacred textiles. See also similar lists in (19) *Attaleiates* [INV 8], [INV 18]; (23) *Pakourianos* [33B]; (31) *Areia* [T11]; (35) *Skoteine* [25], [28], cf. [45]; and (48) *Prodromos* [14].
- [6] List of lighting devices. See also similar lists in (23) *Pakourianos* [33B] and (35) *Skoteine* [25].

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- [7] Statement of no cash assets; signatures. For not storing up wealth in the monastery, see also (3) *Theodore Studites* [21] and (37) *Auxentios* [9].
- [8] Certification by Clement, bishop of Stroumitza. For other episcopal confirmations of the documents in our collection, see (10) *Eleousa* [22], (34) *Machairas* [18], (45) *Neophytos* [22], (50) *Gerasimos* [5], and (51) *Koutloumousi* [A16], [B21], [C12]; cf. (25) *Fragala* [A12], [B12], [C5].

Glossary

This glossary contains the following: 1) transliterated terms not translated or identified in the translations in this collection; 2) transliterated terms that have been identified but occur more than once in the translations; and 3) certain English terms requiring extended definitions.

- abba(s)/apa* (“father”) title of respect, especially for prominent or older monks
- Acheiropoietos* miraculous icon of the Virgin Mary “not made by hands”
- aer* the largest of three liturgical veils used to cover the chalice and paten
- aerikon* supplementary fiscal levy on a village; fine for a felony
- ainoi* laudatory hymns containing the phrase “praise the Lord”
- Akathistos* anonymous hymn of twenty-four stanzas dedicated to the Virgin Mary and sung during the fifth week of the Great Lent while the congregation stands
- akedia* state of boredom and spiritual lethargy afflicting monks, especially solitaries
- almaia* cabbage preserved in brine and vinegar
- Anargyroi SS Kosmas and Damian, the most renowned of the healing saints who received no payment for their services (feast day: 1 November and 1 July)
- anthypatos* title conferred on high administrative officials
- antikaniskon* monetary payment in order to avoid the obligation of *kaniskon* (q.v.)
- antimitatikion* payment in order to avoid the obligation of providing lodging for troops
- antiphon (*antiphonon*) verses from the Psalter sung alternately by two choirs in the liturgy and the offices
- Antiphonetes* epithet of Christ who gave his life as “surety” for the salvation of mankind
- Antiphonetria* epithet of the Virgin Mary stressing her role as intercessor
- aplekton* the obligation to provide lodging for troops
- Apodeipnon, Mega* liturgical book containing the office of the Great Compline sung during Lent
- apokrisiarios* personal representative of an ecclesiastical authority; envoy of the emperor
- apostolikai* monks of the *apostolikon schema* (q.v.)
- apostolikon schema* intermediate monastic rank between those of martyr and angel
- Apostolos* liturgical book containing lections from the Acts and the Epistles of the apostles used during the liturgy
- archimandrite superior of a large monastery or group of monasteries
- Artzibourians Monophysite Armenians who fasted on Wednesday and Friday of the first week of the *Triodion* (the three-week period preceding the Great Lent). Byzantine polemicists derided this practice, claiming that it honored the memory of Artzibourion (or Artzibourios), the favorite dog of Armenian teacher and holy man St. Sergios
- asekretissa* wife of an imperial secretary

Glossary

- aspron* term used for various silver coins in the 14th–15th c.
- aspron, nomisma trachy* term applied mainly to the billon and occasionally to the electrum
trachy (q.v.)
- asteriskos* crossed metal bars supporting the veil that protects the paten containing the eucharistic bread
- aule* group of buildings in a courtyard surrounded by walls
- autokrator* absolute ruler; title of the emperor
- basileus*; f. *basilissa* emperor; empress
- Bebaia Elpis* (epithet of the Virgin Mary) “sure hope”
- caesar* title conferred on members of the imperial family under the Komnenoi
- caesarissa* wife of a *caesar* (q.v.)
- canon (*kanon*) liturgical hymn divided into nine odes, each of which consists of several stanzas
- Catechesis* sermon with instructions for the monks; book containing such sermons
- charistikarios* private individual who was granted the administration of a monastery
- chartoularios* official of a bureau with fiscal and archival duties; in the 11th c. the term could also designate a commander on the field
- Cheesefare, week of (*hebdomas tes tyrophagou / Tyrine*) week immediately preceding the beginning of the Great Lent, during which cheese might still be eaten
- chiaton nomisma* (lit. “*nomisma* with a X”) At the end of the 11th c. the term designated a *hyperpyron* (q.v.) of Alexios I (1081–1118) showing on the obverse the abbreviation $\overline{\text{IC}}/\overline{\text{XC}}$ (Jesus Christ)
- choros* large polygonal structure suspended from the dome of a church and carrying several lamps and small chandeliers
- chrysebull (*chrysoboullon*) document bearing the emperor’s gold seal (*bullā*)
- closure of a feast (*apodosis*) the day on which the prescribed period for the celebration of a feast ends
- Deesis* icon representing the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist standing on either side of Christ with their hands extended toward him
- despoina* (lit. “lady,” “mistress”) epithet of the Virgin Mary; title of the empress
- deutereuon* title of a priest who could act as a vicar for a *protopresbyteros* (senior priest) in the latter’s absence
- dikaiophylax* (of the Great Church) patriarchal official acting as judge in cases of an ecclesiastical nature
- dishypatos* title conferred on judges and administrative officials
- domestikos of the themes* official connected with the financial administration of the themes
- domestikos ton scholon* commander of the army
- doulos* (lit. “slave”) honorific title designating close association with the emperor
- doux* military commander of a large district

Glossary

- dromos* department of official post and transportation
- droungarios* a military officer of low rank
- droungarokometes* holder of the combined military office of *droungarios* (q.v.) and *komes* (a subaltern officer)
- ducat (*doukaton*) silver coin worth 1/12 of the *hyperpyron* (q.v.) in the 14th c.
- eidikos* head of the imperial treasury
- ekphrasis* description of a work of art
- ektenes / ektene* type of prolonged and fervent litany consisting of supplications and responses
- Eleousa* (epithet of the Virgin Mary) “merciful”
- emphyteusis* long-term lease of ecclesiastical lands
- enkainia* (lit. “inauguration”) feast held on the first Sunday after Easter to celebrate the beginning of a new life in Christ
- enkolpion* cross or small icon worn around the neck
- Entry of the Virgin into the Temple, or Feast of the Holy of Holies (*Eisodia / Hagia ton Hagion*) Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (21 November)
- eparch (*eparchos*) governor of Constantinople
- epeixis* unidentified imperial revenue
- ephoreia* office of the *ephoros* (q.v.)
- ephoros* protector or guardian of a monastery
- epidosis* concession of an ecclesiastical institution from one ecclesiastical authority to another
- epimanikia* ornamental cuffs worn over the sleeves of a bishop’s alb
- episkepsis* property held by the emperor
- epi ton hippodromon* synonymous (?) with *epi tou hippodromou*, i.e., judge of a tribunal that met at the Hippodrome
- epi ton oikeiakon* head of the imperial private treasury
- epi tou kanikleiou* private secretary of the emperor and influential official
- epi tou stratou* high-ranking officer whose duty was to select the place where the army set up camp while on campaign
- epitaphios hymnos* funerary hymn
- epitrachelion* liturgical stole worn by priests and bishops
- esomonites* (“internal monk”) resident recipient of a living allowance
- Euchologion* liturgical book containing prayers for all services
- eukraton* beverage prepared from pepper, cumin, and anise by infusion with boiling water
- eulogetarion* short hymn that follows the recitation of the versicle “Blessed art Thou, O Lord”
- Evergetis* (epithet of the Virgin Mary) “benefactress”
- exagion* weight measure equivalent to 4.44 g. However, the use of this term in the *typika* indicates a larger measure
- exaposteilarion* hymn sung at the end of matins
- exomonites* (“external monk”) non-resident recipient of a living allowance

Glossary

- Fast of St. Philip** from the day after the commemoration of St. Philip, 14 November through 24 December
- Fast of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary** from 1 through 14 August
- Fast of the Holy Apostles** from the Sunday of All Saints (first Sunday after Pentecost) through 28 June
- Feasts of the Lord (*despotikai heortai*)** feasts in honor of Christ. Together with the feasts of the Virgin Mary, the apostles Peter and Paul and St. John the Baptist, they form the Great Feasts (*megalai heortai*), i.e., Birth of the Virgin (8 September), Exaltation of the Cross (14 September), Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (21 November), Nativity (25 December), Epiphany (6 January), Presentation of Christ in the Temple (2 February), Annunciation (25 March), Birth of St. John the Baptist (24 June), SS Peter and Paul (29 June), Transfiguration (6 August), Dormition of the Virgin (15 August), Beheading of St. John the Baptist (29 August), and the mobile feasts of Easter (Palm Sunday, Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost)
- follis* unit of account equal to 1/288th of the standard *nomisma* (q.v.)
- gammata* ornaments in the form of the Greek letter *gamma*, indicative of the number three and hence a symbol of the Trinity
- gellion* unidentified coin, probably Italian
- Gerontikon* book containing the sayings and deeds of the early ascetics
- Gorgoepekoos* epithet of the Virgin Mary, “who listens and responds swiftly to a prayer”
- graptai* title of four elderly women tending the church of the Theotokos Eleousa at the Pantokrator monastery
- grosso* Venetian silver coin of small value
- gruel (*groute*) plain or roasted flour mixed with hot water
- hagiogeorgaton, nomisma* electrum *trachy* (q.v.) showing on the reverse the emperor John II Komnenos (1118–43) and St. George
- Heirmologion* liturgical book with or without musical notation, containing model stanzas on which the melody and rhythm of the odes of various canons are based
- Heortologion* book listing the feasts of the church accompanied by brief biographies of the commemorated saints
- heroon* funerary chapel dedicated to St. Michael at the Pantokrator monastery
- hetoimasia* icon representing the prepared throne for Christ’s Second Coming
- Hexameros* title given to the homilies of Basil of Caesarea on the six days of Creation in Genesis I and often to John Chrysostom’s 67 homilies on Genesis
- hexagion* see *exagion*
- hexapterygon* metal disk with a representation of the six-winged Serapheim carried on a pole during a religious procession
- hippodromou, krites tou* judge of a tribunal that met at the hippodrome
- Hodegetria* precious icon of the Virgin attributed to St. Luke and kept at the Hodegon monastery in Constantinople

Glossary

- holokotanon, stamenon* standard gold coin
- horeiarios* official in charge of the state granaries
- Horologion* liturgical book containing the daily offices: *mesonyktikon* (midnight office), *orthros* (matins), *horai* (first, third, sixth and ninth hours), *hesperinos* (vespers) and *apodeipnon* (compline)
- hypakoe* hymn sung after a *eulogetarion* (q.v.) during matins on Sundays and feast days
- hyperpyron* the standard gold coin from the late 11th c. onward
- hyperpyros litra* a *litra* (q.v.) of gold or 72 gold coins
- hypertimon* increase of estimated tax
- hypertimos* honorary title of a metropolitan
- idiomelon sticheron* (q.v.) that has its own melody and rhythm
- idiorythmism (*idiorythmia*, “self-regulation”) monastic regime permitting monks to acquire property through their own labor, sleep and eat in their own cells, and be governed by an elected council of monks instead of a superior
- imposed guest (*katapemptos*) guest sent to the monastery by an outside authority
- ithmos* (= *ethmos*, lit. “strainer”) perforated (?) metal cover for the communion chalice
- kaballarios* (“knight”/ “cavalryman”) low-ranking dignitary
- kaniskion* (lit. “small basket”) donation in kind to landlords and state officials; gift for admission to monastery
- kanonikon* tax imposed on monasteries for the maintenance of the local bishop
- kaprilingas (camerlengus)* chief financial officer at the court of Roger I (1071–1101) of Sicily
- kastrision* unidentified term describing a kind of silk cloth
- kastrisios* (= *kastresios*) courtier in charge of the emperor’s quarters
- kastron* fortified settlement; town
- katechoumena / katechoumeneia* gallery in the triforium of a church
- katepanikion* small administrative unit from the 12th c. onward
- katepano* governor of a large province in the 11th c.; local official from the 12th c. onward
- kathisma* subdivision of the Psalter; hymn during the singing of which sitting is permitted
- katovlia* unidentified part of a reliquary
- Kecharitomene* (epithet of the Virgin Mary) “full of grace”
- kellion* monastic cell in the vicinity of a cenobitic monastery occupied by a *kelliotes* (q.v.); small monastery
- kelliotes* monk living alone or with a companion in the vicinity of a cenobitic monastery that he would visit for purposes of worship and from which he received his weekly supplies
- kentarchos* commander of a hundred men in the army or fleet
- kentemata* embroidery-like signs preceding the name of a feast day in the monastic calendar to indicate either a minor feast or one for which a fast is prescribed
- kentenarion* 100 *litrai* (q.v.); often used in reference to gold or gold coins

Glossary

- klimakes* term describing three hospices built by Pakourianos
- kokkion* unit of account equal to 1/24th of the standard *nomisma* (q.v.); unidentified large measurement of surface
- kollyba* boiled wheat mixed with raisins, pomegranate seeds, herbs and a sprinkling of roasted flour and sugar, served after a memorial service
- komodromikion* secondary tax, consisting of the obligation to provide army blacksmiths with nails and horseshoes
- Kontakarion* liturgical book containing a collection of *kontakia* (q.v.)
- kontakion* liturgical hymn in honor of a saint or a feast
- Kosmosoteira* (epithet of the Virgin Mary) “savior of the world”
- koudai* unidentified participants in a religious procession, probably the “rear guards” (?) (from Italian, *coda*)
- kouropalates* title granted to generals in the 11th c. (but not a high-ranking dignity from the 12th c. onward)
- koutroubin* type of commercial boat
- kraktai* professional chanters
- kyklion* term designating a building erected by Attaleiates to serve as a hostel
- Kyrie eleison* liturgical prayer “God have mercy”
-
- lamna* metal beam with candleholders used over icon frames and the sanctuary screen
- lamplighting, office of (*lychnikon*) first part of vespers when the lamps are lit in the evening
- laosynaktes* monastic official in charge of maintaining order in the church
- lavra* monastery consisting of dispersed individual cells and a community center for assembling on weekends
- Lent, Great (*megale tessarakoste*) forty-day period of fasting and penitence preceding Holy Week (i.e., the week before Easter)
- lepton* surface measurement equal to 1 square *orgyia* (= square with sides of 2.10 m)
- libellikon* reduced land tax paid by individuals or monasteries to whom the state ceded lands whose tax-paying owners had disappeared
- libellos* document connected with the assignment to a private individual or monastery of real property in a village commune on which taxes had ceased to be paid
- litra* measure of weight varying from 319 g to 324 g
- logariastes* financial official serving as comptroller in various departments
- Logos* (epithet of Christ) “the Word of God”
- logothetes* chief of a government bureau; patriarchal official acting as the patriarch’s representative and spokesman
- logothetes, genikos* head of the fiscal department dealing with the assessment and collection of taxes
- logothetes stratiotikos* high-ranking official dealing with soldiers’ taxes. By the 11th c. he had also acquired judicial duties.
- logothetes tou dromou* high-ranking official acting as minister of foreign affairs and adviser to the emperor

Glossary

- lysis* document issued by the imperial or patriarchal chancery in response to a petition
- magistros* high-ranking title that had begun to lose its significance by the 11th c.
- magoulikon* nun's headcovering
- malagma* pure gold
- malaratoi* soldiers armed with axes
- mandator* official employed for special missions
- maphorion* a garment covering the head and shoulders and, in the case of civil officials, the entire body
- matzoukation* fiscal levy for the maintenance of soldiers armed with maces
- measure (*metron*) measure of capacity: maritime or standard measure for wine (= 10.25 liters) and oil (= 8.52 liters); *annonikon* (= 2/3 maritime measure); monastic (= 4/5 maritime measure)
- Meatfare, week of (*hebdomas tes Apokreo*) the last week during which meat might still be eaten before the beginning of the Great Lent, i.e., second week before the Great Lent
- megas domestikos* supreme commander of the army
- megas doux* commander of the fleet
- megas doux ton scholon* in the East synonymous (?) with *megas domestikos ton scholon* in the East, i.e., commander in chief of the army in the East
- megas droungarios* high-ranking naval officer
- megas konostaulos* ("count of the stable") title born by members of the aristocracy from the 13th c. onward
- megas logariastes* financial official acting as general controller of expenses
- megas primikerios* high-ranking courtier whose function was to present the emperor with his scepter at court ceremonies
- megas stratopedarches* high-ranking official responsible for the provisioning of the army
- Menaion* liturgical book containing hymns and prayers proper to the matins and vespers of the fixed feasts of one of the twelve months of the year
- Menologion* book containing *Lives* of saints in the order of their commemoration in the church calendar
- merarches* commander of a cavalry division
- mesaplekton* fiscal obligation connected with the billeting of troops (?)
- mesoria* intermediate hours recited after each of the four liturgical hours (first, third, sixth and ninth)
- Metastasis tes Theotokou* the "removal" to heaven of the Virgin Mary; also known as the Dormition (*Koimesis*) or the Assumption (*Analepsis*) of the Virgin (feast day: 15 August)
- modios* measure of weight and land; *annonikos* (revenue *modios* = 26.667 *litrai* [q.v.], or 11.389 liters; *monasteriakos* (monastic *modios* = 32 *litrai*, or 13.667 liters); *thalassios* (maritime *modios* = 40 *litrai*, or 17.084 liters). The land *modios* varied from 888.73 sq. m to 1,279.78 sq. m.
- mystikos* private secretary of the emperor

Glossary

mystographos assistant to the *mystikos* (q.v.)

Neptikon book on spiritual vigilance

night office (*pannychis*) brief service celebrated after vespers or compline

nomisma standard gold coin

Nomokanon book containing the acts of the holy synods, canon law and civil law

nomophylax (“guardian of law”) title created for the head of the law school in

Constantinople in the mid-11th c. and subsequently held mostly by canonists

noummion lowest unit of account, synonymous with small change

octave (*oktoemera*) the week after a feast or the eighth day after the feast marking the closure
(*apodosis*) of the festival

odes canticles from the Old Testament sung during liturgical offices

oikeiaka (*sekreton ton oikeiakon*) bureau in charge of imperial property

oikistikos official with fiscal and judicial functions

oikomodion secondary tax in kind levied on peasant households

oikonomion imperial bureau of finances

oikos stanza of a *kontakion* (q.v.)

Oktoechos liturgical book containing under each of the eight Byzantine musical modes a set
of hymns proper to Sunday offices throughout the year except for Lent, Easter and
Pentecost

omphaitos unidentified part of a building in the monastery of Kecharitomenē

orthotes fiscal officer dealing with the re-establishment of taxes on lands previously exempted
from taxation

ounce (*oungia*) 1/12 *litra* (q.v.)

Panagia (epithet of the Virgin Mary) “All Holy”; ritual offering of a piece of bread at the end
of a meal in honor of the Virgin

Pandektes book on Christian spirituality by the 7th-c. Palestinian monk Antiochos; Nikon, the
author of (20) *Black Mountain*, has a similar work.

Panegyrikon liturgical book containing appropriate sermons for the feasts of the church

panhypersebastos dignity conferred on members of the imperial family under the Komnenoi

Panoiktirmon (epithet of Christ) “All Merciful”

pansebastohypertatos title held by members of the imperial family under the Komnenoi

pansebastos sebastos title held by members of the imperial family under the Komnenoi

Pantanassa (epithet of the Virgin Mary) “Queen of All”

Pantokrator (epithet of Christ) “Ruler of All”

panyoikeiotatos an inflation of *oikeios*, an honorific title denoting close association with
the emperor

papa (“father”) term of respect for priests

parakelliotai term applied to the first hermits who settled near the *kellion* (q.v.) of
Athanasios on the Great Meteoron

Glossary

- Parakletike* liturgical book containing under each of the eight Byzantine musical modes the hymns for weekdays and Sundays throughout the year except for Lent, Easter, and Pentecost
- parakoimomenos* chamberlain and bodyguard of the emperor
- parastasimon* solemn office consisting of prayers and supplications for the dead
- Paterikon* book containing tales and sayings of various fathers
- patrikios* dignity conferred on governors and generals
- peisa* weight measure equated with 128 kg
- Pentekostarion* liturgical book containing the offices from Easter Sunday through the first Sunday after Pentecost
- Perableptos* (epithet of the Virgin Mary) “Celebrated,” “Eminent”
- Petriziotissa / Petritzonitissa* epithet of the Theotokos of Petritzos, a medieval *kastron* near modern Bačkovovo in Bulgaria
- phakiolion* headcovering worn by nuns
- phiale* fountain in the atrium of a church
- Philanthropos* (epithet of Christ) “Lover of Mankind”
- pinkernes* cupbearer of the emperor; under the Komnenoi this office was held by members of the imperial family
- pittakion* document issued by the imperial or patriarchal chancery
- platidion* type of commercial boat
- podea* piece of precious cloth hanging from the bottom of an icon to the ground
- polyeleos* selected verses from Psalms 44 (45), 134 (135), and 135 (136) sung during matins on the feasts of the Lord and other feast days
- praiapositos* eunuch involved in palace ceremony
- praktikon* inventory of a taxpayer’s property
- Praxapostolos* lectionary containing the whole text of the Apostolic Acts and Epistles
- Presanctified Gifts, liturgy of (*leitourgia ton prohegiasmenon*) liturgy following vespers on weekdays during the Great Lent in which consecrated elements from an earlier Eucharist are used
- primikerios* title of supervising doctors at the Pantokrator hospital
- Prodromos* (epithet of St. John the Baptist) “Forerunner”
- proleusimaios* member of the retinue of a general
- prokeimenon* verse from the psalms sung before the Apostolic Epistle in the liturgy or before other lections in the offices
- pronoia* imperial grant of tax and other revenues from a specific property
- prooimion* Psalm 103 (104), with which the office of vespers begins
- Prophetologion / Prophetes / Propheteia* liturgical book containing readings from the prophets and other books of the Old Testament
- prosodia* fees paid to state officials
- prosoimoia* hymns similar in rhythm and melody
- prostagma / prostaxis* imperial document conveying an administrative order
- protekdikos* ecclesiastical judge responsible for the defense of suspected criminal offenders

Glossary

- protoallagator* chief of the officers in charge of military detachments called *allagia*
- protokentarchos* chief of the *kentarchoi* (q.v.)
- protomenites* title of the chiefs of the medical staff at the Pantokrator hospital
- protonotarios* chief of imperial scribes and secretaries
- protopapas* senior priest who in the absence of the bishop acted as his vicar
- protoproedros* high-ranking title implying precedence
- protos* head of the Athonite monastic community; chief doctor at the Pantokrator hospital
- protospatharios* title conferred on commanders of themes up to the 10th c. By the 11th c., it was held by lower military officers and other functionaries
- protospatharissa* wife of a *protospatharios* (q.v.)
- protostrator* commander of the troops and one of the highest dignitaries under the Palaiologoi
- protostratorissa* wife of a *protostrator* (q.v.)
- protosynkellos* adviser to the patriarch or a bishop
- protovestiaría* first in rank of the empress's attendants
- protovestarios* title held by high civil and military officials
- Psychosostis* (epithet of the Virgin Mary) "Savior of Souls"
- pterygia* lateral spaces in the sanctuary (?)
- ptochotrophos* official in charge of an institution for the poor and sick
- quaestor* judicial officer
- raso* the outer garment of a monk
- sakellarios* official in charge of the imperial or patriarchal *sakelle* (q.v.); local ecclesiastical treasurer
- sakelle* imperial treasury where a record of imperial monasteries and their properties was kept; name of the patriarchal treasury
- sakellion* see *sakelle*
- Schematologion* book containing the service for the clothing of a monk
- sebastokrator* title conferred on the emperor's sons and brothers under the Komnenoi
- sebastokratorissa* wife of a *sebastokrator* (q.v.)
- sebastos* title held by members of the aristocracy and the imperial family under the Komnenoi
- sekretion* department of administration
- semantron* traditional instrument of call in monasteries. It consisted of a flat wood or metal board struck with a hammer to produce a resounding tone
- semeioma* / *semeiosis* record of a judicial decision
- sigillidion* diminutive of *sigillion* (q.v.)
- sigillion* official document confirmed by a seal
- skaramangion* silk tunic with belt and long sleeves worn by the emperor and members of the court; silk cloth by the same name used as a cover for the altar

Glossary

- skepe* headcovering of a nun
- skete* small monastery; hermitage
- solemnion* imperial grant
- spharakandidatos* dignity conferred on officials of lower rank
- sphragis* (lit. “seal”) blessing, i.e., sign of the cross made by the installing bishop on the head of a newly elected superior; same rite performed by the superior at the installation of other monastic officials
- staurion* eucharistic bread offering in the shape of a small cross
- stauropegion* monastic foundation charter issued by local bishop or the patriarch
- sthlabopolos* (= *sklabopoulos*) see *doulos*
- Sticherarion* liturgical book containing the *stichera* (q.v.)
- Sticherokathistarion* liturgical book containing both *stichera* (q.v.) and *kathismata* (q.v.)
- sticheron* hymn sung after one or more verses of a psalm
- Stichophon* unidentified liturgical book in Church Slavonic probably similar to the Byzantine *Sticherarion* (q.v.)
- strateia* monetary commutation of military service
- strategos* (general) military governor of province; commander of small territorial and military unit by the 11th c.
- strateutes* army recruiting officer
- sympentheros* father-in-law of one’s son or daughter
- synapte* type of litany consisting of a series of intercessory prayers and responses linked together
- synaxarion* church calendar of fixed feasts indicating, but not including, the liturgical readings proper to each feast; collection of brief hagiographical notices and other information relevant to the celebration of feasts in the church calendar; title of monastic liturgical *typika*
- synone* obligation of farmers to sell part of their crops to the state at a fixed price; monetary land tax from the 10th c. onward
- synthronon* seats for the bishop and the priests in the back of the apse of a church
- tagmata* after the end of the 10th c., the term applied to military contingents in general
- taxation* fiscal levy for the maintenance of police
- taxiarches* military commander of a 1,000-man unit
- Telonia* (lit. “places of toll”) places where the souls of dead sinners are stopped and examined by demons personifying various sins; title of work by Neophytos the Recluse
- templon* screen separating the nave from the sanctuary
- tetareron* gold coin of light weight (3.98 g) in the 11th c.; small copper coin worth 1/4 of the old *folllis* (q.v.), which it replaced by the end of the 11th c.
- tetartion* 1/4 *modios* (q.v.)
- Tetrabaseleon* book containing the four books of Kings in the Old Testament: I Kings (I Samuel), II Kings (II Samuel), III Kings (I Kings), IV Kings (II Kings)
- tetrakarikoxyton* building for the private use of the empress in the monastery of Kecharitomene

Glossary

theotokion hymn addressed to the Virgin Mary; *hyperpyron* of John II Komnenos (1118–43) showing on the reverse the emperor and the Virgin Mary

Theotokos epithet of the Virgin Mary “Mother of God”

three hundred and eighteen fathers alleged number of the fathers who attended the Council of Nicaea in 325, suggesting the 318 servants of Abraham

topoteretes military officer in charge of a small district

tourmarches high-ranking military commander and civil governor of a large subdivision of a theme

trachy, nomisma concave coin of electrum (= 1/3 standard gold coin) or billon (= 1/48 standard gold coin) struck from the 11th to the 14th c.

tribounos official in charge of road maintenance in Constantinople

trikephalon, nomisma electrum *trachy* (q.v) that had on it the head of the emperor, the Virgin Mary, and Christ

triklinos dining room; reception hall

Triodion liturgical book whose hymns are composed, for the most part of three odes. It contains offices for the nine weeks preceding Easter and the eight weeks following it. The latter period was covered by the *Pentekostarion* (q.v) after the 14th c.

triodion short hymn of three odes

trisagion the “thrice holy” hymn (“Holy is God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal”); intercessory prayer beginning with this hymn

troparion short liturgical hymn

tropike small pavillion serving as a residence for royal nuns at the convent of Kecharitomene

typikon monastic foundation charter; liturgical ordinal describing the services for each day

tzieron type of kitchen utensil or agricultural tool (?)

tzounganion / tsoukganion ball game of Persian origin played on horseback

velum (judge of the *velum*) member of a tribunal meeting behind a curtain at the hippodrome

vestarches title conferred on low-ranking officials

vestes title granted to prominent military commanders

vestiarion state treasury

vestiarites imperial bodyguard

vestiaritissa wife of a *vestiarites* (q.v.)

voivode (voivodas) title of the ruler of Wallachia

washing of the feet (*nifter*) ceremonial washing of the monk’s feet by the superior on Holy Thursday in commemoration of Christ’s washing of the feet of the Apostles at the Last Supper

zeugaratos a peasant who owned a pair of oxen

zeugarion land cultivated by a pair of oxen

zupan (zupanos) high-ranking Wallachian official

Appendix A

Concordance with Previous Lists

1. Delehayé (1921)

Hippolyte Delehayé, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), pp. 4–8. Delehayé's list does not include the documents edited in his own work: (8) *John Xenos*, (39) *Lips*, (40) *Anargyroi*, and (57) *Bebaia Elpis*. These are marked with one asterisk (*) in the accompanying chart. Delehayé's No. 1 is the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas, which is not translated in our collection.

2. Meester (1940)

Placide de Meester, "Les typiques de fondation (*Typika ktetorika*)," *SBN* 6 (1940), 496–508, at 500–505. Meester divided his list into *typika ktetorika* (A), founder's testaments (B), and lost *typika ktetorika* (C). Documents in our collection known to Meester and discussed by him in his article but not included in his list are marked with two asterisks (**) in the accompanying chart. Meester's A19 is the Serbian *typikon* of Chilandar which is not translated in our collection. Meester's A29–A33 and B10–B11 are post-Byzantine documents that are also not translated here.

3. Janin (1964)

R. Janin, "Le monachisme byzantin au moyen âge. Commende et typica (x^e–xiv^e siècle)," *REB* 22 (1964), 5–44, at 18–21. All of Janin's documents are translated in our collection.

4. Manaphes (1970)

Konstantinos A. Manaphes, *Monasteriaka typika-diathekai* (Athens, 1970), pp. 178–90. Manaphes' list is divided into *typika* (A) and *diathekai* (B). All of Manaphes' documents are translated in our collection.

5. Konidares (1984)

Ioannes M. Konidares, *Nomike theorese ton monasteriakon typikon* (Athens, 1984), pp. 45–67. We do not consider Konidares' No. 56, the *Typos* of Manuel II (ed. Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, pp. 197–203), to be a founder's *typikon*, and it is not translated in our collection.

6. Galatariotou (1987)

Catia Galatariotou, "Byzantine Ktetorika Typika: A Comparative Study," *REB* 45 (1987), 77–138 at 85–87. Galatariotou's list is not numbered. Documents included in her list are marked Y

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on the chart; those rejected are marked N. All of Galatariotou's documents are translated in our collection.

7. Thiermeyer (1992)

Abraham-Andreas Thiermeyer, "Das Typikon-Ktetorikon und sein literarhistorischer Kontext," *OCP* 58 (1992), 475–513. Our (39) *Lips* and (40) *Anargyroi* are both assigned the number 38 in Thiermeyer's list. Thiermeyer's No. 49, the *Typos* of Manuel II, and his No. 54, the *Testament* of Theodore Agallianos, a liturgical *typikon*, are not translated in our collection.

NOTE: The absence of documents in our collection in other lists is indicated with a dash (–) in the accompanying chart.

		Delehayé (1921)	Meester (1940)	Janin (1964)	Manaphes (1970)	Konidares (1984)	Galatariotou (1987)	Thiermeyer (1992)
CHAPTER ONE	1 <i>Apa Abraham</i>	–	–	–	–	–	N	–
	2 <i>Pantelleria</i>	–	A15	–	–	33	–	31
	3 <i>Theodore Studites</i>	2	B1	–	A2	3	Y	1
	4 <i>Stoudios</i>	–	**	2	A2	2	Y	2
	5 <i>Euthymios</i>	–	–	–	B1	4	–	3
	6 <i>Rila</i>	–	B2	–	–	–	–	–
	7 <i>Latros</i>	3	B3	3	B2	5	Y	4
	8 <i>John Xenos</i>	*	B5	–	B4	18	N	17
	9 <i>Galesios</i>	–	**	–	–	–	–	–
	10 <i>Eleousa</i>	10	A5	10	A7	14	Y	14
CHAPTER TWO	11 <i>Ath. Rule</i>	4	**	4	A3	8	Y	5
	12 <i>Tzimiskes</i>	5	**	5	–	9	N	8
	13 <i>Ath. Typikon</i>	4	A1	4	A3	6	Y	6
	14 <i>Ath. Testament</i>	4	–	4	A3	7	N	7
	15 <i>Constantine IX</i>	6	**	6	–	10	N	10
CHAPTER THREE	16 <i>Mount Tmolos</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	17 <i>Nikon Metanoeite</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	18 <i>Nea Gephyra</i>	–	–	–	–	–	Y	9
	19 <i>Attaleiates</i>	8	A3	8	A5	12	Y	12
	20 <i>Black Mountain</i>	–	**	–	–	19	–	18.1
	21 <i>Roidion</i>	–	–	–	–	20	–	18.2
CH. FOUR	22 <i>Evergetis</i>	7	A2	7	A4	11	Y	11
	23 <i>Pakourianos</i>	9	A4	9	A6	13	Y	13
	24 <i>Christodoulos</i>	11	A6, B4	11	A8	15-17	Y	15-16

		Delehaye (1921)	Meester (1940)	Janin (1964)	Manaphes (1970)	Konidares (1984)	Galatariotou (1987)	Thiermeyer (1992)
CHAPTER FIVE	25 <i>Fragala</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	26 <i>Luke of Messina</i>	19	A14	20	A17	25	Y	23
	27 <i>Kecharitomene</i>	12	A8	13	A10	22	Y	20
	28 <i>Pantokrator</i>	13	A9	14	A11	24	Y	22
	29 <i>Kosmosoteira</i>	15	A11	16	A13	28	Y	25
CHAPTER SIX	30 <i>Phoberos</i>	–	A7	12	A9	21	Y	19
	31 <i>Areia</i>	14	A10	15	A12	26-27	Y	24
	32 <i>Mamas</i>	16	A12	17	A14	29	Y	26
	33 <i>Heliou Bomon</i>	18	A17	19	A16	31	Y	28
CHAPTER SEVEN	34 <i>Machairas</i>	22	A18	23	A20	34	Y	32
	35 <i>Skoteine</i>	–	B7	24	A21	36	Y	34
	36 <i>Blemmydes</i>	–	A20	–	A22	37	Y	35
	37 <i>Auxentios</i>	23	A21	25	A23	38	Y	36
	38 <i>Kellibara I</i>	24	A22	26	A24	39	Y	37
	39 <i>Lips</i>	*	A23	27	A25	40	Y	38
	40 <i>Anargyroi</i>	*	A24	28	A25	41	Y	38
CHAPTER EIGHT	41 <i>Docheiariou</i>	–	–	–	B3	23	N	21
	42 <i>Sabas</i>	–	–	1	A1	1	Y	29
	43 <i>Kasoulon</i>	17	**	18	A15	30	Y	27
	44 <i>Karyes</i>	20	A16	21	A18	32	Y	30
	45 <i>Neophytos</i>	21	A17	22	A19	35	Y	33
	46 <i>Akropolites</i>	–	–	–	–	42	–	39
	47 <i>Philanthropos</i>	25	A25	29	A26	43	Y	41
	48 <i>Prodromos</i>	–	–	–	B5	44	N	42

		Delehayé (1921)	Meester (1940)	Janin (1964)	Manaphes (1970)	Konidares (1984)	Galatariotou (1987)	Thiermeyer (1992)
CHAPTER EIGHT	49 <i>Geromeri</i>	–	B9	–	B6	46	N	44
	50 <i>Gerasimos</i>	–	B6	–	B7	47	N	45
	51 <i>Kouloumousi</i>	–	–	–	B8	52-54	–	48
	52 <i>Choumnos</i>	–	–	–	A29	50-51	Y	47
	53 <i>Meteora</i>	–	B8	–	A30	55	Y	50
	54 <i>Neilos Damilas</i>	27	A28	32	A31	57	Y	51
CHAPTER NINE	55 <i>Athanasios I</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	56 <i>Kellibara II</i>	24	A22	26	A24	–	–	–
	57 <i>Bebaia Elpis</i>	*	A26	31	A28	48-49	Y	46
	58 <i>Menoikeion</i>	26	A27	30	A27	45	Y	43
	59 <i>Manuel II</i>	–	–	–	–	58	N	52
	60 <i>Charsianeites</i>	–	–	–	A32	59-60	N	53
	61 <i>Eleousa Inv.</i>	10	A5	10	A7	14	–	–

Appendix B

The Regulation of Diet in the Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents¹

A. General Rules

Systematic treatments of the monastic diet are lacking in the Byzantine monastic foundation documents. The discussions of dietary matters that do appear in these documents generally bear on particular problems, the general principles (e.g., a strict prohibition on the use of meat) evidently being well understood.

1. Customary Food and Drink

Abstinence from meat was understood by (30) *Phoberos* [25] to be one of those practices that distinguished monks from laymen (cf. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [104]). The use of meat was not allowed in any of the monasteries for which the documents in our collection were written, though (19) *Attaleiates* [18] mandates that meat, along with other foodstuffs, should be supplied to guests in the almshouse. There are explicit prohibitions on the use of meat in only a few documents, however, including (20) *Black Mountain* [42] and (34) *Machairas* [115]. Two documents from Norman Sicily, (25) *Fragala* [A4], [B4] and (26) *Luke of Messina* [3], indicate that the consumption of meat had been abolished only recently. Only (11) *Ath. Rule* [24] forthrightly states that vegetables and legumes constitute the ordinary diet. The consumption of fish, except in (12) *Tzimiskes* [12], was generally permitted at various times during the year. Shellfish evidently were a special treat, available seasonally, especially as gifts of outside benefactors. Unlike some of their predecessors in the earlier monastic traditions, the authors of our documents permit the consumption of wine by their monks. Only (43) *Kasoulon* [1] features the extreme provision that its monks are never to eat cheese or eggs, though their use is restricted in many other documents.

2. Quantities of Food and Drink

Little is said about the quantities of food and drink to be used in the diet. In the eleventh century, however, (20) *Black Mountain* [44] has some basic instructions: one heaping wine measure [cup] of lentils, beans or chickpeas along with one level measure of rice per person when cooked plain; the quantities were to be halved in making soup. Quantities for “dry” food were similar, one heaping measure of olives, and a level one of raisins. Following the command of Basil of Caesarea,² easily procured, seasonal foods (especially fruits and vegetables) were to be preferred. Both (32) *Mamas* [17], followed by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17] and (27) *Kecharitomene* [46], provide for the

¹ For a discussion of the monastic diet and requirements of fasting and abstinence, see the works cited in the General Bibliography, XXVII. Daily Life, B. Diet, especially Joachim Herbut, *De ieiunio et abstinentia in Ecclesia byzantina ab initiis usque ad saec. XI* (Rome, 1968).

² Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae fusius tractatae* 19 ([LR 19]), PG 31, cols. 268–69.

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allotment of wine according to the greater measure; the last document also gives the mother superior discretionary authority to increase the quantity of wine drunk by her nuns. At times when greater moderation was desired, a smaller measure of wine might be employed.

3. Number and Times of Meals

Generally, monks were offered a midday or early afternoon meal and then a considerably smaller (and less formal) meal or snack of bread and wine or leftovers later in the evening. During times of fasting or for liturgical reasons, the principal meal might be delayed, and some strict monasteries omitted the evening meal entirely. As (28) *Pantokrator* [9] notes, “the time of eating is not always the same . . .,” and could be affected by seasonal changes, the need to accommodate work, the liturgy and other services, and the requirements of fasting and abstinence.

4. Fasting and Abstinence

The often confusing requirements for fasting and abstinence gave rise to most of the dietary regulations in our documents. The difference between fasting and abstinence is explained thusly in (20) *Black Mountain* [91]: “Fasting is not touching anything at all, but abstinence is touching a small (amount) and again holding (oneself) back.” The latter is said to be appropriate always, while the former could be inappropriate at certain seasons and on certain days. The stern (2) *Pantelleria* [4], a document probably of the late eighth century, imposes the unusual obligation upon its monks of fasting throughout the day. Those performing strenuous manual labor, however, were to be allowed a quarter portion of a regular meal, with a glass of wine. In the tenth century, (7) *Latros* [8] fasting was to be observed by each of the monks in proportion to his strength and as approved by the superior.

5. Historical Development of Dietary Regulation

Our earliest documents provide only a few general rules for dietary observances. Beginning with (4) *Stoudios*, we see an intensified interest in dietary prescriptions, though primarily for periods of fasting. The most detailed regulations are to be found in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when our authors gradually expand their prescriptions to cover both fast and non-fast days throughout the year. In this era, (20) *Black Mountain*, (30) *Phoberos*, and (43) *Kasoulon* offer the sternest regulations, but generally speaking, the monastic reform favored (implicitly rather than explicitly) a relatively relaxed dietary regime. In the thirteenth century, however, one observes an increasing inclination among our authors to defer to the authority of the liturgical *typikon* of the Sabas monastery near Jerusalem,³ with the result that dietary regulation becomes scarcer in Palaiologan times.

(7) *Latros* [8] makes the earliest recommendation of the “Rule of Jerusalem,” presumably an early version of the Sabas *typikon*. In the Palaiologan era, (37) *Auxentios* [10], (39) *Lips* [30], (56) *Kellibara II* [1], and (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [78] all endorse that *typikon*. (56) *Kellibara II* [1] confidently states: “Those who need to find out something should open the book containing the rule and read it, and they will certainly be able to find what they are looking for in it.” (57) *Bebaia*

³ (22) *Evergetis* [10]; (27) *Kecharitomene* [47]; (28) *Pantokrator* [12]; (29) *Kosmosoteira* [25], [26]; (30) *Phoberos* [28]; (34) *Machairas* [67]; and (36) *Blemmydes* [11].

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Elpis [79] praises the *typikon* for its moderation “equally avoiding superfluity and deficiency.” Among other things, the *typikon* is said to regulate the number [80] of daily meals and the times when fish was allowed to be eaten, wine drunk [81], and olive oil employed in cooking. However, (37) *Auxentios* [10] allows the superior discretionary authority to relax the interpretation of its dietary provisions.

In later centuries, dietary observances were among those traditional practices that contemporaries thought needed explication. Thus, the cumin-flavored Lenten beverage named *eukraton* mentioned earlier in (4) *Stoudios* [AB30] and elsewhere⁴ without explanation is said in the thirteenth century in (36) *Blemmydes* [18] to be a precaution against flatulence.

B. Rules for Regular (Non-Fast) Days

At first one finds relatively little regulation for non-fast days. In the ninth century, (4) *Stoudios* [29], followed by (11) *Ath. Rule* [22], provides for three servings of wine at the main meal and two in the evening. The most detailed discussion is to be found in the eleventh century in (20) *Black Mountain* [37], which provides for two courses on Tuesdays and Thursdays, one a legume soup cooked with olive oil (but see the reservation on its use in [R41]) and the other boiled vegetables without. A small, carefully measured portion of cheese, eggs, or fish was also permitted on these days. The monks could eat a benefactor’s gift even if it exceeded the usual standard. There was to be [57] no fasting on the weekends at any time during the year with the exception of Holy Saturday. On Saturdays, a meal was to be prepared [47] at the fifth hour, consisting of two courses of legume soup and boiled vegetables, both prepared with olive oil. Cheese, eggs, or fish could also be consumed if they were available. The Sunday meal was to be served [47] at the third hour, and consisted of two courses, prepared with olive oil, or three if necessary to accommodate a benefactor’s gift. There were to be evening meals on both Saturdays and Sundays (see also [38]). Wine could be consumed on Sundays [38], diluted one part to twenty of water, but generally not on other days except on feasts, when taken for medicinal purposes or consumed as a gift. When permitted, it was to be limited to two cups in most cases, but absolutely no more than three.

In the contemporary (23) *Pakourianos* [8], we find a generous provision for three dishes a day, accompanied by four measures of wine, and with cheese permitted on four days: Tuesday and Thursday during the week, and Saturday and Sunday on the weekend. Later in the early twelfth century, (27) *Kecharitomene* [46] provides for two to three dishes at the midday meal, of fish and cheese, on these days. The diet for Monday was to be two or three dishes of legumes cooked with olive oil, and shellfish if they happened to be available. The beverage was to be dispensed by the larger measure, to be increased at the mother superior’s discretion. At the evening meal, the nuns were to be fed bread, seasonal vegetables, and small fruits, accompanied again by a beverage distributed with the larger measure. (32) *Mamas* [17], along with (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], follows these prescriptions. At the principal meal, (29) *Kosmosoteira* [63] allows its monks two dishes of food daily, including fish, cheese, and two “monastic measures” of wine. (28) *Pantokrator* [12],

⁴ For cumin-flavored beverages, see also (22) *Evergetis* [10], (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (28) *Pantokrator* [12], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [25], [26], (30) *Phoberos* [28], (34) *Machairas* [67], and (36) *Blemmydes* [11].

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whose treatment of dietary matters is generally liberal, provides for three dishes of cheese and eggs on Tuesdays and Thursdays, three dishes of vegetables, legumes, and mussels and oysters (in season), prepared with olive oil and seasonings, on Mondays, and three dishes, including fresh fish, on Saturdays and Sundays. Hot water was to be poured [9] into the monks' wine-cups (perhaps for dilution) to accompany each dish; bread was also served with the meals.

In the much stricter (43) *Kasoulon* [2], cf. [5], legumes, olive oil, vegetables, fish, and wine are permitted on non-fast days, here Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays. Two dishes were to be served [3] on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and also on Sundays [4]. There was to be [4] no cooked evening meal on Sunday, however.

In the late thirteenth century, (39) *Lips* [32] provides for two to three dishes of fish, cheese and legumes on four fast-free days, which are the same as in (43) *Kasoulon* [5]. In the fourteenth century, (58) *Menoikeion* [8] allows two daily meals on these same fast-free days. Fish was to be served on Sunday "on account of the difficult vigils." On Monday, the prescribed diet was one "boiled dish with vinegar and wine." Fasting on the weekend days was forbidden.

C. Rules for Fast Days

Our authors disagreed on what days of the week fasting should be practiced. The more lenient required fasting only on Wednesdays and Fridays, while the stricter insisted on fasting on Mondays as well.

In (11) *Ath. Rule* [30] wine is prohibited on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays except for the infirm. (7) *Latros* [8] is more severe, restricting its monks to bread and water on Wednesdays and Fridays, except on the occurrence of a dominical feast, that is, a feast of the Lord, or in regard for a monk's infirmity. In the eleventh century, (20) *Black Mountain* [38] restricts its monks on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays to one course of boiled vegetables without olive oil, and another of dry food. The single meal on these days was to take place [43] either at the conclusion of vespers or at the ninth hour.

For Wednesday and Friday fast days, (27) *Kecharitomene* [46] prescribes a diet of three dishes of legumes and vegetables cooked with olive oil, yet if fish were sent by a benefactor on these days or on a Monday, it could be consumed. Likewise, at the discretion of the superior, fish could be consumed on a dominical feast that chanced to fall on one of these days. The prescription for the Wednesday and Friday diet is adopted by (32) *Mamas* [17], which also allows wine distributed with the customary measure, but permits the monks to observe voluntarily a stricter dietary regime of dry foods only "for the sake of the canons." (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17] has the same regulation. (28) *Pantokrator* [12] simply provides for an observance of the canons on these two days, but allows the superior to make concessions to accommodate the "weakness of the brothers." (29) *Kosmosoteira* [63] recognizes Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays as fast days; its monks were to be fed "Holy Broth" and legumes.

(30) *Phoberos* [16] indicates that the diet will be similar to that prescribed for Lent, specifically legumes soaked in water or fruits and fresh vegetables, with cumin-flavored hot water for a beverage, to be served at the ninth hour. Observance of the Wednesday and Friday fasts, enjoined by many patristic authorities, was a very serious obligation, to be set aside [17] only for the

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observance of a dominical feast. Cheese, fish, and eggs were not to be eaten [19] on these days, even if the feast of Christmas happened to occur on one of them.

(43) *Kasoulon* [5] ordains fasting for three days of the week, Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, except for dominical feasts, feasts of the Mother of God with an octave, of the angels, of St. John the Baptist, of the Twelve Apostles, or “any other saint whose memory is celebrated.” No fish was to be consumed [6] on Wednesdays or Fridays, except again when an important feast chanced to occur on them, unless a monk was sick; nor was oil to be employed [13] in cooking on these days.

In the thirteenth century (34) *Machairas* [77], citing Palestinian observance, defines fasting on these days as total abstinence from wine and oil, and reckons Mondays as equivalent in dietary obligation to the other days of fasting. (45) *Neophytos* [C4] limits its monks to uncooked foods on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. (36) *Blemmydes* [11], while banning the use of oil on Wednesdays and Fridays, permits the use of wine. Towards the end of this same century, (39) *Lips* [32] provides for one or two dishes of fresh vegetables or legumes on Wednesdays and Fridays (with the usual exceptions for the celebrations of great feasts), and boiled legumes and fresh vegetables with olive oil, along with shellfish, if abundant and in season, on Mondays.

In the early fourteenth century, (55) *Athanasios I* [5] rejects the practice of breaking a fast day on a Monday, Wednesday, or a Friday on grounds of observing a dominical feast. Later on in the same century, (58) *Menoikeion* [8] limits its monks on Wednesdays and Fridays (but not Mondays) to one meal a day prepared without olive oil, and served without wine except for the sick and those with weak constitutions.

D. The Evening Meal

At least during the period from Easter to the feast of All Saints (the first Sunday after Pentecost), (4) *Stoudios* [AB29], followed by (11) *Ath. Rule* [22] in the tenth century, provides for a modest evening meal. No special food was to be prepared, but bread and any leftovers from the midday meal were to be set out for the monks along with two servings of wine each. (22) *Evergetis* [9], prescribes similarly, but more generally, ordering that small quantities of bread alone be set out, unless the superior wishes to add some small fruit as well. Drink was to be distributed with the larger measure. If a feast should occur, the superior could replace the supper with an appropriate celebration. (27) *Kecharitomene* [46], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [24], and (30) *Phoberos* [24] all follow the Evergetian prescription on the evening meal. On those days when the main meal took place not at the ninth hour but earlier, (27) *Kecharitomene* [48] provides for a small supper, with wine distributed in the smaller measure. (28) *Pantokrator* [11] likewise makes a provision for a supper of vegetables and some fruit whenever a second meal was permitted. The serving of beverages would follow the rules for the midday meal. (32) *Mamas* [17], followed as usual by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], provides for a supper of bread, seasonal fruits and vegetables, or “any other thing that shall seem best to the superior,” served with a beverage distributed with the greater measure.

In the thirteenth century, the anachronistically minded (36) *Blemmydes* [11] declares that eating only once a day was the custom of the famous ascetics (of late antiquity), but out of consideration for those who were not strong enough to subsist on one meal a day, allows for a second meal in the evening from “whatever happens to be available.” In the fourteenth century, (58)

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Menoikeion [8] makes reference to specific times marked out in the monastery's *synaxarion* in which it was possible for its monks to eat twice a day: Easter Week, the week after Pentecost, the Twelve Days (of Christmas), the week of Meatfare, and the week of Cheesefare.

E. The Lenten Diet

1. General Prescriptions

(4) *Stoudios* [AB30] provides for only one meal a day, except for Saturdays and Sundays. Except for the sick and elderly, the monks were to substitute *eukraton*, flavored with pepper, cumin, anise, and hot water, for wine. Oil and wine were allowed in the diet on Lenten Saturdays, when there would be two servings at the main meal and in the evening. In the tenth century, (11) *Ath. Rule* [25], [26] repeats these provisions, but allows wine also on Sundays and reduces the evening meal to one serving. In the contemporary (7) *Latros* [5], monks are told to restrict themselves “as much as possible” to moderate quantities of bread and water. Wine mixed with water was allowed on Saturdays and Sundays “because of lack of strength.” Also in the tenth century, (12) *Tzimiskes* [12] prohibits fish except for the infirm.

In the late eleventh century, (20) *Black Mountain* [57] explains the separate treatment of Saturdays and Sundays as non-fast days as being a traditional practice to refute “the dogma of the so-called Eustathianoï and Markianitai and Lapetianoï and Messalianoi,” but cheese, eggs, and fish were not allowed [56] on these days during Lent. The use of oil was permitted on Saturdays and Sundays, and on Sundays wine too, if available, was to be drunk “to the glory of God.” On other days, the monks were to eat only dry foods [57]; fish is explicitly forbidden [60], except on the feast of the Annunciation. At about the same time, (23) *Pakourianos* [10] provides for a Lenten fast without fish, wine or olive oil, except on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays, when its monks were allowed one cup of wine each “for refreshment.”

Among the documents of the monastic reform, (22) *Evergetis* [10] prohibits fish generally during Lent, except when it was offered as a refreshment by an outside benefactor. (27) *Kecharitomene* [47] restricts the consumption of such a gift to weekend days. (22) *Evergetis* [10], followed in the twelfth century by (27) *Kecharitomene*, (29) *Kosmosoteira*, and (30) *Phoberos*, and in the thirteenth by (34) *Machairas* [73], allows the superior to exercise discretion with the diet of the sick during Lent. (32) *Mamas* [18], (33) *Heliou Bomon*, and (43) *Kasoulon* [2] make the same provision.

In the twelfth century, (28) *Pantokrator* [12] restricts its monks to one meal a day, except for Saturdays and Sundays. Exceptions for feasts are not recognized. On weekend days, however, the monks were to be served three dishes, one of fresh vegetables, the second of legumes, and the third of oysters, mussels, scallops, and onions, all seasoned with olive oil and accompanied by the “usual” measure of wine. (30) *Phoberos* [19] forbids the consumption of cheese or eggs. (31) *Areia* [T5] provides that the Studite *typikon*, i.e., (4) *Stoudios* [AB30], should be followed. The rigorist (43) *Kasoulon* [2] forbids fish throughout Lent, oil on Mondays, and wine on Wednesdays and Fridays.

In the thirteenth century, (45) *Neophytos* [C4] provides for uncooked food during all the Lenten weekdays; additional self-imposed dietary rigors are encouraged but not required. In the fourteenth century, (57) *Bebaia Elpis* [82] adds to the rigor of its model, the Sabas *typikon*, by prohibiting the use of oil even on weekend days, except for the sick, who were to be allowed even

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to have fish frequently. In the fifteenth century, (60) *Charsianeites* [C17] orders abstinence from food cooked with oil during the Lenten weekdays though food could be boiled with vinegar instead of oil. Foods prepared with oil and wine were allowed on weekend days. Wine was also allowed on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

2. The First Week of Lent and the Feast of St. Theodore

The first week of the Lenten fast, particularly the first day, were generally marked by dietary asceticism of varying rigor. The diet was relaxed in honor of the feast of St. Theodore on Saturday of that week. In the ninth century, (4) *Stoudios* [AB30] orders simple food during the first week of Lent: boiled beans and chickpeas, *almaia* without olive oil, figs, and (if available) chestnuts, cooked pears, and prunes. In the tenth century, (11) *Ath. Rule* [25] endorses the Studite regulation, adding “some other boiled fruit” to the list of permitted food. In (4) *Stoudios* [A30] there are special regulations for the first weekend in Lent: on Friday, boiled beans with white and black olives, *almaia*, and *kollyba*, with one measure of wine as well; on Saturday and Sunday at the midday meal, two dishes with olive oil and two measures of wine, followed by two more measures in the evening.

In the eleventh century, (20) *Black Mountain* [56] orders no eating at all on the first day of Lent, and on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday just one piece of salted bread with water. The *Catechesis* of Theodore Studites is cited for having at least this modest meal during the first week of Lent. On Friday evening, just before the feast of St. Theodore, there was to be a cooked meal without oil and some other dry food, as well as bread and water. As on other Lenten weekend days, there was to be no eating of cheese, eggs, or fish on this Saturday or Sunday. (22) *Evergetis* [10] also orders a day of complete fasting on the Monday of the first week of Lent, but meals were to be prepared on the other days of that week for those who wished to partake, consisting of legumes soaked in water, raw vegetables and fruits, with a cumin-seasoned hot water drink. On Friday, in honor of St. Theodore, there would be two dishes of food cooked without olive oil with a larger measure of “better” wine. On Saturday, the monks were also permitted to eat shellfish (but not other fish) as a refreshment if sent to them by outside benefactors.

Among the Evergetian institutions in the twelfth century, (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [25], (30) *Phoberos* [28], (32) *Mamas* [18], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18] all endorse the prescription for a total fast on the first Monday in Lent, although (30) *Phoberos* [28] encourages his monks to continue the fast until Wednesday or even Friday, while (32) *Mamas* [18] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18] substitute wine “distributed with the half measure” for the cumin-flavored water on the grounds that the chanters need “a moderate concession even if it is contrary to the canons” so that they will have enough sustenance to perform the office and the required genuflections. These last two documents also allow a more generous diet on the feast of St. Theodore, namely two meals of boiled vegetables and shellfish (fish also if sent by benefactors), and the “customary large measure” of wine. To a lesser extent, (27) *Kecharitomene* [47] does also, providing that one of the two dishes prepared for the Friday feast should be cooked with olive oil.

(28) *Pantokrator* [12], however, permits but does not require the Monday fast, which is acknowledged to be “the custom of many.” The diet for the first week was to be a smaller portions of bread and wine than usual, legumes soaked in salty hot water without olive oil, nuts, and dried figs. On Friday evening, the vigil of St. Theodore, the monks were to have pickles seasoned with

olive oil and a measure of wine. On Saturday and Sunday, the diet would follow the prescriptions for other Lenten weekend days.

The rigorist (43) *Kasoulon* [9] provides for a diet of bread, soaked beans, and water (but no vegetables) during the first week of Lent, then soaked beans, *kollyba*, and also wine (so [23]) on Friday in honor of St. Theodore, with vegetables being allowed again on Saturday. In the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [67] appears to follow the provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [10], but permits the use of sesame oil as shortening for the meal and substitutes the “customary” for the “larger” measure for the wine on the vigil of St. Theodore. In the fourteenth century (58) *Menoikeion* [8] simply provides that the monks should follow the rules set forth in the monastery’s *synaxarion* for the first week of Lent.

3. The Rest of Lent until Palm Sunday

For the second, third, fifth, and sixth weeks of the Lenten fast, (4) *Stoudios* [AB30] provides for a diet of boiled beans, olives (in [A] only), legumes, and vegetables seasoned with ground nutmeg—but no fruits or figs—on regular weekdays. All except the sick will drink *eukraton* instead of wine. (4) *Stoudios* [A30] (only) provides that the diet for Wednesday and Friday fast days will be the same as for the more rigorist first and middle (fourth) week of Lent; on Friday this was to include beans, olives, *almaia*, *kollyba*, and one measure of wine; on Saturday, two dishes prepared with oil, with two measures of wine at the midday meal and two at the evening collation. For the mid-Lent (fourth) week, (4) *Stoudios* [B30] (only) provides for a diet that is the same as for the first week of Lent.

In the tenth century, (11) *Ath. Rule* [25], follows (4) *Stoudios* [AB30] as its model, but with only boiled beans and another dish seasoned with nutmeg provided as the diet for non-fast weekdays. There is no specific discussion of the diet for the Wednesday and Friday fasts.

In the late eleventh century, (20) *Black Mountain* [56] refers to the fiftieth canon of the Synod of Laodicea for the restriction to dry foods on Lenten weekdays. Uncooked fruits and olives are permitted, if available. For the entire mid-Lent (fourth) week, (20) *Black Mountain* [58] references the Studite *typikon*, (4) *Stoudios* [B30], for the exclusive use of dry foods. The fast was not to be broken on the Wednesday of this week.

In (22) *Evergetis* [10], the diet for regular weekdays (Tuesdays and Thursdays) was to be two cooked dishes, both prepared with olive oil, accompanied by wine of the smaller (half) measure. On the weekday fast days (Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays), the diet prescribed is uncooked foods—beans and some small fruits—and hot cumin-flavored water in place of wine. On weekend days, the two cooked dishes prepared with olive oil are accompanied by wine of the larger measure. In opposition to (20) *Black Mountain*, the weekend diet is to prevail on the Wednesday in the middle of Lent, as well as on the Thursday of the Great Canon (so also (27) *Kecharitomena* [47], (32) *Mamas* [18], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18]). In the twelfth century, (29) *Kosmosoteira* [26] endorses these Evergetian prescriptions, while (30) *Phoberos* [28] is more selective, omitting the provision for the extension of the more ample weekend diet to the middle Wednesday of Lent.

(22) *Evergetis* [10] makes exceptions to the general ban on the consumption of fish during Lent for the feasts of the Discovery of the Head of St. John the Baptist (February 24), the Forty Martyrs (March 9), and the Annunciation (March 25), and if some benefactor were actually present for the consumption of this sort of culinary gift. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [26] provides likewise, but

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(30) *Phoberos* [28] omits the feast of the Annunciation and reminds its readers that shellfish are permitted on Saturdays and Sundays.

(27) *Kecharitomene* [47] makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [10], but introduces some changes, particularly in making the diet for the weekday fast days more lenient. On Mondays, there were to be two cooked dishes, one prepared with and the other without olive oil, accompanied by wine of the smaller measure, while on Wednesdays and Fridays the two dishes were to be prepared without olive oil, though still with the small measure of wine. On Saturdays and Sundays there were to be three cooked dishes prepared with olive oil instead of two.

Later on in the twelfth century, (32) *Mamas* [18] also makes use of (22) *Evergetis* [10], but it favors a stricter dietary regime on Tuesdays and a slightly more lenient one on weekend days. The Tuesday diet was to be boiled beans and black olives, while on Thursdays the diet was the same as in (22) *Evergetis* [10]. On Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, the diet was to be legumes soaked in water, raw vegetables, nuts, and dried figs, accompanied by the “customary” two-thirds measure of wine. On Saturdays and Sundays, there was a richer diet of “two or three” cooked dishes prepared with olive oil and accompanied by a large measure of wine. As usual, (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18] provides a ready endorsement of these provisions of its model.

Typically, (28) *Pantokrator* [12] provides for a more generous diet: fresh vegetables served with olive oil and legumes sweetened with honey “as an additional refreshment” accompanied by the “usual measure” of wine on Tuesdays and Thursdays; and the legumes soaked in water prepared without olive oil, nuts, figs, and smaller than usual portions of bread and wine on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays that also made up the diet prescribed for the first week of Lent. This weekday fast diet was to prevail during the whole of the fourth week of Lent as well.

Also typically, (43) *Kasoulon* [9] regulates the Lenten diet strictly. On regular weekdays, there was to be one cooked meal each day prepared with olive oil (except on Mondays, when oil was not allowed), accompanied by wine. On Wednesdays and Fridays, the diet was to be bread, boiled beans, raw or wild vegetables, and small nuts, accompanied only by water. Wine and the use of olive oil were not allowed on these days. For the weekend days, the diet would follow that for the regular weekdays, with the use of olive oil permitted.

In the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [69] provides for a single meal of boiled beans, *almaia*, and fruits accompanied by a brewed beverage for those of strong constitutions and one of cooked food prepared with sesame and olive oil accompanied by wine for others on Tuesdays and Thursdays. For the diet on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, (34) *Machairas* [69] follows (22) *Evergetis* [10] in prescribing boiled beans and small fruits (adding raw vegetables) accompanied by cumin-flavored water. On Saturdays and Sundays, the provision is [68] for three cooked dishes prepared with sesame oil with the “customary” measure of wine. The larger number of dishes on the weekend days is in accord with (27) *Kecharitomene* [18] and (32) *Mamas* [18] rather than (22) *Evergetis* [10]. Citing the “custom of the monastery,” there was to be an evening meal on these days.

In the fourteenth century, (58) *Menoikeion* [8] provides for two meals seasoned with either honey or vinegar and accompanied by a measure of wine on Tuesdays and Thursdays, dry food and water only on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and two meals seasoned with olive oil and accompanied by wine on Saturdays and Sundays.

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4. Holy Week

a. General Regulations

In the ninth century, (4) *Stoudios* [A30] provides on Wednesday and Friday for a diet of boiled beans and chickpeas, *almaia* prepared without olive oil, figs, chestnuts, cooked pears, and prunes, just as for the first week of Lent. Monday and Tuesday follow the diet of the second, third and fifth weeks of Lent, i. e., boiled beans, olives, cooked legumes and vegetables, but no fruits or dried figs. [B30], on the other hand, and, in the tenth century, (11) *Ath. Rule* [26] prescribe for Holy Week the same food as for the first. In the twelfth century, (28) *Pantokrator* [12], also observes this parallelism between the first and last weeks of Lent, adding also the fourth week. (30) *Phoberos* [28] provides for an uninterrupted six-day fast on just bread and water from Monday to the Saturday before Easter, seeing that “they are days of grief and not a feast.”

b. Monday through Wednesday

(20) *Black Mountain* [62] prescribes a three-day fast broken in the evening with a modest meal of bread and water and raw vegetables “just as the sacred canons specify.” Similarly, (30) *Phoberos* [28] provides that the monks’ modest meals should be taken in the evening during this week up through Holy Thursday. (43) *Kasoulon* [9] orders a three-day fast during Holy Week on the same terms as the four-day fast prescribed during the first week of Lent. In the fourteenth century, (58) *Menoikeion* [8] is in agreement, prescribing only dry food and water during Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of Holy Week.

c. Holy Thursday

In (4) *Stoudios* [AB30], the Holy Week fast is alleviated somewhat on Holy Thursday with a meal consisting of one dish of legumes with ground nutmeg and boiled beans, accompanied by up to a measure of wine. (11) *Ath. Rule* [26] permits the use of both oil and wine on Holy Thursday. (20) *Black Mountain* [63], citing the “*typika* of the great monasteries, that is, of *Stoudios* and [St. Sabas of] Jerusalem,” prescribes a legume soup without oil and other dry food, accompanied by wine.

(22) *Evergetis* [10], followed by (34) *Machairas* [72] in the thirteenth century, prescribes that the monks’ diet on Holy Thursday was to follow that set for non-fast days, that is, two cooked dishes prepared with olive oil accompanied by wine of the smaller measure. (27) *Kecharitomene* [47] is similar, but substitutes the larger measure of wine, as do (32) *Mamas* [18] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18]. The indulgent (28) *Pantokrator* [12] permits the use of olive oil on this day, as even the strict (43) *Kasoulon* [9] does, adding also “good wine,” on account of the upcoming sleepless vigil its monks were obligated to perform in honor of Christ’s passion. In the fourteenth century, however, (58) *Menoikeion* dissents on the use of olive oil, which it condemns as a contravention of “the sacred and apostolic canons,” though two meals seasoned with honey are permitted instead.

d. Good Friday

For Good Friday, (20) *Black Mountain* [64] recommends but does not require a total abstinence from food (to continue through Holy Saturday). If this cannot be done, the monks should have only bread and water and raw vegetables on Good Friday, then fast for Saturday only. This is also the approach taken by (30) *Phoberos* [28]. (22) *Evergetis* [10] simply orders that no cooking is to

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be done, but with its usual moderation provides for a meal of raw vegetables and fruits, accompanied by wine of the larger measure, in view of the exertions of the monks' Easter vigil. This is endorsed by (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], (32) *Mamas* [18], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18]. (28) *Pantokrator* [12] provides for a diet from Good Friday up till the eve of Easter consisting only of bread, legumes soaked in water, and wine mulled with cumin. (43) *Kasoulon* [9] typically takes the firmest position of its era, ordering that its monks should eat nothing from Holy Thursday evening until late night Saturday, in accordance with the provisions of the Synod in Trullo. Both (34) *Machairas* [72] in the thirteenth century and (58) *Menoikeion* [8] in the fourteenth century endorse this view in a conspicuous rejection of the more lenient Evergetian tradition.

e. Holy Saturday

In (4) *Stoudios* [A30], the monks begin the vesper service at the eleventh hour and break their fast when it is concluded with a meal of fruit, bread, and two measures of wine. In [B30], the meal is more substantial, consisting of cheese, fish, and eggs, with three measures of wine. (11) *Ath. Rule* [26], rejecting the Studite model, declares that the refectory should not be opened after the vesper service, begun in the middle of the twelfth hour, is concluded "because a large meal would weigh heavily on the stomach and on the mind." Its monks were to be content with the blessed bread, and two servings of wine distributed in the narthex.

In (20) *Black Mountain* [66], cf. [65] there is a discussion of various canonical authorities for when to end the Easter fast. The less stringent *typika* of "the great monasteries," including those discussed above, are preferred in their provision for a small meal of bread (baked ahead of time on Holy Thursday), fruit and a little wine at the end of the third hour of the night.

For its part, (22) *Evergetis* [10], followed by (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], simply provides for a "customary collation," in order to avoid distraction from the vigil. (32) *Mamas* [18] and (33) *Heliou Bomon* provide for opening the refectory for a collation. (30) *Phoberos* [28], citing the patristic tradition considered but rejected by the author of (20) *Black Mountain* [66], provides for the collation at the sixth hour of the night (i.e., at midnight). (28) *Pantokrator* [12], with typical lenience, allows its monks to have a meal of bread, legumes soaked in water, and wine mulled with cumin even before the vesper service. (43) *Kasoulon* [9], also typically, insists that the fast should last until midnight, at which time its monks were to partake of a cooked meal prepared in the refectory with olive oil and accompanied by wine.

In the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [72] provides for a collation only, in the narthex, after the dismissal of the liturgy celebrated "around the third or fourth watch of the night." In the fourteenth century, (58) *Menoikeion* [8] likewise provides for breaking the fast in the church without a cooked meal after the dismissal of the liturgy.

F. Lenten Dietary Dispensations for Feasts

1. Feasts of St. John the Forerunner and the Forty Martyrs

The possible occurrence of these two feasts early during the Lenten fast led many of our authors to make provisions for special dietary concessions. (4) *Stoudios* [A30] (but not [B]) provides for a special diet of two dishes of vegetables and legumes, prepared with olive oil and whole olives and accompanied by three measures of wine for the feasts of the discovery of the head of St. John the

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Baptist (February 24) even if it should happen to occur in Lent. For the feast of the Forty Martyrs (March 9), the diet prescribed is a midday meal of two dishes prepared with olive oil accompanied by two measures of wine, then two more measures of wine in the evening.

For these same feasts, (20) *Black Mountain* [59] provides that one meal—the legume soup prepared without olive oil—be served, followed by any available fruit in the evening after vespers service, as long as they do not fall within the first week of Lent, in which case it was not permitted to break the fast. It should be noted that the liturgical calendar in (20) *Black Mountain* [89] reckons these as only minor feasts.

The provision of (22) *Evergetis* [10], followed by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [26], is for the celebration of these feasts whenever they might fall, breaking a fast if necessary, with a meal of two dishes prepared with olive oil and accompanied by wine of the larger measure. (30) *Phoberos* [28] provides for a relaxation only of wine of the larger measure. (27) *Kecharitomene* [47] allows for a celebration with fish and wine of the larger measure, but only if the feast falls on a day of the week besides Wednesday or Friday. If the feast occurs during the first week of Lent, the nuns were to have the benefit only of the diet for Lenten Tuesdays and Thursdays, i.e., two cooked dishes, prepared with olive oil and accompanied by wine of the smaller measure.

(32) *Mamas* [18] follows (27) *Kecharitomene* in restricting celebration of the feast of St. John to those occasions when it does not fall on a fast day, here interpreted to include Mondays also. The prescribed diet, fish and wine of the larger measure, is the same. The feast of the Forty Martyrs was thought to merit only shellfish and the same amount of wine. (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18] endorses these provisions. (28) *Pantokrator* [12], however, recognizes only the feast of the Forty Martyrs, on which occasion monks were to eat fish, unless the feast fell during the first week of Lent, when they would have only the concession of olive oil in the preparation of their food.

In the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [70] follows the language of (22) *Evergetis* [10] but allows three dishes of food prepared with olive oil and accompanied by wine, but not fish. An occurrence during the first week of Lent would reduce the concession to a serving of wine.

2. Feast of the Annunciation

The feast of the Annunciation on March 25 was bound to occur sometime during the Lenten fast, sometimes even during Holy Week, leading many of our authors to make special dietary provisions for it. Without discussion of possible complications, (4) *Stoudios* [AB31] enjoins the celebration of the feast of the Annunciation with fish prepared with olive oil and accompanied by three measures of wine. In the tenth century, (7) *Latros* [5] does likewise, prescribing fish and the use of olive oil “with moderation.” (20) *Black Mountain* [60] also considers this feast a legitimate reason to break a fast with two meals, including any available fish, prepared with oil and accompanied by wine.

According to (22) *Evergetis* [10], its monks were to eat fish on this feast if it was sent by benefactors, but the item was not to be procured deliberately. Leftovers were to be consumed freely on the following day, but if there were none, the monks were to be given two dishes prepared with olive oil instead. If the feast fell during the first week of Lent, however, the festal concession would be reduced to wine of the larger measure and gruel. If the feast fell during the first three days of Holy Week, the monks would be allowed shellfish and wine of the larger measure in preference to the usual diet of legumes soaked in water, raw vegetables, fruit, and cumin-

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flavored water. In a controversial position, (22) *Evergetis* [10] declares, “we will do everything appropriate for the feast even if it should fall on Holy Thursday, or Good Friday, or even holy Easter Eve itself.”

(29) *Kosmosoteira* [26], [27] faithfully follows these provisions of its Evergetian model. (30) *Phoberos* [28] mostly does so also, but restricts the consumption of leftovers from the feast on fast days and omits Easter Eve from the list of days in Holy Week when it must be celebrated. (27) *Kecharitomene* [47] permits a celebration with shellfish during Holy Week only on Monday, Tuesday, or Thursday (i.e., the non-fast days). Should the feast occur on Wednesday or on Good Friday, the nuns were to be content with cooked legumes and vegetables accompanied by olive oil. The Easter Eve fast was not to be broken. (32) *Mamas* [18], followed by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], makes similar provision for occurrences during Holy Week, but permits wine of the greater measure as a consolation on those days when cooked legumes had to be served for the feast in lieu of shellfish. (28) *Pantokrator* [12] is not much different, permitting celebration by consumption of fish at any time in Lent, including on Holy Thursday, except during the weekdays of the first week of Lent and the other days of Holy Week. If the feast occurred during a day during Holy Week when fish could not be consumed, the monks were to have the consolation of the use of wine and olive oil.

The usually strict (43) *Kasoulon* [24] is uncharacteristically lenient on this issue, providing for a three-day feast (March 24-26) featuring food prepared with olive oil and good wine, with no discussion of possible exceptions to its celebration. The usual exception for Holy Week is found in (34) *Machairas* [71], however, when its monks were to be content with legumes, fresh vegetables, seasonal fruits, and hot water flavored with honey and cumin, though an occurrence on Holy Thursday, Good Friday, or Holy Saturday would be marked by serving wine of the “customary allotment.”

3. Performance of the Great Canon

The special concessionary diet of (4) *Stoudios* [A30] (but not [B]) prescribed for an occurrence of the feast of the discovery of the head of St. John the Baptist was also valid for the Wednesday and Thursday of the fifth week in Lent when the monks performed the Great Canon. In the late eleventh century, (20) *Black Mountain* [58] rejects the notion of breaking a fast at this time “because it is rather a day of grief and not a feast.” (22) *Evergetis* [10], followed by (27) *Kecharitomene* [47], provides for a meal of the type ordinarily provided on a Lenten weekday, that is, two cooked dishes, one with olive oil, and wine with the smaller measure, on the Thursday of the Great Canon. (43) *Kasoulon* [22] typically refuses to grant a substantial dietary concession, but permits the superior to approve the consumption of wine on Wednesday “on account of the labor the brothers are about to take up.” On the following Thursday, the monks would eat a meal prepared with olive oil and accompanied with good wine. (34) *Machairas* [69] notes that the monks will miss supper on Wednesday and Thursday, but provides for a refreshment for the chanters on Friday.

4. Feast of St. Lazarus

(4) *Stoudios* [A30] orders that the Saturday feast of St. Lazarus on the day before Palm Sunday be celebrated in the same way as that of St. Theodore, i.e., with two dishes at the midday meal prepared with olive oil and accompanied by two measures of wine, followed by two more in the

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evening. On the Friday before the feast, (20) *Black Mountain* [61] allows one meal, legume soup prepared without oil, any available fruits, and bread and water. (43) *Kasoulon* [16], [23] allows the superior to grant a concession of wine on the Friday evening before Lazarus Saturday.

5. Feasts of the Presentation and of St. Symeon

(29) *Kosmosoteira* [27], observing that these feasts, which occurred on February 2 and 3 respectively, often fell during the first week of Lent, orders that they be kept in the same way as the feast of the Annunciation.

G. Rules for Other Fasts

1. Fast of the Holy Apostles

(43) *Kasoulon* [10] provides the parameters of this fast, which begins on the Monday after the feast of All Saints and extends to the vigil of the feast of Saints Peter and Paul on June 29. In the ninth century, (4) *Stoudios* [AB29] provides that the monks should abstain from fish, cheese, and eggs during this fast, except for those days on which they did not sing the hours [i.e., on Sundays and feasts]. The diet was to consist of two dishes, one of vegetables served with olive oil and another of legumes without, accompanied by two servings of wine at the ninth hour and two in the evening. On feast days during this period of fasting, the monks were not only allowed to have cheese and other foods, but also to drink three measures of wine at the sixth hour and two more in the evening.

In the tenth century, (11) *Ath. Rule* [23] orders abstinence from fish, except on Sundays and feasts, during this fast. On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, the monks were also to abstain from wine and not use oil with their food, but otherwise they were to make use [24] of their customary diet of vegetables and legumes.

At the end of the eleventh century, (20) *Black Mountain* [R38] prescribes a diet on regular weekdays (here Tuesdays and Thursdays) of two courses of boiled vegetables without oil and dry foods at the ninth hour. On the remaining weekday fast days, the diet was to be reduced to two portions of bread with water. This is said [31] to be in accord with the *typika* cited above and other authorities.

(22) *Evergetis* [10], followed by (29) *Kosmosoteira* [28], cf. [63] provides for a meal at the seventh hour of two dishes cooked with olive oil and wine of the larger measure, followed later by a supper consisting of a small piece of bread and the larger measure of wine “because of the heat and dryness of the season.” The monks were to abstain from fish, unless it was given to the monastery by external benefactors. (30) *Phoberos* [29] endorses these prescriptions, but applies them to regular weekdays (Tuesdays and Thursdays); on Wednesdays and Fridays, the monks were to abstain [19] also from cheese, eggs, and fish.

In (23) *Pakourianos* [10], the rule is abstinence from olive oil on the three fast days (Monday, Wednesday, and Friday), but with two measures of wine at the main meal and one in the evening.

(27) *Kecharitomene* [48] is based on the provisions of (22) *Evergetis* [10] but more lenient. The nuns, limited to two dishes on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, are permitted as many as three on Tuesdays and Thursdays at the discretion of the mother superior; they were to dine on fish supplied by the convent or some refreshment sent by a benefactor. As in (22) *Evergetis* [10], there

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should also be a supper of bread, to which available raw vegetables and fruit are added, all accompanied by wine of the larger measure “because of the heat and dryness of the season.”

(32) *Mamas* [18], followed by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18], also makes its own customized use of (22) *Evergetis* [10], prescribing dry food only on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and two or three dishes cooked with olive oil on Tuesdays and Thursdays. The superior is permitted to provide refreshments and make dietary concessions at his discretion. Fish supplied by the monastery or a benefactor was to be consumed on Saturdays and Sundays. Fish supplied by a benefactor could also be eaten on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Wine distributed with the greater measure was to be served at meals on all of these days “on account of the burning heat and dryness of the season,” and a supper served, too, of bread and seasonal raw vegetables and fruit.

Among other twelfth-century documents, (28) *Pantokrator* [12] provides for an abstinence from cheese and eggs “to be observed on the days without a fast” (i.e., days other than Wednesdays and Fridays); supper would be served, however. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [63] simply leaves the determination of food and drink during this fast to the discretion of the superior. (31) *Areia* [T5] provides for a modification of its model, the *typikon* of Stoudios (i.e., (4) *Stoudios* [AB29]), permitting its monks to eat twice a day “since the days are long at that time of year.” The fast is said to differ from non-fast days only in eating after the recitation of the psalms at the third and sixth hours and in abstaining from cheese and eggs. The stern (43) *Kasoulon* limits [10] its monks to a single meal a day “according to the tradition of the holy apostles,” prescribes a diet like that for the fast of St. Philip (see G.2 below), and permits [3] the consumption of fish only on the feast of St. John the Baptist.

In the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [76], based loosely on (22) *Evergetis* [10], prescribes two dishes cooked with oil and accompanied by the customary allotment of wine. The same was to apply for Saturdays and Sundays, except that there would be three cooked dishes. On all of these days there would be a supper consisting of a small piece of bread and a few seasonal olives or fruits, accompanied by wine of the smaller allotment. On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, the monks were to eat at the seventh hour after the completion of the daily office, dining on cooked legumes and raw vegetables and fruit, if available, accompanied by water. The consumption of any other cooked food or wine was forbidden, as was the use of oil. The contemporary (45) *Neophytos* [C4] contents itself with a command to observe the provisions of the (liturgical) *typikon* without imposing any additional obligations “because of the hot weather and the length of the daytime.”

In the fourteenth century, (58) *Menoikeion* [8] restricts its monks to one meal of legumes or vegetables with vinegar but no wine on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. On Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays, the diet was to be increased to two meals prepared with olive oil and served with wine. In the fifteenth century, (60) *Charsianeites* [C17], orders abstention from boiled food, oil, and wine on Wednesdays and Fridays.

2. Fast of St. Philip (or the Holy Nativity)

This is the Advent fast, which begins after the feast of St. Philip, November 14. The provisions for this fast generally followed those set forth for the fast of the Holy Apostles. (4) *Stoudios* [A29] so provides, while [B29] restricts its monks to one meal a day “on account of the short days during the fast” but compensates them with three measures of wine. (11) *Ath. Rule* [24] adopts this re-

striction of one meal a day also. (20) *Black Mountain* [54] provides an option for moving the single meal from the ninth hour to the night, again “because of the shortness of the days.”

(22) *Evergetis* [10] likewise provides for a diet for what it calls the “fast of the Holy Nativity” that is similar to that of the fast of Holy Apostles, with a single meal to take place at the ninth hour after the completion of the canonical office. The shortness of the days made it impossible to conduct the divine liturgy during the fast. A fast day was to be identifiable as one on which “God is the Lord” (Ps. 117 [118]:27) is not sung at matins but rather the “Alleluia.” (27) *Kecharitomene* [48], (29) *Kosmosoteira* [28] (but cf. [63]), (32) *Mamas* [18], and (33) *Heliou Bomon* [18] all follow these Evergetian prescriptions, as does (30) *Phoberos* [30], which identifies the days on which fasting is required as Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. (27) *Kecharitomene* [48] prescribes the addition of fish to the diet on the feast of the Entrance of the Mother of God into the Temple (Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple), which occurred on November 21.

(23) *Pakourianos* [10] provides for a single meal at the ninth hour each day during this fast except for those days on which “God is the Lord” is sung (Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays), when the monks should also abstain from the use of olive oil. Wine was not to be consumed during this fast (or any of the others) except on Saturdays and Sundays, when the monks would receive a single cup of wine “for refreshment.” (28) *Pantokrator* [12] restricts the eating of fish and limits the monks to one meal a day after the completion of the office of lamplighting. Weekday meals were to be prepared without the use of olive oil. The contemporary (31) *Areia* [T5] simply references the *typikon* of Stoudios, i.e., (4) *Stoudios* [A29], for its regulations for this fast.

In (43) *Kasoulon* [3] we find a prescription for two cooked dishes on Tuesdays and Thursdays, including fish, but no use of olive oil on Wednesdays and Fridays. The consumption of fish is also permitted on the feast of the Entrance of the Mother of God into the Temple (Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple) and for the three-day feast of St. Nicholas (December 5-7).

In the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [76] follows (22) *Evergetis* [10] in decreeing that the diet should be the same as for the fast of the Holy Apostles. The contemporary (45) *Neophytos* [C4] contents itself with a command to observe the provisions of the liturgical *typikon*.

In the fourteenth century, (58) *Menoikeion* [8], which delimits the fast from the feast of St. Nicholas to Christmas, instructs its monks to eat only once a day except for Saturdays and Sundays, and to abstain from using olive oil or drinking wine on Tuesdays and Thursdays, a restriction that presumably also applied during the three fast days. In the fifteenth century, (60) *Charsianeites* [C17] provides for a forty-day fast during which its monks should abstain from oil and wine on Wednesdays and Fridays (except for feasts of the Lord and those of great saints). There was to be only one daily meal on these days, to take place after the chanting of the hours and the *mesoria* at vespers; it would consist of dry foods and seasonal fruits accompanied only by water.

3. Fast of the Mother of God

Among our documents, only (20) *Black Mountain* [87], [88], (30) *Phoberos* [31], and (60) *Charsianeites* [C17] recognize this fast, which precedes the feast of the Dormition on August 15. (20) *Black Mountain* [87] provides a discussion of when it should begin (at the beginning of the month of August, but not on a Wednesday or Friday) and prescribes a diet of two kinds of food and drink “just as on the fast of the Holy Apostles and Christmas.” (30) *Phoberos* [31] provides for a

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fast of the Dormition from the beginning of August until the “very day of the holy Mother of God.” During this fast, neither cheese nor eggs nor fish were to be eaten, except for Saturdays and Sundays when the consumption of fish was allowed “because of your weakness.” (60) *Charsianeites* [C17] provides for abstinence from boiled food, oil, and wine on Wednesday and Friday fast days.

H. Diet from Easter to the Sunday after Pentecost

For the period from Easter until the feast of All Saints on the Sunday after Pentecost, (4) *Stoudios* [A29] provides for a diet of two dishes of garden vegetables and legumes prepared with olive oil, fish, cheese, and eggs, accompanied by three measures of wine. There was to be an additional three measures of wine distributed at the evening meal. In [B29], the diet for the evening meal is specified as bread and leftovers from the midday meal; the number of permitted servings of wine is only two. (11) *Ath. Rule* [22], taking its lead from (4) *Stoudios* [AB29], mentions only the two courses of the midday meal, to consist of green vegetables and legumes seasoned with three *litrai* of oil.

In the eleventh century, (23) *Pakourianos* [8] provides for a “more lavish” dinner on Easter Sunday because the monks “will be tired and hungry having completed a vigil the previous night.” During the fifty days of the Easter season leading up to Pentecost, the monks were to have four courses at their meals, including cheese and “whatever else divine providence supplies,” accompanied by two measures of wine each. The contemporary (20) *Black Mountain* [34] provides that during Easter week and up until the feast of All Saints, its monks should eat at the same time and, if possible, the same food (though not the same quantity) as they did on Easter itself. A little later in the early twelfth century, (30) *Phoberos* [28] provides for the celebration of the Resurrection for forty days, then ten days later, a week-long celebration of the feast of Pentecost, to be followed by the fast of the Holy Apostles, “for it is right that you should be glad at the gift from God and that you should fast after the relaxation.”

During Easter season, for its purposes from Easter [“Radiant”] Sunday until the Sunday of All Saints, even the stern (43) *Kasoulon* [10] allows its monks to eat twice a day; there was also to be [17] a feast on Pentecost Sunday, but after the vespers service rather than after the conclusion of the liturgy.

In the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [74] permits its monks to eat cheese, eggs, and milk every day during the Week of Renovation (Sunday after Easter) as well as to drink wine. This is cited in [75] as an observance from the liturgical *typikon* of St. Sabas.

I. Diet from the Feast of the Apostles to the Feast of St. Philip

This is the time of the church year between the fast of the Holy Apostles and the fast of St. Philip (late summer and fall). In the ninth century, (4) *Stoudios* [A29] provides that its monks, constrained by their obligation to perform prayers at the ninth hour, were to observe the dietary regime previously prescribed for the aforementioned fasts. If a feast of a saint happened to fall on one of these days, however, the monks were to be allowed to eat fish, accompanied by three servings of wine at the midday meal, and to have two servings later in the evening. [B29] permits also cheese and eggs on these feast days. In the tenth century, making some use of (4) *Stoudios* [AB29], (11) *Ath. Rule* [24], forbids the use of oil or wine on Wednesdays and Fridays during this period and, like (4) *Stoudios* [B29], permits the use of cheese and eggs on feasts.

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(20) *Black Mountain* [R39] provides that after the fast of the Holy Apostles down through the feast of St. Philip, the monks were to have a meal at the ninth hour of two courses of boiled vegetables prepared without oil, accompanied by unsweetened juice. Fasts on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays could be broken [R38], cf. [91] to consume a benefactor's refreshment, even by monks doing penances who ordinarily would not be allowed to do so.

In the early twelfth century, (30) *Phoberos* [28], cf. [19] provides that its monks, after the conclusion of the fast of the Holy Apostles, were to continue to fast on Wednesdays and Fridays.

J. Diet on Dominical Feasts

Most—though not all—of our authors were willing to grant dietary dispensations for the celebration of the so-called dominical feasts, the great feasts of the Lord, and sometimes for other important feasts as well.

1. General Principles

(4) *Stoudios* [29], followed in the tenth century by (11) *Ath. Rule* [24], permits an exemption from the usual requirements for fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays from the feast of the Holy Apostles to the feast of St. Philip in the event that a major feast fell on one of these days. The monks would then be allowed to eat fish, accompanied by three servings of wine at the midday meal, and to have two servings later in the evening. (11) *Ath. Rule* [24] also allows its monks to eat cheese and eggs, and elsewhere [31] provides for an exemption from the requirement of the recitation of hours and permits partaking of two meals on these days.

In the late eleventh century, (20) *Black Mountain* [38] permits two meals prepared with oil on dominical feasts that happened to coincide with fast days; a third dish supplied by a benefactor “as frequently happens” could also be consumed on these feast days. Great feasts are defined [48] as those of Christ and the Mother of God, the birth and the beheading of St. John the Baptist (June 24 and February 24), and the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul (June 29). Should they fall on a Monday, Wednesday, or Friday, the more lenient dietary regulations for Sunday would be observed, except during Lent. Dominical feasts were [38] also the only days, aside from Sundays or whenever offered by benefactors, that wine could be consumed. Fasts were not to be broken [32] for minor feasts, however. On the medium feasts the dietary regime was to remain [49] the same, but the meals would be offered both at the sixth hour and at night, even on fast days, when the monks would eat dry food twice or, optionally, cooked food without relish or even with it “whenever it is not suspect as a risk to the soul.” On minor feasts, there would be [50] one meal a day, at the ninth hour; if such a feast fell on a fast day, the monks would eat dry food “as on the ordinary day” at one meal at the ninth hour. The general practice was to advance the hour of the daily meal, so that “relaxation may take place.” As with medium feasts, serving cooked food with or without oil is offered as an option “if God be pleased.”

(22) *Evergetis* [11] simply provides for a more elaborate celebration of the feasts of the Lord and of the Mother of God, to be reflected in the meals of the monks. (29) *Kosmosoteira* [29] endorses this injunction. (28) *Pantokrator* [12] is more specific, providing for cooked dishes of vegetables and legumes, seasonal fruits, fish, and a measure of wine “greater than is customary.” (32) *Mamas* [17], followed by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [17], allows the consumption of fish on Wednesday and Friday fast days if a dominical feast should occur on them, to be provided by a benefactor or else by the superior.

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(30) *Phoberos* [18] makes a distinction between (minor) feasts, on which days Wednesday and Friday fasts should be observed, and those (major) feasts marked with crosses on which these fasts were to be broken with meals of cooked legumes, vegetables, and olive oil. Citing the example of various *synaxaria*, including those of the “Holy Mountain” (cf. (11) *Ath. Rule* [24]), this *typikon* permits three measures of wine at the midday meal and two at the evening meal. Those monks are encouraged [19], however, who chose voluntarily to abstain from cooked food on all Wednesdays and Fridays, even those on which great feasts might chance to fall,

The generally stern (43) *Kasoulon* [3] nevertheless permits the consumption of fish on the feasts of the Entry of the Mother of God into the Temple (Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple) (November 21), of St. Nicholas (December 5-7), and of St. John the Baptist (June 24). A more extended list of permitted exceptions is found in [5], cf. [6]. The exemptions are extended in [18] to octaves of dominical feasts and those of the Mother of God, during which no fasting was to take place and the monks would eat fish and other dishes prepared with olive oil.

In the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [77] permits fasts on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays to be broken for the celebration of dominical feasts, those of the Twelve Apostles, or “any of the great teachers . . . or great fathers.” Yet a little later, (36) *Blemmydes* [11] denounces those who “say that occasionally Wednesday and Friday should be counted as a Saturday and Sunday from the point of view of eating well, on the pretext of celebrating the Lord’s feast days and refuting the nonsense of heretics.” Towards the end of the thirteenth century, (39) *Lips* [32] allows its nuns to set aside the usual dietary regulations for Wednesday and Friday fasts to celebrate a dominical feast or one of the apostles or “famous hierarchs.” The consumption of fish is permitted on such a day (if available) or at least the use of olive oil in the preparation of the meal. Other delicacies such as cheese and milk were also permitted.

In the early fourteenth century, however, (55) *Athanasios I* [5] denounces those who break fast days Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays “because of the excuse of feast days, but in truth because of a compulsion to gluttony.” Apparently unaffected by this, (58) *Menoikeion* [8] later on in the same century permits the superior to offer unspecified “relief” to his monks on “any of the Lord or of the great saints . . . on account of the work associated with the feast and the vigil.” In the early fifteenth century, (60) *Charsianeites* [C17] grants an exemption from abstinence from oil and wine on Wednesday and Friday fast days whenever a dominical feast or anniversary of a great saint should occur on these days in the forty days before Christmas.

2. Feast of the Dormition (August 15)

Some documents of the late eleventh and the twelfth centuries provide for special celebrations of this feast. (22) *Evergetis* [11] makes no specific dietary provision, but (32) *Mamas* [19] provides that grapes blessed by the priest in the church at the daily service were to be served to the monks two or three times after the feast, along with figs and melons (daily) whenever they came in season. (43) *Kasoulon* [11] also provides for the eating of blessed grapes along with the blessed bread (*klaston*) on this feast.

3. Feast of the Exaltation (September 14)

In the twelfth century, (43) *Kasoulon* [12] provides for a celebration of the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross with two meals, limited, however, to beans, legumes, or some other vegetable

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seasoned with vinegar. Citing the *typikon* of the Holy Mountain (though there is no comparable reference in (11) *Ath. Typikon*), fish and the use of olive oil are prohibited in favor of bread and squash with vinegar, accompanied with wine.

K. Diet during Christmastide

Supplementing (4) *Stoudios* [AB29], (11) *Ath. Rule* [24] notes that the diet for the twelve days of Christmas was to be like that for the season of Pentecost, that is, the two courses at the midday meal of green vegetables and legumes seasoned with oil as provided for in [22]. There is no full discussion in (20) *Black Mountain* [54], just a provision for a full meal at night if the vigil service for Christmas or the Epiphany should happen to fall on a Saturday or Sunday when fasting was prohibited, and a concession for the monks to consume cheese or eggs sent by benefactors on Mondays, Wednesdays, or Fridays during the twelve days of Christmas. Both of these dietary provisions were motivated by a desire to refute the practices of various sectaries. In the contemporary (23) *Pakourianos* [8], there is a provision for serving four courses to the monks at their main meal and cheese and “whatever else divine providence supplies” at the evening meal, accompanied by two measures of wine.

In the early twelfth century, (30) *Phoberos* [19] also addresses the matter of the timing of meals on the vigils of Christmas or Epiphany happening to fall on a Saturday or a Sunday, providing for an evening meal of legumes and vegetables prepared with olive oil, accompanied by wine. A little later, (43) *Kasoulon* [8] also delays the daily meal on the vigils of Christmas and Epiphany to the evening under these circumstances “if the grace of the Holy Spirit has made provision for us.” This document also exempts [17] its monks from fasting from Christmas until the octave of Epiphany, during which time they were to eat fish, drink wine, and use olive oil freely. In the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [77] is even more generous, permitting its monks to eat cheese, milk, and eggs as well as to drink wine during the twelve days of Christmas.

L. Diet from Christmastide to Cheesefare Week

For this period of the church year, (11) *Ath. Rule* [24] provides that “the rule of the previous days is observed,” i.e., the prohibition on the use of oil or wine on Wednesdays and Fridays and the explicit permission to use cheese and eggs on feasts as provided for the time between the fast of the Holy Apostles and the feast of St. Philip in [24]. The week before Cheesefare Week was to be absolutely free of fasting.

In the late eleventh century, (20) *Black Mountain* [55] provides for eating a little cheese or egg at the ninth hour on the Wednesday and Friday of the week before Meatfare week as a rejection of the contemporaneous fast of Armenian sectaries. This was patterned [90] on the observance for Cheesefare week itself; others are reported to have suspended fasting entirely on these two days for the same purpose, but that practice is not endorsed here.

In the early twelfth century, (30) *Phoberos* [19] provides for an abstinence from cheese, eggs, and fish on Wednesdays and Fridays during Christmas, in the week before Meatfare week, and during Cheesefare week. The need to refute Armenian sectaries by consuming cheese is rejected, but if a visitor insisted on doing so on the days before Meatfare or during Cheesefare week, the monks were to eat a little cheese to oblige him. Later in that same century, (32) *Mamas* [19]

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provides for the eating of cheese and eggs during the entire week prior to Meatfare to refute the Armenian practice of eating only bread and water during this week. (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19] and, in the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [78] endorse this position. (36) *Blemmydes* [11] alludes to the controversy without providing for an alteration of existing dietary practices.

M. Diet during Cheesefare Week

In the late eleventh century, (20) *Black Mountain* [55], cf. [90] orders the monks to eat cheese at the common meal on Wednesday and Friday of this week after the liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts. In the twelfth century, (30) *Phoberos* [19] similarly provides for eating cheese and eggs on Wednesday and Friday after this liturgy. Otherwise during this week, the monks are to eat a cooked dish in preference to dry food, but not cheese, eggs, or fish. (28) *Pantokrator* [12] likewise endorses the eating of cheese and eggs so that “the faithful may not seem to observe the fasts of unbelievers by respecting their ordinances.” (32) *Mamas* [19], followed by (33) *Heliou Bomon* [19], endorses eating cheese and eggs during the entire week of Cheesefare.

In (43) *Kasoulon* [19], the monks fast every day during this week, which they call week of “Cheesefast,” except for Saturday and Sunday when they consume a meal prepared with olive oil and fish.

In the thirteenth century, (34) *Machairas* [78] follows (32) *Mamas* [19] in prescribing the consumption of cheese and eggs during the entire week of Cheesefare, while in the fourteenth century, (58) *Menoikeion* [8] appears to restrict its consumption to two days, probably Wednesday and Friday as in (20) *Black Mountain* [55].

N. Special Rules

In (11) *Ath. Rule* [30], cf. [31] the monastery’s heavy manual laborers, including metal workers, muleteers, shipwrights, carpenters, vineyard and bakery workers, were to get extra rations of bread and wine when they missed the midday meal, except on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday fast days. Others performing work outdoors were to be supplied with just bread, to be eaten with water. The superior is also allowed [31] to exercise his discretion in making dietary concessions for the weak and the sick. In the late eleventh century, (23) *Pakourianos* [8] gives the superior a general right to add food to the diet of the monks, with the intent of “blunting the impulses of those who favor indulgence.” In the twelfth century, (43) *Kasoulon* [19] provides for saving the food share of a monk who was absent on some duty until he was able to return, unless the food was likely to spoil beforehand. There is also a concession [25], apparently later withdrawn, allowing fishermen monks to eat fish, drink wine, and use olive oil during Lent except on Wednesday and Friday fast days.

Appendix C

Topical Interrelationships of the Families of the *Typika* of the Byzantine Monastic Reform Movement

Part One: Topical Interrelationships of the Evergetian Family of Monastic *Typika*

This part illustrates the textual commonalities of (22) *Evergetis* with seven other *typika*: (27) *Kecharitomene*, (29) *Kosomosoteira*, (30) *Phoberos*, (32) *Mamas*, (33) *Heliou Bomon*, (34) *Machairas*, and (58) *Menoikeion*.

Part Two: Topical Interrelationships of the Post-Evergetian Family of Monastic *Typika*

This part illustrates the textual commonalities of (27) *Kecharitomene* with five other *typika*: (32) *Mamas*, (33) *Heliou Bomon*, (34) *Machairas*, (47) *Philanthropos*, and (58) *Menoikeion*.

Part Three: Topical Interrelationships of the Maman Family of Monastic *Typika*

This part illustrates the textual commonalities of (32) *Mamas* with three other *typika*: (33) *Heliou Bomon*, (34) *Machairas*, and (58) *Menoikeion*.

Common Symbols

- indicates no parallel treatment
- indicates a parallel but textually independent treatment

Part One: Topical Interrelationships of the Evergetian Family of Monastic *Typika*

<i>Evergetis</i>		<i>Kecharitomene</i>	<i>Kosmosoteira</i>	<i>Phoberos</i>	<i>Mamas</i>	<i>Heliou Bomon</i>	<i>Machairas</i>	<i>Menoikeion</i>
(22)	Topic	(27)	(29)	(30)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(58)
3	List of Benefactions	–	–	8	–	–	–	–
	Introduction to the Hours	–	–	–	–	–	30	–
4	First Hour	32	13	9	47	46	31	–
	Enforcement of Discipline	–					32	–
	Private Recitation/Office	–		33	–			
	Omission of Genuflections	33	14	11	32	32	34	–
	Third and Sixth Hours						36	–
	Reception of Communion						–	–
5	Frequency of Reception	33	14	11	32	32	37	16
	Non-Reception Blameworthy	–	–	–	–	–	38	–
	Preparation for Communion	–	–	–	–	–	39	–
		–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6	Ninth Hour	35	15	12	47	46	42	–
	Vespers						43	–
	Compline	36					44	–
	Night Office	37		–	–			
	Midnight Office	38		45	–			
		46		–	–			
Matins	39	13	–	–	–	48	–	
7	Confession to be offered	16	16	14	29	29	50	13
	Guidelines for Confession	–	17		30	30	51	–
	Expel Non-Confessants	–	–	–	–	–	52	13
	Confession at Tonsure	–	18	15	–	–	53	–
8	Use of the Synaxarion	–	19	16	–	–	–	–

(22)	Topic	(27)	(29)	(30)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(58)		
9	Importance of the Diet	–	20	20	17	17	61	8		
	Refectory Procedures	40	21	21			62			
	Discipline of Disorderly	41			–	–	63			
	Disputes over Precedence	42	22	22	36	35	64	–		
	No Sharing of Food	43	23		–	–	–	–		
	No Secret Eating	49		23	20	20	–	–		
	Evening Meal	–	24	24	–	–	66	–		
	Lateness and Absences	–		26	–	–	–	–		
10	Diet/First Week of Lent	47	25	27	18	18	67	8		
	Lenten Diet			26			28		68	
	Diet on Lenten Weekends							69	–	
	Diet for the Great Canon		27					70	–	
	Diet/Feast of St. John							71	–	
	Diet/Feast of Annunciation			72			8			
	Diet for Holy Week		28	29			73	–		
	Discretion for the Sick						48	30	76	8
	Fast of the Holy Apostles									
	Fast of the Nativity									
11	Patronal Feast	59	29	32	–	48	27	–		
12	Institutional Independence	1	31	33	4	4	21	3		
13	Importance of Superior	–	–	34	–	–	–	–		
	Qualifications for Office	–	32	35	7	7	80	–		
	Investiture of Steward	–	34	–	7	7	81	–		
	Promotion of Steward	–	–	35	–	–	–	–		
	Investiture of Superior	11	33	–	1	1	–	–		
	Fickleness of Human Nature	13	–	–	2	2	88	–		
Superior's Tenure	41		35	–	–	89	–			
Justifications for Removal		–		–	–	–	90	–		
14	Retain Bad Superior	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		
	Removal of the Superior	13	–	–	2	2	90	–		
	Deposed Superior Remains		41	35			–	–		
	Strife-Free Elections	12	42	–	45	44	–	18		

(22)	Topic	(27)	(29)	(30)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(58)
15	Confession Only to Superior	16	–	35	29	29	141	13
	Expel Non-Confessing Monks	–	–	36	–	–	54	–
16	Obedience to the Superior	12	43		24	24	142	–
	Monk's Mutual Affection	–	–		–	–	143	–
17	Exhortation to the Superior	12	44		42	41	144	19
	Hostility to Privilege		42	45	44	148	18	
18	Superior not Accountable	–	81	37	44	43	145	–
	No Favors for Relatives	–	–				146	–
	Correction of the Superior	–	–				147	–
19	Alienation Procedures	10	45	38	37	37	94	–
20	Bookkeeping Requirements	–	46	–	–	–	–	–
21	No Idle Talking	–	47	39	35	34	113	17
	No Arguing	–		40	–	–	–	–
22	No Secret Eating	49		41	20	20	–	–
	No Personal Possessions	50		35	34	87	–	
23	Number of Monks	5	48	42	5	5	–	–
24	Servants Not Permitted	–	–	43	34	33	87	–
	Number of Monks in Cells	–	51		–	–	–	–
25	Communal Wardrobe	52	52	44	28	28	102	12
	Exchange of garments	–			–	–	103	
26	Equality in Food and Drink	56	53	45	34	33	106	–
	More Food for Sick Monks						107	–
27	Superior to Inspect Cells	50			20	20	–	–
28	Bathing	58			97	46	28	28
29	Investiture of Officials	18	35	47	6	6	92	–
30	Three Treasurers	24	36		10	10	100	6
31	Refectorian	25	37	–	–	–	–	
	Disciplinary Official	26		–	–	114	–	
32	Officials' Tenure of Office	–	38	48	–	–	92	22
33	Exhortation to Officials	25	39		23	23	–	10
34	Property Administrators	31	40	49	–	–	109	–
35	Founder's Commemoration	71	7	50	40	50	154	–

(22)	Topic	(27)	(29)	(30)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(58)
36	Monks' Commemoration	70	54	50	39	39	157	–
	Benefactors' Commemoration		–		40	–	156	–
37	Novitiate for Notables	30	55	51	22	22	55	–
	Novitiate for Others		–				56	–
	No Mandatory Entrance Gifts	7	55	53A			57	–
	Voluntary Gifts Acceptable				58	–		
	Gifts Cannot be Reclaimed	7	–	52	5	5	59	–
	Monks Tonsured Elsewhere	54	–	52	22	22	60	–
38	Charitable Distributions	64	6	54	13	13	118	22
	Women Excluded from Charity	–	56	55	–	–	118	–
	Rationale for Exclusion	–			–	–	119	–
39	Opposite Sex Barred	17	84		–	27	27	115
	Additional Offices Allowed	–	–	–	14	14	–	–
40	Maintenance of the Typikon	–	–	–	15	15	158	–
41	Need to Discuss Sick Monks	57	61	55	34	33	–	–
	Care for Sick Monks			56			108	–
42	Final Instructions	78	57	59	46	45	163	20
	Scriptural Exhortations						166	
43	Reading of the Typikon	65	59		–	16	16	167
	Scriptural Blessing	78	–	–	46	45	168	–

Part Two: Topical Interrelationships of the Post-Evergetian Family
of Monastic *Typika*

<i>Kechartomene</i> (27)	Topic	<i>Mamas</i> (32)	<i>Heliou Bomon</i> (33)	<i>Machairas</i> (34)	<i>Philanthropos</i> (47)	<i>Menoikeion</i> (58)
2	Need to Discuss Cenobitic Life	5	5	–	1	–
	Institution of Cenobiticism	–	–	–	2	–
	Maintenance of Cenobiticism	–	–	–	3	–
	Legal Safeguard for Preservation	–	–	–	4	–
3	Role of the Protector	3	3	–	–	22
11	Election of the Superior	1	1	17	–	22
14	Duties of the Steward	7	7	–	–	–
19	Duties of the Sacristan	9	9	–	–	5
20	Duties of the Ecclesiarch	8	8	93	–	4
23	Duties of the Provisioner	11	11	96	–	–
24	Duties of the Treasurers	10	10	100	–	6
29	Duties of the Gatekeeper	12	12	116	–	7
45	Second Dinner Sitting for Servers	17	17	–	–	8
46	Diet on Ordinary Days			–	–	
49	No Secret Eating	20	20	–	–	–
50	Inspection of Cells at Any Time	20	20	120	–	–
53	No External Monks or Imposed Guests	26	26	–	–	11
55	Maintenance of Cenobitic Lifestyle	25	25	11	–	–

Part Three: Topical Interrelationships of the Maman Family
of Monastic *Typika*

<i>Mamas</i> (27)	Topic	<i>Heliou Bomon</i> (34)	<i>Machairas</i> (47)	<i>Menoikeion</i> (58)
13	Charity for Poor Monks	13	–	7
15	Inalterability of the Typikon	15	–	–
16	Reading of the Typikon	16	167	9
19	Anti-Artziburian Diet	19	78	–
	Share Meals with Manual Workers		79	–
21	No Absences from the Office	21	49	–
24	Honors Due the Superior	24	–	–
27	Women and Laymen Barred	27	119	–
28	Clothing Allowance	28	–	12
29	Alternate Confessors	29	–	13
31	Third and Sixth Hours	31	35	–
33	Maintenance of Elderly Monks	34	–	–
36	Order of Seating at Meals	35	65	–
37	Purpose of the Inventory	37	94	–
38	Exhortation to the Protector	38	161	–
41	Preservation of the Typikon	40	158	–
	Curse Against Violators		162	–
43	Superior from Another Monastery	42	–	–
48	Exhortation of the Superior	47	–	–

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General Index

This is a concept-based index, designed to facilitate research. Specific instances of most generic entries (e.g., particular canons, churches, fasts, feasts, foods, and monasteries) are as a general rule to be found in this index as subheadings under their generic (conceptual) entries. Specific entries requiring detailed treatment (e.g., *patriarchal monasteries*) are indexed separately, with cross-references from the corresponding generic entries. Many generic entries are subdivided, both for convenience and for greater analytic precision. Thus a reader seeking information on churches will find a general entry for *churches* and additional entries for *churches (parts of)*, *churches (specific)*, *churches (types of)*, and *churches and chapels (monastic)*. A reader seeking information on monasteries will find a general entry for *monasteries* and additional entries for *monasteries (parts of)*, *monasteries (specific)*, and *monasteries (types of)*.

c. = canon, century; CP = Constantinople; f. = female; Gr. = Greek; Lat. = Latin; m. = male; Slav. = Slavonic

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